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REPORT ON MEMBERSHIP AND FUNDING DRIVE

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

March 9, 1965

| Local Council | Paid Memberships Sngl | Dual | Stdt | Pledged Memberships Sngl | Dual | Stdt | Total PERSONS | Received on Fees, Contributions | Bal. on Pledges | TOTAL | Orig. Quota |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| B'ham | 45 | 35 | 1 | 6 | 9 | | 140 | $2019 | $1420 | $3439 | $1500 |
| E.Ala. | 86 | 82 | 12 | 10 | 11 | 6 | 300 | $2253 | $1215 | $3468 | $1500 |
| H'ville | 6 | 7 | 0 | ? | 3 | | 28 | $ 376 | $1193 | $1569 | $1200 |
| Mobile | 27 | 11 | 2 | 0 | 4 | | 59 | $ 404 | $ 792 | $1196 | $1200 |
| M'gomery | 20 | 14 | 0 | 0 | 0 | | 48 | $1048 | $ 128 | $1176 | $1000 |
| Mus.Shoals | 26 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 42 | $ 428 | $1142 | $1570 | $1200 |
| Talladega | 24 | 4 | | | 1 | 1 | 35 | $ 295 | $ 327 | $ 622 | $ 500 |
| T'loosa | 32 | 28 | 2 | 5 | 4 | | 103 | $ 789 | $ 290 | $1079 | $ 750 |
| At Large | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 8 | $ 26 | $ 75 | $ 101 | *** |
| Out state | 10 | 6 | | | | | 22 | $1543 | $ 289 | $1832 | *** |
| TOTALS | 278 | 192 | 21 | 24 | 35 | 8 | 785 | $9181 | $6871 | $16,052 | |

NOTES:

Membership fees received in the last quarter of 1964 were counted as though received in 1965. Otherwise only 1965 receipts are shown.

In addition to the above, we expect to receive $6000 grant-in-aid from the Southern Regional Council.

ACHR officers should be aware that we have to figure at least 15% shrinkage on the balance-on-pledges -- although we can hope that's pessimistic!

All this means that, as of this date, we can safely anticipate slightly more than $20,000 income for the year.

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ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
QUARTERLY REPORT
January, February, March, 1965

## CONDITIONS IN ALABAMA DURING THE QUARTER

Circumstances and events in Alabama during this quarter have been so well reported throughout the nation by all news media that it seems unnecessary to say much in this report. The demonstrations in Selma, the instances of police brutality, the march on Montgomery, the murder of three persons who had participated in the Negro protest for enfranchisement--these events in Alabama have occupied the minds of all our members almost constantly.

Nearly lost in the shadow of these events were other things such as the reluctant response of the several school boards to the requirement that they sign pledges of non-discrimination in order to continue to receive federal funds, and the long debate over and passage of Governor Wallace's school bill.

Not unexpected, but nonetheless disappointing, was the near total lack of modification of racist or segregationist stances on the part of the governor and most of the state executive branch, the legislature of the state, and Alabama members of the U. S. House of Representatives. The executive director of the Council ventures the opinion, however, that there is growing concern among businessmen and other citizens that is a hopeful sign. This concern is not overwhelming, but seems significant. It is reflected in a number of newspaper editorials calling for change, admitting that the state is guilty of injustice.

## THE ALABAMA COUNCIL

During January, practically all of the energies of the officers of the Council were given to two things: (1) the membership and funding drive, and (2) the annual meeting, which was held on January 30.

Special "challenge meetings" were held by all of the local councils. Most followed a plan of campaign prepared by the executive director which called for careful advance preparation and solicitation of major donors, and for follow-up visits to prospective members. Every local council participated. This effort resulted, as of the end of March, in over $16,000 in cash contributions, pledges, and memberships during this quarter, and the enrollment of more than 800 members. As shown in the financial report, receipts for this quarter exceeded $10,000. (This does not include the first quarter SRC grant of $1500.) This compares with a total of 336 members in the 1964 membership year, and total receipts from contributions and memberships of $8,959.42 during fiscal 1964.

The annual meeting was held at the Dinkler-Tutwiler Hotel in Birmingham on Saturday, January 30. The featured speaker was LeRoy Collins, former governor of Florida and director of the Community Relations Service. More than 250 people attended the luncheon, and some 400 were present for Collins' address. As a direct result of Collins' presence in Birmingham at our invitation, a special meeting was arranged by the mayor at which Collins had opportunity to talk to some 40 prominent members of the Chamber of Commerce of Birmingham, as well as some Negro businessmen.

These were the two events which concerned all chapters of ACHR. Other parts of the program involved one or more, and can best be reported in notes on the activities of the local councils and of the staff.

## THE LOCAL COUNCILS

Birmingham. In addition to their challenge meeting, the Birmingham chapter had a regular January meeting at which the president spoke on the anti-poverty bill. (He substituted for Erskine Smith who was scheduled, but had to be away.) About 20 persons attended. Some 45 persons at the February meeting heard Hosea Williams, of the SCLC staff, tell of the voter registration efforts in Selma and Marion, and of the violence and intimidation connected with them. As a result of this meeting, a group of white members of the Birmingham Council met two days later with Mr. Al Lingo of the SCLC staff and planned a march by white Alabamians in Selma. This resulted in the formation of an organization known as the "Concerned White Citizens of Alabama." This organization is presently planning to continue various efforts using direct action techniques. The March meeting of the Birmingham Council was given over to a report by four members of this group on their March 6 demonstration.

Muscle Shoals. About 30 members attended the January meeting at the Westminster Presbyterian Church in Florence. The executive director spoke on plans for the membership-funding campaign and the annual meeting. He also urged educators, ministers, and others to recruit youngsters for the Job Corps. Materials were provided for this. Segregation in local hospitals was discussed in this meeting. The February meeting with about 50 persons in attendance was given to a lively discussion about hospital problems. Two committees were appointed to meet with the two hospital boards. Meanwhile, two members of the council, acting individually, wrote to the Community Relations Service and the Justice Department to request intervention. The March meeting had an even larger attendance, and was likewise taken up with a discussion of the hospital problem. A member of the Board of one hospital was present to speak to the group and answer questions.

Huntsville. The January meeting of the Huntsville group was their challenge meeting. The executive director was the principle speaker. The only other meeting held during the quarter was on March 2. This was a business meeting at which it was determined, after considerable discussion, not to participate this summer in a program proposed by representatives of the American Ethical Union. (There were two meetings of chapter officers with these representatives in February.)

Tuscaloosa. The Tuscaloosa Council has experienced a remarkable renascene. Before the January challenge meeting, they had no executive officers, no organization and very few members. As a result of vigorous and systematic efforts under the leadership of Dr. Ray Fowler, temporary chairman, the Tuscaloosa group now numbers well over 100, and has functioning committees on federal programs, education, voter registration, law enforcement, health, employment. (A more detailed account of this group's action this quarter is given in our March 30 newsletter.)

Mobile. The Mobile challenge meeting in January had 75 people in attendance. Principle speaker was Rev. Powers McLeod. Interestingly, this was the first time the local council had had a dinner meeting. At the

Mobile (Continued)

February meeting, there was a panel on provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act. Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act (Fair Employment) was also discussed. We have no report for March.

Montgomery. The Montgomery challenge meeting in January was, like the one in Mobile, the first dinner meeting ever held by the chapter. Al Ulmer of SRC was the principle speaker. We have no further reports on activities of the Montgomery chapter except the informal one that Mr. Moreland Smith has resigned as chairman, and has been succeeded by Mr. Franklin W. Taylor, vice chairman.

Talladega. The Talladega council meets only once each quarter. There were 24 persons present at their challenge meeting in January. Rev. Kelly Smith, pastor of the First Baptist Church, Nashville, was the principle speaker. This meeting was attended by the executive director and Mr. Al Ulmer of SRC. Mr. Gordon DeCoudres is president of the Talladega chapter this year.

East Alabama. The state office does not get regular formal reports from the East Alabama chapter. It is known, however, that the chapter is engaging in a significant program, including the sponsorship of a student council on human relations, a cultural enrichment program for primary school children, and efforts to get economic opportunity programs started in Lee and Macon Counties. One meeting of students and faculty members from Auburn University and Tuskegee Institute had an attendance of about 40. At this meeting, which was attended by the executive director and Mr. Hayes Mizell of the National Student Association, a steering committee was elected and tentative plans made to get in touch with other campuses about the possibility of a state-wide exploratory meeting in May. Mr. Mizell has met twice subsequently with the student steering committee.

It is worthy of note that the East Alabama Council, which had an assigned quota of 150 members, has enlisted over 300 members. As previous reports have indicated, the chapter has done as well in their financial drive.

## THE STAFF

The executive director's activities during the quarter included the following:

Attendance at the "challenge meetings" of all chapters in January (except Montgomery, which was in conflict with Mobile). Speeches at most.

Preparation and mailing of three issues of "The Alabama Council Bulletin"--one in January, two in March.

Preparation and mailing of news release about annual meeting, about 150 letters of invitation, and other arrangements for annual meeting.

Three visits to Selma, one of some length, to explore possibilities for conciliation. (With the aid of Nat Welch, the director was able to establish quickly some contacts in Selma which may make it possible to work to some effect in the future.)

Meetings with students at Auburn and at Montevallo.

Two meetings with the Association of Huntsville Area Contractors.

Two-day state staff meeting at SRC in Atlanta.

Visit to Gadsden to explore possibility of starting a chapter there.

Two days with Miss Jean Fairfax and Miss Connie Curry of AFSC on plans for cooperative project aimed at school desegregation. Arranged for Miss Fairfax to meet with council members in Florence, Huntsville, Tuscaloosa.

Preparation and mailing of memorandums concerning violence at Selma on March 7 and 9, urging expression of concern to the governor and state legislature.

Three speaking engagements in Huntsville (other than the local council meeting).

Two days of consultation with Paul Anthony in the state office.

Consultation over a period of three days (traveling) with Mr. Bill Jersey, a motion picture producer interested in doing a film on human relations work in the South.

Because adequate secretarial help could not be found until the last week of February, much of the executive director's time in February was necessarily taken up with office work--particularly the processing of the large number of memberships and pledges and contributions received in the campaign.

We are fortunate in having employed, pending the confirmation of the executive committee, Lili Lockhart (Mrs. Benny) Rogers as Secretary to the Executive Director. Mrs. Rogers is a native of Birmingham. For six years she was secretary to the Home Economics Department at Alabama A. and M. College in Huntsville.

'Moderates' Emerging

# Selma Moving Warily To Bridge Racial Gulf

Page 1 By Thomas R. Kendrick 3/19/65
Washington Post Staff Writer

SELMA, Ala., March 18—The first tentative steps to restore communication between whites and Negroes, virtually nonexistent since January, are being taken in this city torn by nearly nine weeks of racial strife.

Cautiously and slowly, white moderates are appearing—fearful that any false step may cause hard-line segregationists again to slam shut the door to negotiation.

So far, these whites number only a handful and meet in backroom sessions. But they hope to find substantial—if silent—support in a community chafing under a national spotlight of harsh publicity.

Composed of housewives, professionals, ministers and a few businessmen, they count on the failure of hard-line segregationists to muzzle protest demonstrations and the eroding effect of a month-old Negro boycott of white merchants to ease their way.

Yesterday, four white Minnesota clergymen, who took part in Monday's march by more than 3000 demonstrators here, discussed the possibility of easing racial tensions with City Council member George Swift, a druggist and investor.

The contact was made by the wife of a white doctor who, nervous and alone, walked into the Negro section the day after the march.

She approached the ministers, seated on the stoop of a Negro home, and talked with them for two hours about whether they had come "to help or to crucify." A few hours later, she returned with a luncheon invitation from Swift.

At the luncheon, the ministers were told that a small group was engaged in drafting a declaration calling for equal protection for whites and Negroes, racial harmony and an end to demonstrations. Significantly, it would urge creation of 18-man biracial "commission of communication" that would meet one a week for a year.

This group is confident it can place 1000 signatures on the declaration, the clergymen were told, but dissension centers on "the proper time to release it."

At the same time, it was learned that a group of white Selma ministers, housewives and educators is moving independently to set up a biracial committee to discuss methods of solving Selma's difficulties.

They are scheduled to meet Friday with Edwin Stanfield, executive secretary of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, an organization of liberal whites and Negroes long active in integration efforts across the State.

Meanwhile, a top-ranking business spokesman conceded that the Negro boycott is "beginning to hurt many merchants" and that there is growing apprehension that racial turmoil is discouraging potential industry.

One of Selma's biggest problems, the business leader said, is "extreme bitterness" between City Public Safety Director Wilson Baker and Dallas County Sheriff James G. Clark Jr. Negroes respect Baker but detest Clark, who holds over-all law enforcement authority.

"Whites in this town," the spokesman said, "are pretty much still behind Clark. And the white Citizens Council, the Chamber and the City Council are still pretty unanimous in their views."

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT
MARCH, 1965

| ACCOUNT | BUDGET | THIS MONTH | YEAR TO DATE |
|---|---|---|---|
| Executive Salary | $8,600.00 | $ 608.04 | $ 1,824.12 |
| Conditional Raise | 600.00 | | |
| Secretary's Salary | 3,600.00 | 241.52 | 504.79 |
| Payroll Taxes (1) | 600.00 | 160.62 | 464.65 |
| Travel | 2,400.00 | 134.97 | 569.09 |
| Rent | 1,500.00 | 100.00 | 300.00 |
| Office Supplies, Eqpt | 1,800.00 | 148.27 | 299.34 |
| Telephone | 1,200.00 | 136.82 | 284.70 |
| Postage | 720.00 | 175.00 | 285.00 |
| Janitorial Service | 180.00 | 30.00 | 45.00 |
| Printing | 500.00 | 56.20 | 179.57 |
| Literature | 300.00 | | 42.55 |
| Essay Contest | 500.00 | | |
| Intern Associate | 1,000.00 | | |
| Miscellaneous | 1,000.00 | 15.00 | 125.00 |
| Budgeted Totals | $24,500.00 | $1,805.84 | $4,923.81 |
| Special Account (2) | | | 884.02 |
| TOTALS | | $1,805.84 | $5,807.83 |
| Receipts | | $2,904.47 | $10,893.82 |
| | Balance on hand, January 1, 1965 | | 1,172.91 |
| | | Total | $12,066.73 |
| | | Less disbursements | 5,807.83 |
| | | BALANCE | $ 6,258.90 |

MEMBERSHIP

| | |
|---|---|
| Paid last quarter of 1964 | 67 |
| Paid January | 45 |
| Paid February | 384 |
| Paid March | 228 |
| TOTAL PAID MEMBERSHIP | 724 |

(1) Budgeted amount was to cover employers' share of FICA taxes only. Note that bulk of expenditure is withheld from salaries.

(2) Annual meeting expenses. $698.41 of this was collected in sale of luncheon tickets.

BIRMINGHAM NEWS

Sunday, January 31, 1965

# Collins details ills of racial passions

Former Florida Gov. Leroy Collins Saturday urged local communities not to abandon the welfare and future stability of its citizens and businesses "to the fires of racial passions."

Collins said effective community and state human relations must be directed to the roots of racial discrimination and unrest.

**Collins, director of the Federal Community Relations Service, was speaking here to the 10th annual meeting of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.**

MORE THAN 300 persons attended the meeting which began Saturday morning with Dr. L. H. Pitts, president of Miles College, presiding.

During the session Nat Welch, Auburn businessman and retiring treasurer of the organization, was elected president to succeed Pitts.

Pitts was elected first vice president; the Rev. J. C. Wilson of Tuskegee, second vice president; the Rev. Bryce Joyce of Sheffield, third vice president; Mrs. Lois Reeves of Tuskegee, secretary, and Mrs. Moreland Smith, treasurer.

**Collins said the CRS is vitally concerned with the building and supporting of sound community relations which must first be handled on the state and local levels.**

HE SAID THE available supply of trained community relations professionals in this country is inadequate to meet current and anticipated needs.

He said funds will be requested to establish training centers in the South and other sections of the country where people can be sent to receive specialized training in developing and improving community relations skills.

The first step, Collins said, is for communities not to abandon the welfare and future stability of its citizens and businesses to the fires of racial passions.

COLLINS SAID there is nothing worse than a human relations group, or community relations agency which gets off on the wrong foot.

"The human relations agencies must be composed of representatives of the entire population and thus merit the confidence and support of all groups," Collins said.

"Otherwise, it becomes either an ineffectual pleader for a worthy cause or an all too effective defender of the status quo," Collins said.

**"Its aims must be to bring about change — peaceful, constructive and lawful change, but change nevertheless.**

"AND IT MUST address itself to the root causes of racial discrimination and unrest.

"There are plenty of things about the civil rights groups and the Negro leadership in this country which could stand improvement," he sid.

Negro leaders, Collins said, naturally disagree at times among themselves.

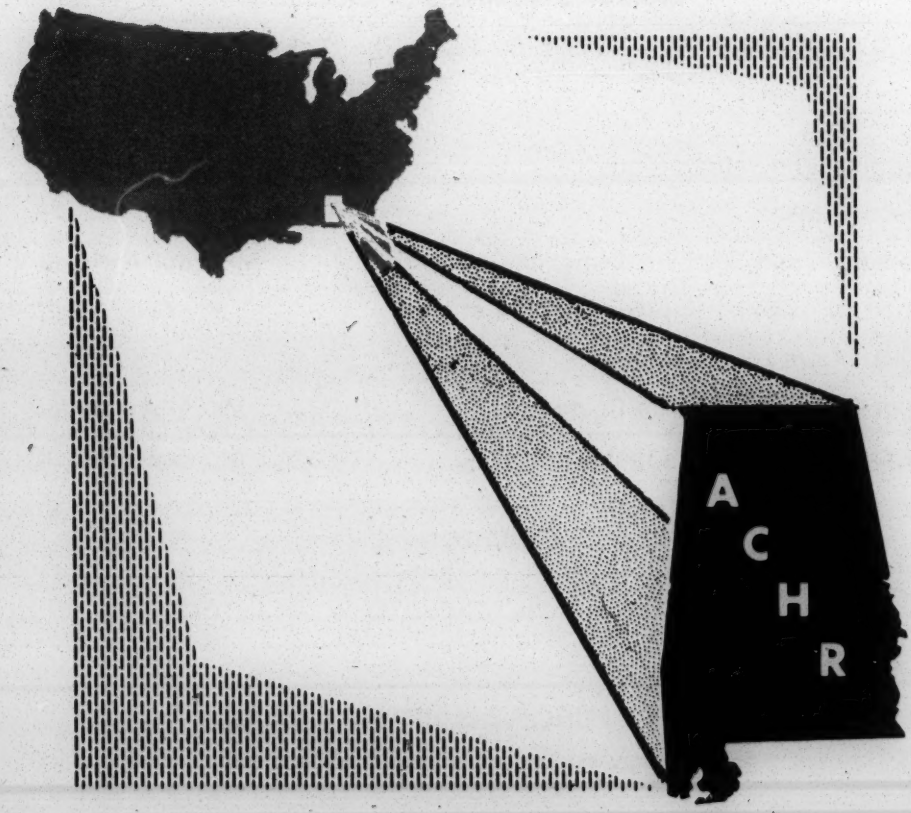
**Collins said he would not tell the Negro leadership how to perform their role, because in the final analysis "it is impossible for any man to put himself in another man's shoes."**

"BUT I FEEL that the role of Negro leadership within lawful bounds should be left to those Negroes who come up as the spokesmen of their people," Collins said.

He noted that "good human relations produce good business, and bad human relations invariably bring bad business."

"What we seek for Negro Americans today is no more — just as it is no less — than what we seek for all Americans. It is nothing other than simple justice."

# ALABAMA COUNCIL
## ON HUMAN RELATIONS




## TENTH ANNUAL MEETING

JANUARY 30, 1965

DINKLER-TUTWILER HOTEL

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

# PROGRAM

**REGISTRATION**

9:00 — 10:00 A. M.

**MORNING BUSINESS SESSION**

10:00 A. M. — 12:00 M. — — The Dinkler Room
Dr. Lucius Pitts, Presiding

| | |
|---|---|
| Welcome and Introductions | Dr. Pitts |
| Announcements | |
| Greetings from Southern Regional Council | Mr. Paul Anthony |
| Report on Membership-Funding Drive | Mr. Nat Welch |
| Reports from Local Councils | |
| What Other Councils Are Doing | Mr. Albert Ulmer |
| Human Relations on Campus | Mr. M. Hayes Mizell |

**LUNCHEON**

12:15 — 1:20 P. M. — — The Ballroom

**PRINCIPLE ADDRESS**

1:30 — 2:30 P. M. — — The Dinkler Room

## THE HONORABLE LEROY COLLINS

Director, Community Relations Service
United States Department of Commerce

## AFTERNOON BUSINESS SESSION

3:00 — 4:00 P. M. — — The Dinkler Room

| | |
|---|---|
| Staff Reports | Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield |
| Unfinished Business | |
| Report of Nominating Committee | Mrs. Clifford Durr |
| Election of Officers | |
| Installation of Officers | |
| Adjournment | |

## ABOUT OUR FEATURED SPEAKER

The Honorable LeRoy Collins was Governor of Florida from 1955 until 1960. He was elected governor after twenty years of service in the two houses of the Florida legislature.

From 1961 to 1964 he was President of the National Association of Broadcasters. He resigned that position to accept his present post as Director of the Community Relations Service, which was set up under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to help communities with civil rights problems and to seek creative compliance with the law.

Governor Collins has served as chairman of both the National Governors' Conference and the Southern Governors' Conference. He is a member of the Honor Corps of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. He has been Chairman of the Southern Regional Education Board and a member of the Commission on Goals for Higher Education in the South.

# WHO'S WHO ON THE PROGRAM

**DR. LUCIUS PITTS**

President of Miles College, Birmingham, and President of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

**MR. PAUL ANTHONY**

Director, Field Services, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga.

**MR. NAT WELCH**

Treasurer of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

**MR. ALBERT ULMER**

National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials intern in the field services department of Southern Regional Council, Atlanta

**MR. M. HAYES MIZELL**

Director, Southern Human Relations Project, National Student Association, Atlanta.

**MR. J. EDWIN STANFIELD**

Executive Director, Alabama Council on Human Relations, Huntsville, Alabama.

**MRS. CLIFFORD DURR**

Chairman of the Nominating Committee, Alabama Council on Human Relations.

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ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
QUARTERLY REPORT
April, May, June, 1965

CONDITIONS IN ALABAMA DURING THE QUARTER

One could reasonably describe the general tendency in Alabama during this quarter as being toward moderation on all sides. As evidence, the relatively restrained police tactics used in Demopolis (in contrast to those used by Sheriff Clark in Selma during the preceding quarter) could be cited, along with the now-famous April 15 resolution of the State Chamber of Commerce and others rebuking white supremacists and extreme tactics. As the quarter ended, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference was turning from demonstrations to tutorial projects in the state--one designed to prepare high school youngsters for college and another to prepare Negro citizens for registering and voting. Moreover, several politicians, including Attorney General Flowers, Senator Ed Horton, Senator George Hawkins, and ex-Congressman Carl Elliott, have been speaking up against the bitter-end-segregation style politics of the recent past. Finally, there seems to be a marked discontent, even among loyal Wallace supporters, with the behaviour of Public Safety Director Al Lingo, whose Negro-baiting is notorious.

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL

Among the activities of this quarter involving or of interest to the Alabama Council on Human Relations as a whole, the following are prominent:

1. Application was made to administer nine "Project Head Start" pre-school development centers: four in rural Lee County, three in Sheffield, two in Tuscumbia. The application was approved and a grant of $83,150 was made by the Office of Economic Opportunity. The centers in Sheffield and Tuscumbia had to be dropped, however, due to inability to secure cooperation from school officials and thence the approval of the governor. The four centers in Lee County will open on July 6. We expect to enroll about 225 children and to employ 15 head teachers, 15 assistants, 8 bus drivers, several cooks and cook helpers, and numerous volunteers. Mrs. William D. Spears is director of the project. Mr. Jerry Roden, president of the East Alabama Council, has devoted many hours of his time to preparations.

2. A council on human relations has been formed in Enterprise, temporary officers have been elected, and the first two meetings have been held. The executive director made two trips to Enterprise during the quarter to assist. This is our first council in the "wiregrass" section of the state.

3. A student conference on human relations was held May 15 at the Bankhead Hotel in Birmingham. Sponsored jointly by ACHR and the National Student Association Southern Human Relations Project, about 70 students from eleven colleges and universities attended. They look toward formation of an inter-collegiate council on human relations in Alabama. Student groups have already formed at Auburn and at the University of Alabama. Both were initially denied recognition as campus organizations, but at the University, it is believed recognition will be attained early in the fall. At Auburn the issue will be raised again, but the situation is so fluid that the outcome cannot be predicted.

4. A conference for women was held at Tuskegee on May 22. It was sponsored jointly by Southern Regional Council, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and ACHR. Twenty cities were represented by 150 persons present. The YWCA, Anti-Defamation League, League of Women Voters, Alabama Association of Women's Clubs, United Church Women, and National Council of Negro Women were represented in addition to the sponsoring agencies. Principal speaker was Mrs. Esther Peterson, Assistant Secretary of Labor.

5. Four issues of "The Alabama Council Bulletin"--our newsletter--were prepared and mailed to the members. Among the articles included were: suggested local-council projects in education, employment, and voter registration ( a number of projects in each category, with how-to-do-it outlines); an article on local council organization; an explanation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, its provisions, and the complaint process; an explanation of the Office of Education policy statement on school desegregation; a how-to article on writing to legislators; various news items on current activities of ACHR; and notes on the doings of local councils.

6. Other mailings made during the quarter were: a copy of LeRoy Collins' address at our annual meeting (a beautiful printing) mailed to all members of ACHR, all members of the state legislature, the Alabama delegation to the U. S. Congress, more than 200 prominent leaders in Alabama business and industry, about 250 mayors, all county commission chairmen, and the principal officers of all chambers of commerce. Copies of SRC's summary of the provisions of all "anti-poverty" legislation were mailed to mayors and county commission chairmen for the purpose of assisting them to take advantage of it. Copies of ACHR's executive committee's appeal to state leaders for thirty days of progress were mailed to all of the officials mentioned above. Materials on discrimination in hospitals, farm programs, southern federal courts, Title VI (2 pieces), and a case study of the operation of a human relations council in a crisis situation were sent to appropriate officers and committee chairmen in the local councils.

7. The executive director attended a conference of the directors from all state human relations councils affiliated with SRC and a subsequent meeting of the executive committee of SRC. The state directors adopted and presented to the SRC committee a resolution calling for a special committee to study revision of the relationship of SRC to the state councils, looking toward closer ties, united fund-raising efforts, closer coordination of program, publications, etc.

8. A resolution calling on state leaders in business, politics, industry, religion, the news media, and others to take measures of progress in race relations was adopted and published by the executive committee. Specific suggestions were made on police practices, employment, voting justice, support of civil justice by church and civic organizations, the formation of bi-racial committees, and the elimination of prejudicial policies by news media. As noted, this resolution was widely distributed. (By coincidence our resolution was due for publication on the same day that the similar one of the state chamber of commerce was to be published in all Alabama dailies. Release of ours was postponed one week at the request of the Community Relations Service.)

9. The committee organization of local councils requested by the ACHR executive committee last quarter has been obtained in Tuscaloosa, Muscle Shoals, Mobile, and Huntsville. We have yet to obtain the names and addresses of contact persons or committee chairmen for the various areas of concern in Birmingham, Montgomery, East Alabama, and Talladega.

10. Mr. Wilfred Turner, a graduate student at North Carolina University and a returned Peace Corps volunteer, is working for six weeks as a volunteer in Mobile. He will be there until mid-July. At present he is working on an employment survey among Negro substitute teachers.

11. Mr. Robert Valder has been approved by the National Association of Intergroup Relations officials as our Eleanor Roosevelt Intern for a period of one year. He is technically assigned to the Southern Regional Council (because ACHR has only one "professional" on its staff), but will work in Alabama with ACHR. Mr. Valder, who is from Iowa and now lives in New Orleans, will be available in August.

12. The membership of ACHR continues to increase and reached 954 as of the end of June. As indicated in monthly reports, our financial situation remains comparatively good, although there has been considerable shrinkage from non-payment of pledges. Unanticipated gifts have keep this shrinkage from causing serious difficulty thus far, but it could require future curtailment of program (e.g., insufficient travel funds for director and intern associate).

THE LOCAL COUNCILS

Birmingham. Rev. C. Herbert Oliver resigned as president of the Birmingham Council and moved to Brooklyn, where he had accepted a pastorate, in June. The functions of president have now been assumed by Rev. Joseph Ellwanger, First Vice President. The council gave Rev. Oliver a well attended "testimonial dinner" for their May meeting. At the April meeting about 25 members heard Dr. Herbert Eber give an excellent explanation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

East Alabama. Attendance at monthly meetings in East Alabama ranged from about 60 in April to 200 in June, when Attorney General Richmond Flowers spoke. Elsewhere in this report the sponsorship of four Head Start centers by East Alabama Council has been described. In addition, their Cultural Enrichment Committee is sponsoring a summer program at Tuskegee, jointly with the American Ethical Union. They have also staged a production of "Cinderella" in four schools and have held art exhibits at four schools. Their Literature Review Committee has distributed a mimeographed list of quotations and suggested readings.

Huntsville. The Huntsville Council, like the East Alabama Council, has begun to be an "organization of public record" in the sense of announcing meetings of special interest in the paper. One particularly popular meeting featured Dr. Rosey Pool, a well-known authority on Negro poetry in America. She spoke on "Impressions of an Outsider Looking In." The Huntsville Council, however, still seems to lack effective organization and specific distinct program objectives.

Mobile. The Mobile Council apparently held only one meeting during the quarter. It was attended by 22 persons. New officers were elected. The Board of Directors did meet subsequently, however, and effected a committee-chairman organization. We have mentioned the volunteer service of Mr. Wilfred Turner in Mobile. It is hoped that his activities, together with the evident concern of the Board members, will result in stronger organization. It should be said that individuals affiliated with the Mobile Council continue to do a great deal that is very valuable in human relations.

Montgomery. The executive director is unable to secure reports from Montgomery on meetings or activities. It seems that at least two meetings have been held, but their nature is not known.

Muscle Shoals. We have mentioned the disappointing results of the efforts to sponsor Head Start centers in Tuscumbia and Sheffield--a project on which the Muscle Shoals Council expended considerable energy. The group has had regular and well-attended meetings. They must be credited with the desegregation of Coffee Memorial Hospital in Florence and with an unusually large number of transfers of Negro children to formerly all-white schools under the Tri-Cities desegregation plans.

Talladega. Talladega Council apparently had no meetings during the quarter. We have no reports of activities by the organization as such.

Tuscaloosa. The Tuscaloosa Council has had three meetings, with attendance between 60 and 100 at each. Through its committees the group keeps a close watch on the local Head Start project and on the progress of school desegregation plans. Steps have been planned to secure better application of the city's approved school-desegregation plan. The Council's steering committee was instrumental in desegregation of the Social Service Club, and presented the program at that club's first integrated meeting.

Enterprise. Organization of this new council has already been reported.

THE STAFF

In addition to responsibilities in connection with the matters mentioned above, the executive director's schedule included the following:

Attendance at local council meetings in Huntsville, Birmingham (2), East Alabama, Tuscaloosa, and Muscle Shoals.

A meeting with the Board of the Mobile Council in Mobile, May 8.

Attendance at the National Civil Liberties Clearing House Conference in Washington, D. C., April 1 and 2.

A week of vacation, April 6-12.

A meeting with an existing human relations group in Decatur. (This group was organized on local initiative and at present does not desire affiliation with ACHR.)

Speeches to the Church and Society Commission of the Synod of Mid-South, United Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., on April 23, and to the Men of the Church, Lakewood Presbyterian, Huntsville, May 18.

Contact with various leaders in Birmingham, Selma, Montgomery, Tuscaloosa, Sheffield, Tuscumbia, Phenix City, Auburn, on field trips and visits incidental to other activies.

The executive director traveled approximately 4,500 miles within Alabama on ACHR business during the quarter. This does not include two trips to Atlanta and one to Washington by air.

Mrs. Lili Lockhart Rogers continues to serve efficiently as office secretary. She has missed no working days and usually is at work early. She is responsible for membership records, banking, all of the mimeographing, mailings, clipping and filing of news items, most letters dictated by the executive director, and correspondence files.

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FINANCIAL REPORT--June, 1965

RECEIPTS

| | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|
| Memberships, Contributions, Misc. | $1,094.50 | $15,652.66 |
| S. R. C. Grant | | 3,000.00 |
| TOTAL | $1,094.50 | $18,652.66 |

DISBURSEMENTS

Budgeted Expenditures:

| Account | Budget | This Month | Year to Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Executive Salary | $ 8,600.00 | $ 608.04 | $ 3,648.24 |
| Conditional Raise | 600.00 | | |
| Secretary's Salary | 3,600.00 | $ 241.52 | 1,229.35 |
| Payroll Taxes (1) | 600.00 | 190.32 | 1,066.41 |
| Travel | 2,400.00 | 224.77 | 1,322.48 |
| Rent | 1,500.00 | 100.00 | 600.00 |
| Office Supplies, Equip. | 1,800.00 | 76.29 | 1,277.85 |
| Telephone | 1,200.00 | 93.03 | 581.50 |
| Postage | 720.00 | 150.00 | 535.00 |
| Janitorial Service | 180.00 | 15.00 | 90.00 |
| Printing | 500.00 | | 621.41 |
| Literature | 300.00 | | 85.83 |
| Essay Contest | 500.00 | | |
| Intern Associate | 1,000.00 | | |
| Miscellaneous | 1,000.00 | | 322.54 |
| | $24,500.00 | $1,698.97 | $11,380.61 |

Non-budgeted Expenditures:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Volunteer Subsistence | 140.00 | 140.00 |
| Transfer to ANB checking | 2,000.00 | 2,000.00 |
| Transfer to Savings | | 2,000.00 |
| Annual Meeting (2) | | 884.02 |
| Refunds to Locals | | 609.50 |
| Student Conference (3) | | 228.95 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | $3,838.97 | $17,243.08 |

## RECAPITULATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand, June 1, 1965 | $5,327.46 |
| Receipts during June | 1,094.50 |
| Total | $6,421.96 |
| Expenditures during June | 3,838.97 |
| BALANCE ON HAND, June 30, 1965 (1st, Huntsville) | $2,582.99 |
| Balance in savings | 2,000.00 |
| Balance in ANB checking | 2,000.00 |
| TOTAL BALANCE | $6,582.99 |

(1) Budgeted amount to cover employers' share of FICA taxes only. Note that bulk of expenditure is withheld from salaries.
(2) $698.41 of this was collected in sale of luncheon tickets.
(3) Half of this refunded by NSA Southern Project.

## MEMBERSHIP ENROLLMENT

| Local Council | This Month | Previous | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Greater Birmingham | 8 | 138 | 146 |
| East Alabama | 3 | 321 | 324 |
| Huntsville | 4 | 34 | 38 |
| Mobile | 11 | 73 | 84 |
| Montgomery | 3 | 56 | 59 |
| Muscle Shoals | 7 | 77 | 84 |
| Talladega District | 1 | 33 | 34 |
| Tuscaloosa | 12 | 110 | 122 |
| Out of State | 6 | 37 | 43 |
| At Large | 4 | 6 | 10 |
| Enterprise | 10 | 0 | 10 |
| TOTALS | 69 | 885 | 954 |

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ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
QUARTERLY REPORT
July, August, September, 1965

## CONDITIONS IN ALABAMA DURING THE QUARTER

Probably the event of dominant interest in Alabama during this quarter as far as human relations interest is concerned, was the opening of schools and their desegregation for the first time under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Relative to steps of the past in school desegregation, this momentous event took place quietly. The results in terms of weakening the dual school system were not overwhelmingly favorable. Yet one could speculate that there is evidenced a considerable change in the attitudes of educators, businessmen, and perhaps the public in general from those of a few years past. Where there has been no change, or perhaps a hardening of the line, is in the political climate. The lack of constructive political leadership makes it almost impossible to realize any substantive change in the social order out of any changes in the minds and attitudes of people.

Passage of the Voting Rights Act was also a matter of great interest, of course. Here again, while there were problems, there was no great strife--but plenty of the predictable, intemperate denunciations of political officials.

## THE ALABAMA COUNCIL

This quarter saw two particularly significant movements of ACHR personnel. First, Mr. Robert S. Valder, our Associate Director, arrived in Huntsville with his family in July. After two weeks of training with NAIRO, he began work the first of August. Second, Mr. Nat Welch, our president, moved to Atlanta with his family. Mr. Welch is continuing until the end of his term as president, however.

A milestone for the Alabama Council was the enrollment of our 1,000th dues-paid member early in August. Membership now stands at 1,036.

Three issues of the newsletter, "The Alabama Council Bulletin," was published. They included items on the Voting Rights Act, the beginning of publication of The Southern Courier, techniques for hospital surveys and school desegregation efforts, and other items in addition to news of the doings of the state and local councils.

Our Head Start Project was begun July 5 and ended August 27. At a cost of about $39,000 ($33,000 in Federal funds and more than $6,000 in donated services, space, etc.) we enrolled 227 children in four centers. There were 15 teachers in as many classrooms, 15 teacher-aides, 1 dietitian, 3 cooks, 2 cook's helpers, 5 bus drivers, 4 maids or janitors and one full-time superintendent (Mrs. William D. Spears). We had 15 volunteers who gave at least 20 hours per week, and dozens whose time could not be counted as "in kind" contribution because they gave less than 20 hours per week. Medical and dental examinations were provided, of course, and there was a very good program of work with the children's parents. All in all, our Head Start centers were impressive--to both the Superintendent of Lee County schools and Office of Economic Opportunity evaluators by their own admission. Not the least significant attribute of our program was that, in the words of one of the children, "it was part white."

Mrs. Spears and Mr. Jerry Roden, who, as president of the East Alabama Council, put in long hours especially in getting the Head Start program started, are due a special note of commendation and appreciation.

In July, shortly after Head Start projects started throughout the state, the staff prepared and issued a "Special Report" titled "Nondiscrimination Compliance in Fourteen Head Start Programs Operated by Alabama School Systems." The report resulted in quick investigation by the Office of Economic Opportunity into instances of discrimination which were pointed out. The Council staff feel that its publication helped to impress upon the public, or some of the public, as well as educators, the meaning of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. (In at least three instances the investigation resulted in a cut-off of funds, and in a number of others it brought changes in staffing and policy to effect compliance.)

Another "Special Report" on "The First Year of School Desegreation Under Title Six in Alabama" was prepared in late September. It reviews relevant events from about the first of the year, includes a section on the reaction in Alabama to the regulations of the Office of Education, and one on the results of the regulations. Its chief conclusion is that "freedom-of-choice" desegregation plans are not likely to accomplish the purpose of Title VI in Alabama.

Preparations are nearly complete for a conference on the Voting Rights Act to be held in Montgomery on October 2. Speakers will be Wiley Branton, Executive Secretary of the President's Council on Equal Opportunity; Harold Glickstein, General Counsel of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission; William T. Atkinson, State Voting Examiner of the Civil Service Commission; and Mrs. Martha Witt Smith, Public Relations Chairman of the Alabama Board of Registrars Association. In connection with the conference, an effort is being made to gather information by means of questionnaires. With information from the conference itself and interviews, this information will form the basis for a projected report.

## THE LOCAL COUNCILS

Most of the councils did not have regular meetings during the summer months, but several were very busy, nevertheless.

Birmingham. The Birmingham Council initiated and helped to organize and carry out a rather extensive effort to inform Negro parents and students of the provisions of the court-ordered school desegregation plans of the Birmingham, Jefferson County, Bessemer, and Fairfield school systems. They secured the cooperation of the NAACP and the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights in this project.

East Alabama. The East Alabama Council sponsored a series of six weekly lectures at the Presbyterian Church in Auburn. Subjects covered a wide range of human relations concerns. They are now launching a program of voter registration and education in Lee County which may be expanded to include others. We have already reported the splendid Head Start program which East Alabama Council sponsored with the assistance of the state council staff.

Mobile. The Mobile Council had a meeting in August at which the Executive Director spoke. They have also started having regularly scheduled meeting of their Board of Directors each month. The Board is organized on a committee plan now. These two relatively recent developments have helped to give both movements and direction to the activities of the Mobile group. They are continuing their program on employment and beginning on a survey of Mobile hospitals and a program of voter education (a basic course in government, with emphasis on local government.)

Muscle Shoals. The Muscle Shoals group also had meetings during the summer. The only specific activity to come to the attention of the Executive Director was the rallying of support for Superintendent R. A. Thornton when he was criticized by Gov. Wallace for going too far with school desegregation. (However, the council serves as a clearinghouse and nurturing community for many informal groups and for individuals engaged in efforts to better human relations. The Executive Director has observed that many good things that happen in the Muscle Shoals area happen, at least in part, because the council is there, although they are not the result of a formally stated and organized program of the Muscle Shoals Council.)

Tuscaloosa. The Tuscaloosa group assisted with the local Head Start project, which was sponsored by the Board of Education. They attempted to find white children to enter the two centers, both of which were in traditionally Negro schools. (They found some parents who were quite willing , but vacation plans and other conflicts prevented.) The group also worked on school desegregation. (Whether or not their efforts had anything to do with it, Tuscaloosa had a relatively high number of transfers of Negro students to formerly white schools.)

THE STAFF

The staff performed many functions connected with the activities reported above, of course. There were others which perhaps are not obvious.

A partial listing of the Associate Director's other activities would include: intensive work with the Huntsville and Montgomery councils and communities; attendance at a three-day Southern Inter-Agency Conference meeting in Atlanta; establishment of many contacts with Civil Rights groups and leaders in the Black Belt to secure attendance at the Voting Rights Conference and for general liaison; preparation and mailing of our memorandum and checklist on hospital desegregation; preparation of the questionnaire to be used in connection with the Voter Registration report; liaison with the New York City Human Rights Commission on "Operation Reclaim" -- for Negro teachers who lose positions because of desegregation; authorship of an article about "Reclaim" and other articles for the newsletter; and helpful contributions, too numerous to mention, to the operation of the office.

A partial listing of the Executive Director's other activities would include arranging and attending the initial meeting of members of the Birmingham Council with Miss Jean Fairfax concerning the school desegregation effort; serving as a consultant at the Human Relations Institute of Spring Hill College in Mobile; preaching at Fellowship Presbyterian Church in Huntsville (once); attendance at one council meeting and one board meeting in Mobile in addition to the visit in connection with the Human Relations Institute; one meeting with the Enterprise group; a speech on the Alabama Council to an independent human relations group in Decatur; and a visit to Selma on a mission of conciliation at the request of a city official.

Several other functions apart from those connected with major programming engaged the attention of both staff executives, such as efforts to help the Southern Courier find outlets in Huntsville and throughout the state; attendance at portions of the S.C.L.C. and N.A.A.C.P. conventions in Birmingham; attendance at a meeting of the Muscle Shoals Council; and several interviews and small meetings in Huntsville

Mrs. Benny J. Rogers continues to serve with remarkable efficiency in the office.

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ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
QUARTERLY REPORT
October, November, December, 1965

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL

More than 200 people from 36 organizations attended the conference on the Voting Rights Act sponsored by the Alabama Council in Montgomery on October 2. Wiley Branton, then executive secretary of the President's Council on Equal Opportunity and now an Assistant Attorney General, was the principal speaker. The conference seems to have been well-timed and, we believe, provided one of the first opportunities for civil rights workers to air the problems and frustrations caused them by the allegedly cautious enforcement policies of the Justice Department.

The special report titled "The First Year of Desegregation Under Title VI in Alabama," published at the end of the preceding quarter, proved to be somewhat in demand during this quarter. The Office of Education asked for 50 copies. The Superintendent of Lauderdale County Schools requested 36 copies. A professor of education at Auburn University asked for 30 copies. We received a number of requests for one or two copies.

The Alabama Council won the $1,000 George Mitchell Award of the Southern Regional Council for having the largest percentage increase in membership among state councils during the preceding year (ending September 30). The award was made at SRC's annual meeting in November.

A grant of $12,000 per year for three years was made available to the Alabama Council through the Southern Regional Council for a Rural Advancement Project. At the end of the quarter we are still in the process of looking for a director for this project.

Two important mailings were made during the quarter. The SRC report, "Southern Justice: An Indictment," was mailed to all judges, state and federal, in Alabama, as well as to U. S. Attorneys and court commissioners. "Fair Employment is Good Business" and "Some Do's and Don'ts on Title VII" were mailed to about 200 business and industrial leaders.

Three issues of the newsletter were published, one in each month.

Plans for the Annual Meeting are well underway. It is to be held in Montgomery on February 5. Mrs. Frankie M. Freeman, a member of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, is to be the principal speaker. John Doar, Assistant Attorney General, is to be an honored guest.

The 1966 Membership and Funding Campaign was launched early in December. Our goal is to raise $28,000 exclusive of foundation grants during the year, and to enroll at least 1,250 members. Most of the activity in connection with the campaign will be in January.

J. E. Stanfield resigned as Executive Director, effective December 31, in order to accept a position as Director of Field Activities with Southern Regional Council. The Executive Committee is interviewing possible successors.

THE LOCAL COUNCILS

Birmingham. The October meeting of the Birmingham Council was devoted to presentation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as it pertains to hospitals. The presentation was made by Robert Valder, associate director of ACHR. The group decided to conduct surveys in all hospitals in Jefferson County. They continued to work on this throughout the quarter. At the November meeting, city councilman George G. Seibels, Jr., spoke on the need for Negro policemen in Birmingham and on the status of the city's efforts to secure recruits. This speech received considerable notice from the local press. The December meeting was given over to organizational business (plans for the membership campaign) except for a progress report from the hospital survey committee.

East Alabama. The East Alabama Council has applied for a follow-through program to work with the children who were in last summer's Head Start program. The proposed program will provide social services, medical and dental care, and tutoring to the children and their families. The group has held regular meetings. They have strengthened their organizational structure, having formed what are, in effect, sub-groups for Tuskegee, Auburn, and Opelika. They have also filled all of the recommended committee posts and have carefully prepared their membership and financial campaign.

Huntsville. The Huntsville chapter has also been working on organization. They devoted their October meeting to committee planning sessions. At the November meeting the housing committee presented a movie, "Property Values and Race." Members of the Huntsville Housing Authority and the Board of Realtors were present and participated in the discussion. The Education committee was also particularly active. They started a one-night-a-week study hall in an underprivileged neighborhood and have made a real start on a long-range effort to secure a large number of transfers from Council High to integrated schools next fall. (Since Council High has only about 300 students, they hope to secure so many transfers that continued operation of this traditionally all-Negro high school will not be possible.) For their December meeting, the Huntsville group had their annual Christmas party, which was well-attended.

Mobile. The Mobile group also conducted hospital surveys during the quarter, using the questionnaire provided by the state office. They visited the administrators of Mobile Infirmary, Providence Hospital, Mobile General Hospital, and Thomas Hospital in Fairhope. Doctor's Hospital refused on grounds that they were then under investigation by HEW. All claimed a policy of desegregation, but the committee found a wide range of difference in actual desegregation. Under the impetus of an address by Dr. C. G. Gomillion at their October meeting, the Mobile chapter began a series of classes on government, with emphasis on local government, for new voters and potential voters; city officials are putting in appearances. The November meeting featured a panel discussion on school desegregation in Mobile--with a view to organization in the community to secure a faster desegregation rate.

Montgomery. Montgomery chapter has reported practically no activity.

Muscle Shoals. The Muscle Shoals group has had regular meetings, one of which was the annual Christmas party for children. We have received no report of current activities and concerns, however, except for the arrangement of a challenge meeting on January 6 in connection with the membership and funding drive.

Talladega. The Talladega group had one meeting, December 6, at which members of the Talladega Improvement Association were asked to join the Council and to invite white acquaintances to do the same. The Talladega group completed a Title VI survey of the local hospital and filed a complaint with HEW about discrimination in the state schools for the deaf and blind.

Tuscaloosa. The Tuscaloosa council has had regular meetings and has worked on problems of school desegregation and municipal employment practices. Only one newsletter was published by the Tuscaloosa group in the quarter, and it was actually an announcement, so that we are unable to be more specific about program.

## THE STAFF

Members of the staff had much to do in connection with activities reported above. Some of their other activities were as follows:

The Associate Director continued to work intensively with the Huntsville and Montgomery chapters. In addition, he made valuable contacts on trips to Gadsden and Anniston (made for the purpose of determining the possibilities of establishing new chapters). His travel included two trips to Gadsden, one to Anniston, two to Talladega, two to Atlanta, four to Montgomery, and two to Birmingham. He arranged a meeting with the state committee of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service on the problem of securing fair crop-allotment elections. He made talks at a Birmingham Council meeting, a Talladega student meeting, the Montgomery Improvement Association's 10th Annual Meeting, and to a women's group in Huntsville. He assisted the Talladega chapter in filing complaints to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare about discriminatory practices in the schools for the deaf and blind at Talladega.

The Executive Director moderated the Voting Rights meeting. He spoke at a meeting of the Methodist Student Movement state board meeting. He attended the Alabama Democratic Conference convention in Mobile and a meeting of the Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission. He attended two meetings at SRC. He spoke at the convention of the Texas Social Welfare Association in Houston. He spoke at the Unitarian church in Huntsville. In the course of the quarter, he attended one or more meetings of local councils in Muscle Shoals, Tuscaloosa, Mobile, Birmingham, East Alabama, Talladega, and Huntsville.

## THE OFFICE

A notation should be made that the office was moved, in November, to a suite of offices (#5) in the same building in which the previous, one-room office was located. This move required no change of address and no reprinting of stationery, etc., but provided much more adequate working conditions for the staff.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

January 1, 1966

TO: Members of the Board of Directors
FROM: Ed Stanfield, former Executive Director
SUBJECT: December financial report

Two or three items on the December financial report need clarification:

1. The expenditure for "Executive Salary" during the month is misleading. When I began work officially on September 15, 1964, I discovered that, for reasons unknown to me, Rev. Jimerson was being paid on the first and fifteenth of each month, while the secretary was being paid on the fifteenth and the last day of the month. Because it made little practical difference I have never bothered to change this practice until now. Thus I have always been paid on the first of each month for the last half of the preceding month. I felt that we should get this back on the right basis. Hence I received three pay checks in December-- on the 1st, 15th, and 31st -- but the first was for the latter half of November.

I trust this is not too confusing and will meet with your approval. At any rate, be assured that I am not taking undue advantage of my departure!

2. $1,000 of the amount reported as received under "Miscellaneous Receipts" during December is actually only a transfer from our savings account. I am asking our accountant to help us find a less misleading way of reporting such transactions.

3. It is most important that it be understood that the reported total balance of $7,000.82 is not a USABLE balance. The USABLE balance as of 12/31/65 was $2,000.82 -- INCLUDING RESERVE. (In fact, some of that balance has now been used for rent and other costs which had to be met at the first of January.) The $5,000 receipt under "Foundation Grants" was for the sole purpose of contracting for "Alabama Council on Human Relations Interns" on the staff of the Southern Courier. This amount was paid to the Courier as of January 1, 1966. THE POINT IS THAT THE TREASURY IS ACTUALLY VERY LOW AND THIS IS BY NO MEANS A TIME TO RELAX ON FUND-RAISING EFFORTS!!!

I am leaving the suggestion that designated funds be so labeled in future monthly financial reports. Meanwhile, I hope that all members of the Board will realize that we are to be handling large sums of money for special projects during the coming year -- and a sizable bank balance does not necessarily mean a comfortable operating fund.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

January 1, 1966

TO: Members of the Executive Committee
FROM: Ed Stanfield
SUBJECT: Change of date for committee meeting; other related matters.

Because too many members could not attend a meeting on Thursday, Jan. 13, the date of the meeting for the purpose of interviewing James Sessions has been changed to Wednesday, Jan. 12. The meeting will be in the Bankhead Hotel in Birmingham and will convene formally at 1:00 p.m. -- although, for reasons explained below, we would like as many of you as possible to be present at 12 noon. Please come to the meeting room, which will be posted in the lobby and on the elevators.

At least one member of the committee could not arrive until Wednesday evening. I am going to schedule the Sessions interview, therefore, for late afternoon or early evening, with the expectation that any decision on the executive director position will be postponed until evening. There are other very important items of business to be taken care of in the afternoon. Please plan to remain in session until 8:00 or 8:30 p.m.

After consultation with Nat Welch, I have decided to docket for this meeting some interviews for the director of our Rural Advancement Project ~~director~~. Nat and I feel that the delay in employing an executive director makes it advisable to procede with this project -- with the Executive Committee making the personnel decision. We do have two or three very likely candidates and it is quite possible that this matter can be settled at this meeting. Nat and I think it desirable to have the selection made before the annual meeting.

I am therefore asking candidates for this position to be at the Bankhead at noon, so that we may have lunch together on an informal basis and then procede with the formal interviews at 1:00. I will ask Bob Valder to send you some data on these men before the meeting.

In addition to all of this there will be a few "housekeeping" details to be taken care of. It will be full and very important afternoon and evening.

Quarterly Reports

DA

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
QUARTERLY REPORT
January, February, March, 1966

## THE ALABAMA COUNCIL

On February 1, 1966, ACHR began its Rural Advancement Project under the directorship of Mr. Lewis Black.

The Board of Directors of ACHR held its semi-annual meeting on the evening of February 4, 1966, in Montgomery.

The Alabama Council sponsored a student conference in Montgomery on February 4, 1966. About 80 students and faculty members representing 18 different organizations from 12 colleges and universities attended.

More than 200 persons representing 35 organizations from about 40 cities and towns attended ACHR's annual meeting in Montgomery, on February 5, 1966. Mrs. Frankie M. Freeman of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights was the featured speaker. Assistant Attorney General, John Doar, was present to receive a statement of appreciation from the Alabama Council. Workshops, emphasizing practical problems and possible features, were held in the morning.

The Southern Regional Council's regular grant-in-aid to ACHR was reduced from $6,000 annually to $5,500. Under a new, expanded grant-in-aid program, the Alabama Council will receive an additional $9,000 from the Southern Regional Council--this money is to be used primarily for staff purposes.

Three regular issues of the newsletter were published, one in each month. One "extra" issue concerning the Annual Meeting was also published.

The 1966 Membership and Funding Campaign was actively conducted by all chapters during January and February; some chapters worked hard on this even in March (for an up-to-date report on membership, see the March financial statement).

The Alabama Council co-sponsored a "State Leadership Conference on School Desegregation" which was held in Montgomery on March 12. About 300 persons from over 30 counties attended.

The main program emphasis this quarter has been and will probably continue to be during most of the next quarter, that of school desegregation.

We still continue to receive requests for copies of the special report published last September on "The First Year of Desegregation Under Title VI in Alabama."

## THE LOCAL COUNCILS

Birmingham. The January meeting was Birmingham's Challenge Meeting. One of the speakers was Mr. Hosea Williams of SCLC. The February meeting was given to reports from a "Student Tutoring Group;" Dr. John Nixon, state president of the NAACP, and four government officials presented a panel on employment; the Director of Miles College's Manpower Program explained what they were doing. At both the February and March meetings, considerable discussion on the Liberty Supermarket situation was had. The March meeting was devoted primarily to school desegregation.

LOCAL COUNCILS (Continued)

A committee was named and Mrs. Winifred Falls of the American Friends Service Committee spoke. The chapter adopted this project as their main program for the next few months.

East Alabama. January was the Challenge Meeting for East Alabama. During February and March, Voter Education and Operation Head Start have been the main program concerns. East Alabama has been recently funded for a follow-through program from last summer's Head Start program. At present their main project is school desegregation. Their April meeting next week will feature a panel composed of the superintendents of Lee and Macon County and Auburn City School Systems, as well as representatives from those three Boards of Education.

Huntsville. The January meeting was Huntsville's Challenge Meeting. The February meeting was presented by the Education Committee which explained the study hall program which they have been conducting and the school desegregation project of the Huntsville chapter. Employment was the topic of the March meeting; equal employment opportunity men from Marshall Space Flight Center and the U. S. Army were the featured speakers. Huntsville's main program has been and will continue to be school desegregation.

Mobile. Mobile's Challenge Meeting was held in January. In February, a panel was presented on "Mobile's Most Pressing Problems in the Area of Civil Rights." In March, Mayor Langan spoke about "Mobile's City Government." As is true with other chapters, Mobile's main program for some time has been work on school desegregation, and will continue to be so.

Montgomery. The January meeting was Montgomery's Challenge Meeting. Desegregation of recreational facilities has been Montgomery's major concern this quarter.

Muscle Shoals. The January meeting was Muscle Shoal's Challenge Meeting. A movie and discussion about fair housing highlighted the February meeting. In March, the Education Committee conducted the program which dealt with an explanation of the new guidelines and organizing for school desegregation.

Talladega. Talladega's Challenge Meeting was held in January. In February, the Talladega District Chapter met in Anniston, and the March meeting in Sylacauga.

Tuscaloosa. Tuscaloosa's Challenge Meeting was held in January. Their March meeting featured a talk by Rev. T. Y. Rogers. Tuscaloosa's chapter has been getting involved in voter registration; they are now beginning to work on school desegregation.

THE STAFF

Members of the staff had much to do in connection with activities reported above. Some of their other activities were as follows.

The RAP Director has travelled extensively since beginning work on February 1, 1966. He has been primarily concerned with helping local groups establish credit unions, apply for Voter Education Project funds from the Southern Regional Council, and work on school desegregation. He and the Associate Director were both closely

involved in a problem in Monroe County. He has also been working closely with OEO offices on a Community Action Program proposal and a projected housing program. Besides numersous trips through most of the Western Black Belt counties, he made one trip to Huntsville, one to Atlanta, and a number of trips to Montgomery and Birmingham. He attended a number of conferences including three in Montgomery. The RAP Director has also made a number of talks to local groups. He also spent the past week in travelling in Alabama with Jac Wasserman, Field Director of the National Sharecroppers Fund.

The Associate Director made the arrangements for the Board of Directors meeting, the student conference and the annual meeting. He spoke at six of the Challenge Meetings, and has attended four other monthly meetings of local chapters. He attended three conferences in Montgomery and spent a week travelling with the RAP Director. Trips include two to Atlanta and one to Philadelphia as part of the NAIRO Intern program.

February 20, 1957

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I know I am an unconscionable time writing you about the Greater Birmingham Council's compilation of church statements, but it is one of those things that defy the quick judgement and so tend to get deferred.

We see great value in the compilation, but frankly haven't been able to satisfy ourselves as to the best way to realize the benefits. Printing it would be quite expensive, and I am not sure that the demand for such an exhaustive compilation would justify the sizeable investment. Therefore I offer the following alternative possibilities:

1. If the Greater Birmingham Council can print it, or get it printed by somebody else, we will gladly step aside. And, in that case, we might be able to buy a modest number of copies for distribution.

2. If printing in full is not in sight, we would consider a condensed version as a special issue of New South. Our issues of New South reprinting church statements have been popular items.

3. It would be possible to mimeograph the compilation, either in full or with some slight condensation. We could do this in the form of one of our special reports, which you are familiar with. I might say that the special reports have attracted a good deal of favorable attention, and have evoked requests for additional copies from a good many useful sources.

Needless to say, any use that we might contemplate would carry with it full and complete credit to the Greater Birmingham Council for the actual work of compilation. I will hold on to the manuscript until I hear from you. If the decision requires the return of the manuscript, you will get it back promptly.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Dictated but not read

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# RELIGIOUS BODIES

# AND

# THE SUPREME COURT DECISION

COMPILED

BY

THE BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

SR-8

July 31, 1957

# BAPTIST BODIES

## AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION-(Action taken by American Baptist Convention at Seattle, Washington)

We recognize that during the past ten years great strides have been made in race relations in America and that it was a logical next step for the Supreme Court to declare two years ago that our public schools must be integrated to assure equality of educational opportunity.

We fully support the Supreme Court decision and deplore the resistance to this decision in certain states where integration of public education has met organized society.

Our Convention has spoken out against segregation and has repeatedly urged church leaders to work as unceasingly for a nonsegregated church as for an integrated society.

We rejoice that integration is progressing in the churches of our American Baptist Convention. Recent staff and missionary appointments testify to our intent as a religious fellowship to see that there is no racial " wall of separation" in our common service in the Kingdom. At the same time, we confess the urgency of accelerating this trend, which still is marked by futile effort, insincerity, and unwillingness to change.

Since the probability of developing integrated church congregations is contingent on the spread of open housing, we acknowledge our responsibility to work for conditions in our communities which will assure to persons the right to rent or own a home anywhere in the community solely on the basis of personal preference and financial ability rather than on the basis of race, creed or color.

Thus, in prayer and in penitence for our own failures, we pledge ourselves to work at all levels for justice, equality, and brotherhood among the races of America.

Nation Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Inc.-1954

According to Christ and Paul there can be no question of race relations, because there is only one race, the human race. Man himself has divided the race on the basis of color.

If man would only stop worrying about petty differences and concentrate on likenessess, there would be no race problem. The problem is not really race relations, but human relations.

Segregation in the church of God is the ugliest thing in the religious world, and a disgrace to a Christian nation.

SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

Action Taken at Southern Baptist Convention in 42

St. Louis, Missouri, June, 1954

In the light of the recent decision handed down by the Supreme Court of our nation declaring segregation of the races to be unconstitutional, and in view of the position of this Convention in adhering to the basic moral principles of our religion as they apply in race relations, we recommend:

1. That we recognize the fact that this Supreme Court decision is in harmony with the constitutional guarantee of equal freedom to all citizens, and with the Christian principles of equal justice and love for all men.

2. That we commend the Supreme Court for deferring the application of the principle both as to time and procedure until the nation shall have had time to work out methods by which transition from the present practice may be effected.

3. That we urge our people and all Christians to conduct themselves in this period of adjustment in the spirit of Christ; that we pray that God may guide us in our thinking and our attitudes to the end that we may help and not hinder the progress of justice and brotherly love; that we may exercise patience and good will in the discussions that must take place, and give a good testimony to the meaning of Christian faith and discipleship.

4. That we express our belief in the public school system of our nation as one of the greatest factors in American history for the maintenance of democracy and our common culture, and we express the hope that in the working out of necessary adjustments, its place in our educational program shall not be impaired.

5. That we urge Christian statesmen and leaders in our churches to use their leadership in positive thought and planning to the end that this crisis in our national history shall not be made the occasion for new and bitter prejudices, but a movement toward a united nation embodying and proclaiming a democracy that will commend freedom to all peoples.

May, 1957

● To the Southern Baptist Convention in Chicago

# ON RACIAL TENSIONS

This is a portion of the report of the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention in Chicago.

Some of our people feel that we should avoid any discussion of this issue because of its controversial nature. This is a strange note to inject into the affairs of Baptists. Religious controversy led to the stoning of the prophets, the crucifixion of Christ, the beheading of Paul, and the death of unnumbered martyrs through the ages. The churches of Christ have made progress and have changed the course of history by the introduction of discordant ideas. A conformist church never changes anything.

In this our day of world mission advance, we cannot avoid this issue. The problem is rooted deeply in our history and is the product of a series of tragic social experiences that have left their marks on both the Negro and white citizens of our country. The people of both groups must gird themselves with patience, the white man fighting the pride of his old mastery and the Negro the pride of his new achievements.

### Individuals as Persons

We must remember that in this controversy we are dealing with individuals as persons. We cannot depend upon automatic social processes to produce harmony as if all the people of any one race are alike in quality of character or capacity. Nor can we depend on laws that fix the status and define the rights of individuals in one race in relation to those in another. Legal and social patterns that doom all Negroes to a service "place" in American society regardless of their cultural progress can only make for increasing conflict. Laws are futile solutions. They cannot make peace. The Christian cannot stop at the point of law. He is motivated by love and grace.

We must realize that the racial issue is basically a moral and religious question. We do not mean by this that the churches should seek to implement court decisions, although any church, church body, or individual should be left free to express himself on the question. We do mean that the Christian is obligated to accept and follow the teachings of Christ with respect to the dignity and worth of every individual, irrespective of his race or position in human society. Any movement, system, or law that denies this truth by statement, implication, or social practice is not in accord with the teachings of Jesus nor the principles of our Christian faith.

In accordance with these teachings, this Commission protests the violence in all its forms that is used against Negro people in the current segregation issue or at any other time. In recognition of the Negro's rights as a citizen, the law enforcement agencies of local, state, and national governments should protect him, irrespective of his position or culture, from lawless attacks on his person or property.

We believe that our nation cannot long endure these lawless attacks made upon the person and property of free citizens in contempt of the law and the courts of justice. The perpetrators of these crimes, regardless of their position or influences in the community, should be brought to legal justice.

### Freedom Imperiled

Furthermore, in keeping with our historic Baptist position of the freedom of conscience and expression in religion under the leadership of the Holy Spirit, we call to the attention of the people in our churches and other citizens of our country the fact that any suppression of these freedoms, whether it be by the laws or state or by economic, civic, social, or church pressures, denies the voluntary principles in religion and imperils both religious and political freedom at its source.

We are witnessing today the betrayal of these freedoms by vocal minorities in some communities and churches who are able to arouse sufficient opposition to force the resignation of pastors and to incite retaliation against peaceful citizens who speak or act according to their convictions on racial justice and interracial goodwill. The people of our nation should be reminded that both the voice of God and the verdict of history warn us that those who deny these freedoms to others do not long retain them for themselves.

# OMAHA NOTEBOOK

In greeting the new Moderator in Omaha, the retiring Moderator, David W. Proffitt, said to him:

**"The election assures you of three things. It means the most strenuous year of work in your life, clean sheets and a new bed every night, and the most thrilling Christian experience of any man's lifetime."**

* * *

The vote on the moderatorial race carried here last week did not show the result of the first ballot. That was recorded as follows: Harold R. Martin, 385; Rex S. Clements, 235; William H. Hudnut, Jr., 143; and Paul C. Warren, 109. On the second ballot it stood: Martin, 558; Clements, 234; Hudnut, 47; Warren, 32.

* * *

Glenn C. McGee, pastor of Trinity church, Tucson, Ariz., close friend of the new Moderator, was appointed by him to be Vice-Moderator. The Arizona pastor made the nominating speech for the new Moderator.

* * *

*The General Assembly Daily News* reported that Jarvis Cotton, of Western Seminary, threw his straw hat into the Missouri River upon arriving in Omaha. Temperature in Pittsburgh was 86 when he left and was 41 when he reached Omaha.

* * *

Elder R. J. Wig, of Los Angeles, said that of more than 142,000 Presbyterians who died during the last five years only 501 made any bequests to any of the boards or agencies of the church.

* * *

Wade A. Mansur, Omaha pastor, is reputed to have written a hymn a day for the last five years or more.

* * *

Ruling elder John H. Rick, of Washington, D. C., recommended that the traditional "Mr. Moderator, Fathers and Brethren," be changed since there are now women elders and ministers. The Assembly adopted the recommendation of the Bills and Overtures Committee, declining to recommend any change. Dr. Clements, presenting the report, said "students of language know that the use of one includes the other and at the 1952 Assembly we were reminded the one embraces the other."

* * *

John Sutherland Bonnell, of the Fifth Avenue church, New York, was named the 1958 preacher for the National Church in Washington on the general theme of "The Reformed Church and Evangelism."

* * *

General Council Secretary Glenn W. Moore announced to the Assembly that 27 persons were in the building of the new Ruskin Heights Church, Hickman Mills, near Kansas City, when it was demolished by a tornado May 21. He said there was no knowledge at that time as to how many were saved, but that the minister, Harry B. Collier, and his family were safe. The Assembly expressed its concern and sympathy to the congregation and ordered that immediate steps be taken to provide all possible assistance through the procedures adopted for disaster relief. The Moderator led the Assembly in prayer.

The Presbyterian Outlook

Continuing The Presbyterian Tribune

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# EDITORIAL

## Pentecost

Whatever interpretation we may give to the prophetic outpouring of the Spirit and the ecstatic speaking in tongues or strange languages, it seems certain that the Spirit descended upon laymen, ordinary men and women, who became channels for God's voice without much arguing about its nature or splitting hairs about doctrine. . . .

Pentecost was the first ecumenical event. Young Christianity was "in one place" and of "one accord." This is the reason the Christian Church values the celebration of Pentecost again at a time when it endeavors to recover this unity. —*Friends Journal.*

---

The Spirit comes as a blessed disturber to people as individuals and as groups. The personal habits and social customs that were thought to be fixed are changed, not merely because "those who would turn the world upside down have come," but because the "free, life-renewing Spirit invaded this world from outside."—*Christian Advocate.*

---

Eastern Orthodox, Anglican and Protestant churches all over the world have been called to prayer on Sunday, June 9, 1957, by the seven presidents of the World Council of Churches. They will meet in worship to commemorate the fiftieth day after the first Easter when disciples from many nations received the divine guidance which meant the beginning of the Christian mission (Acts 2).

Jerusalem was set between East and West, a junction of cultures and melting pot of old faiths. Today conflicts of cultures again spread over the whole world. God will send the same resources to his people: inspired power to tell men and women of Christ, and the fire of divine love, a fruit of the Spirit.

In the early church, Pentecost ranked with Christmas and Easter, as the third great festival of the Christian year. It was considered one of the most joyous times of the church calendar, and was celebrated with songs and festivals.

From the World Council of Churches, because of its ecumenical or worldwide nature, Pentecost has special significance. Many of its 165 churches in 50 nations use the day as an opportunity to help the local congregation better understand the worldwide fellowship of the local church.

—From the World Council of Churches.

## Too Late?

In this issue we have two articles on the church's use of mass communications; particularly radio and television. They deserve serious study. The one by Mr. Tredwell is an enlargement upon his remarks to the Birmingham Assembly.

While the two articles deserve serious attention, and that is our reason for printing them, it is also important to look at the Tredwell recommendation and the approval given by the Birmingham Assembly in the light of Mr. Betts' important call to cooperation in this field.

Once more, in the case of the report submitted to the Birmingham meeting, we have an illustration of the bad procedure to be noted when a committee report is not provided long enough before an Assembly meets to permit discussion and deliberate consideration. This one was put into commissioners' hands as they reached Birmingham and was doubtless read by less than one in 20 before it was presented in the midst of a hurried session—so hurried that the speaker was cut from 20 minutes to less than 10 for his presentation.

Let us simply make a footnote once more to call to the attention of all present and potential committeemen the advisability of submitting their reports for publication in ample time for the church-at-large, and particularly the commissioners, to have an opportunity to discuss them.

# ANY QUESTIONS?

Questions are answered here by persons serving on a radio-telephone panel. Most questions are submitted by telephone; some by mail (to The Outlook). Answers are recorded and when submitted for amendment or revision. Participants here are: Charles D. Holland, Presbyterian, USA, retired minister of Richmond, Va.; and Massey M. Heltzel, Ginter Park church, Richmond, Va.

### JESUS' CRUCIFIXION

*Why was Jesus crucified?*

HOLLAND: This question could have two meanings, and I am not sure which the questioner has in mind. He could be asking what were the grounds on which the leaders of the Jews sought and secured the crucifixion of Christ; or, he could be asking why, in terms of Christian doctrine, Christ was crucified. The first can be answered very simply. Because of their enmity and opposition, the leaders of the Jews, who feared for their own authority, trumped up charges against Christ, and it was on the ground of these false charges that they demanded and got the decree of execution. If the question is asked in the second sense, we may answer that the crucifixion of Christ was part of God's eternal plan for the salvation of mankind. "The Lamb of God," we are told, "was slain before the foundation of the world." By this it is meant that, in the eternal decrees of God, it having been determined that man should be created and that he would sin, it was also at that time determined that there should be a Redeemer to save him. When our first parents, Adam and Eve, were created and placed in the Garden of Eden, they were given life on condition of obedience to God, but they were told that, if they disobeyed, in that day they would "surely die"—that is, they would become subject to the penalty of death. They did disobey, and thereby brought upon themselves, and upon all mankind after them, the condemnation and penalty of sin. By reason of the corruption engendered in human nature by their sin, it has become true that "there is none righteous, no not one," and "all have sinned and come short of the glory of God." The only way man could be saved from the penalty of sin was by someone else who was not touched by sin taking his place and bearing that penalty for him. This only God could do, as He did in the person of his Son in his death on the cross. And it is through faith in this redemption which the Lord Jesus Christ purchased for him, that man can be, and can only be, saved. This, of course, is the doctrine of substitutionary atonement, which is one of the cardinal tenets of our Christian faith.

HELTZEL: Mr. Holland has shown both the divine side and the human side of the crucifixion of Christ. It occurs to me that in Peter's sermon at Pentecost there is one statement which shows both in one verse. He refers to "This Jesus, delivered up according to the plan and foreknowledge of God, whom you crucified and killed by the hands of lawless men." From the human side they simply wanted to get rid of this perverter of the nation, as they called him, this man who disturbed their status quo. From the divine side, he was delivered up according to the definite plan of God, who had in mind the making of atonement for human sin. I just thought that verse rather clinched the matter.

REPORT OF THE CHRISTIAN LIFE COMMISSION

TO THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION,

MEETING AT KANSAS CITY, 1956

Section on Race Relations

"A World in Conflict

"It is nothing new to say that we live in a world in conflict. Some call it simply a world in change. Others describe it as a world disintegrated. But regardless of what may be our viewpoint, we are in the midst of a great awakening among the peoples. For the first time in human history this awakening is worldwide in its scope. It seems that God is preparing the ground for his ultimate worldwide triumph. This final triumph is in keeping with his plan of the ages. In the death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus, God has made clear what that plan is and what our part in it is to be. He does not promise us there will be no conflicts, but he does promise us the power to overcome them and a peace that will sustain us in the struggle.

"The reason for these surging movements throughout the world is unique and challenging. For many centuries of human history the struggle was for material possessions - nations fought for wealth and a place in the sun. While that struggle still continues in some parts of the world, the major conflicts of our century are caused by long submerged peoples fighting for their recognition as persons and their inherent freedoms. The major cause for their awakening is the spread of the gospel over the earth. Wherever the Christian gospel has been preached it has awakened in the people a sense of their dignity and worth and has set them straining at the shackles of their bondage.

"The Courage of Prudence

"In view of our responsibility as a major group of world Christians we must

be mature enough in our faith and strong enough in our fellowship to face with forthright sincerity the issues among us that vitally affect our gospel witness at home and around the world. There is no reason for us to avoid these issues or couch them in evasive language or sentimental speech. The hard realities of our present situation demands honesty, integrity and a humble sense of responsibility. Our tragic situation calls for courage, but it should be the courage ofprudence and of intelligent.

"With such courage and conviction we must face the present controversy in our relations with the Negro people. On this issue we are divided in opinion but let us not be divided in fellowship. No one person or group has the wisdom to lead us to a solution of the difficult situation that has developed. Only God in his infinite love and patience can do that. The time call for prayer and deep humility. They call us to repentance toward God and to confessions for hate and hasty words toward our fellowman.

"The times call us none the less to meet this issue as Christians should. We must meet it with facts and scriptural truth. We must recognize the fact that the problem of race relations in America is rooted deeply in our history and is the product of a series of tragic social experiences that have left their marks on both our groups.

"These deep rooted social attitudes do not easily die. In some areas there can be no quick solution. And those who hope to achieve a peaceful adjustment must gird themselves with patience. The white man should seek to subdue the pride of his old mastery, the Negro the pride of his new achievement.

"The Christian cannot stop at the point of law. He is motivated by love and grace. In spite of all the hate that has been shown and the hasty words that have been spoken Christian people must move into this controversy to accomplish friendly and mutually helpful adjustments."

BRETHREN

Church of the BRETHREN (Resolution adopted by the annual conference at Eugene, Oregan, June 12-17, 1956)

We reaffirm our belief that discrimination owing to color is out of keeping both with the teachings of the New Testament and with the stated position of the Church of the Brethren. We realize that, as we attempt to sharpen our efforts to practice genuine brotherhood, we are dealing with an issue that is not sectional in nature, and therefore, we speak firmly and in love to all Brethren who have been less than Christian in this matter, in every area of our land. We commend governmental agencies, our own churches and those of other denominations who have declared their intention to support the Supreme Court decision. We would repeat that our goal must be no less than an integrated church and public school in an integrated community. Such a goal involves housing, equal access to medical care, jobs in industry, the right to vote, and membership and participation in the affairs of the community and of the Christian body. We commend those in areas where racial tension is acute, and in other areas, who are pursuing these goals in a nonviolent way and pledge to them our continuing support. We appeal to all Brethren to give leadership now, with courage, so that we may move toward this goal with calmness, sympathy, and seasoned judgment, realizing that He who made of "one blood, all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth," shows no partiality among the races.

CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES 53

Resolution adopted by the General Council of Congregational Christian Churches at its biennial meeting at Omaha, Nebraska, June 20-27, 1956:

RACIAL INTEGRATION

We the voting members of the 1956 General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches reaffirm the actions taken by five previous General Councils in pledging ourselves to work for a non-segregated society.

We declare our belief that the gospel of Jesus Christ is for all men without distinction as to race or color. We further believe that the church is by its nature a fellowship whose only test for membership is the individual's faith in the Lord Jesus Christ and the intent to follow him.

Recognizing that our deeds do not fully match our words, we hunbly rededicate ourselves, and call upon all members of our churches to rededicate themselves, to the unfinished task of achieving a racially integrated society. We call upon the boards, conferences and conventions, seminaries, colleges, institutional homes, and local congregations of our fellowship to follow practices consistent with clear policies of non-discrimination.

In consonance with these principles we urge that the resources of experience, leadership, and finances in our fellowship be made available to those churches, schools, colleges, and denominational agencies that are endeavoring to move towards racial inclusiveness. We further urge that the Executive Committee of the General Council, in cooperation with the Southeast Regional Council, set up consultations with representatives of the appropiate conventions and conferences looking to their early integration on geographical rather than racial lines.

We urge that the Division of Higher Education and the American Missionary Association initiate a consultation with responsible officials of the colleges affiliated with the denomination to examine all aspects and degrees of racial discrimination and to seek their elimination.

We request a report of progress made in the biennium to be presented to the 1958 General Council.

We note with gratification that our nation, through decisions made by its highest court, is now committed to eradicate segregation, based on race, from public services and institutions, including schools and colleges.

We commend the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other organizations that have employed the judicial processes provided under our Constitution to define and enlarge the scope of human rights for all our citizens.

We further commend the spirit in which the pastors and church members in Montgomery, Alabama, are struggling for non-discriminatory treatment in the busses of that city.

It is our firm conviction that the Constitutional rights of all persons to engage in free and open discussion of all the issues in race relations must be assured, along with the right to vote and to join organizations of their own choice, without becoming the objects of economic reprisals, threats, or acts of violence.

We recognize that the problems of racial integration confront our people in all sections of the country. Residential segregation makes integration difficult in neighborhoods, schools, churches, and other associations even where individuals are willing to accept persons on their merits. Patterns of restriction based on race are maintained in the housing market. Attempts are often made to justify these restrictions on the basis that neighborhood integration depresses economic values. We call attention to authoritative studies indicating that property values in mixed neighborhoods stabilize at the same level as those prevailing in comparable all-white neighborhoods.

We pledge ourselves to support non-segregated practices in selling, buying, and leasing property, and we call upon our fellow Congregational Christians to do likewise. We urge real estate dealers, builders, mortgagors, and government housing agents to follow non-discriminatory practices in their businesses. We urge churches

in localities where the racial composition of the population is changing to extend their ministries to all the people in the area and to welcome them into membership. We urge conferences, conventions and boards to encourage such churches with counsel and financial resources.

We are grateful for progress in equal and non-segregated employment opportunities, achieved more easily in a time of full employment. We accept the responsibility to help in consolidating these notable gains and to expand them as rapidly as possible in all parts of the nation.

We recognize that, at the present time, some of our local congregations face extreme difficulties in teaching and practicing racial integration. Humbly acknowledging shortcomings in this respect even where circumstances are relatively favorable, we assure our fellow-members who are in particularly difficult situations of our sympathetic understanding. United in Christ, let us encourage and strengthen each other in faith and obedience while we labor, with God's help, to achieve a non-segregated church in a non-segregated society.

THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST

Resolution No. 85, adopted by the Miami Assembly
of the International Convention, October, 1954

THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST AND RACIAL SEGREGATION

WHEREAS, the Gospel of Christ recognizes all men are made in the image of God and created of one blood; and

WHEREAS, the Disciples of Christ have adopted as their own the statment of the National Council of Churches that "we shall work for a non-segregated church in a non-segregated society," and

WHEREAS, the Supreme Court of the United States declared in a unanimous decision on May 17, 1954, that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional, and

WHEREAS, we have a specific Christian responsibility in the transition period between what is now the practice and what the Christian gospel demands become the practice we believe that the time now demands that the Disciples of Christ more fervently and prayerfully seek ways to implement the practice of racial non-segregation in our local, state and national life.

WHEREAS, various resolutions namely, Nos. 53, 79, 80, indicate the widespread interest of the Brotherhood in the individual dignity and worth of all men, and

WHEREAS, these resolutions each deal with particular phases of church life when this situation is a total one affecting all geographic sections and the total Church,

THEREFORE, we submit this as a substitute resolution for resolutions Nos. 53, 79, 80;

BE IT RESOLVED: that we approve and commend the decision of the Supreme Court concerning segregation in the public schools, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: that we call upon our churches, our agencies, and our institutions, to re-examine themselves in light of the implications of Christ's gospel and to initiate and encourage voluntary, racially inclusive, community groups to plan for full compliance with the gospel of Christ, as well as definite techniques for implementation within their own bodies.

That we likewise urge our churches, our agencies, and our instituttions, in a spirit of reconciliation to teach forbearance, patience and generosity on both sides as we attempt to work out the problem of the Disciples of Christ and racial segregation.

# EPISCOPAL

Resolution adopted at 58th General Convention, 1955 of the Protestant Episcopal Church:

WHEREAS, Almighty God, through His Son our Lord Jesus Christ, has offered salvation to all the races of mankind; and

WHEREAS, Our Church has declared through the General Convention, the Lambeth Conference, the Anglican Congress, the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America, and the World Council of Churches, that unjust social discrimination and segregation are contrary to the mind of Christ and the will of God as plainly recorded in Holy Scripture; and

WHEREAS, This Church in thanksgiving can proclaim that now in every diocese and missionary district every race has full representation in its Councils; and

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of these United States has ruled that every citizen shall have open access to the public schools and colleges of the entire nation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 58th General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, now commends to all the clergy and people of this Church that they accept and support this ruling of the Supreme Court, and, that by opening channels of Christian conference and communication between the races concerned in each diocese and community, they anticipate constructively the local implementation of this ruling as the law of the land; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we make our own the statement of the Anglican Congress that "in the work of the Church we should welcome people of any race at any service conducted by a priest or layman of any ethnic origin, and bring them into the full fellowship of the congregation and its organizations."

The National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church has published, "a study of reactions to the Supreme Court Decision on Segregation with a statement of guiding principles, policies, and practical suggestions," entitled Just, Right, and Necessary. This study maybe obtained for 25 cents from the National Council, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York.

EVANGELICAL AND REFORMED CHURCH 3/

Ninth General Synod 19
1953

General Synod Resolved

a. The General Synod, committed as it is to a non-segregated church in a non-segregated community, especially commends those congregations, hospitals, and educational institutions within its entire constituency, which have found ways to elimate the unbrotherly barriers of racial exclusiveness.

b. The General Synod further urges all of our congregations and institutions to take concrete steps beyond the bounds of their own respective constituencies to meet their obligation as Christians to minister to All people in the Whole community and instructs the Commission on Christian Social Action and the Board of National Missions to find ways and means of assisting local congregations that face immediate problems of race relations.

c. The General Synod especially encourages our churches, as well as individual members, to work in every appropriate manner to end racial discrimination in opportunities for housing, education, employment and the other common rights of citizens in a free society.

THE EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN CHURCH from The Discipline, Par. 1922:

"RACE RELATIONS"

"The Evangelical United Brethren Church respects human personality inherent in the people of every race, and protests against social, economic, or political discrimination based merely on racial differences. "He made of one every nation of men to dwell on all the face of the earth." (Acts 17:26)

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B'NAI B'RTH-- Passed by District 5, B'nai B'rith (seaboard states) in convention May 31, 1954, Daytona Beach, Fla,: passed by District 7, B'nai B'nai B'rith ("Deep South" states) in convention Jine 15, 1954, New Orleans, La.

WHEREAS, B'nai B'rith is dedicated to certain principles regarding our duty to mankind, and these principles and duties obtain though men differ in color and ereed,

and WHEREAS, theuSupreme Court has ordered that we initiate full acceptance of our fellow man in one of the basic institutions of American democracy - the public schools,

and WHEREAS, though such an adjustment will be difficult for some of us, we understand that, as Ben B'riths, we can do no less than the law demands because our faith has taught us that we are all children of God and that we shall accept one another as brothers,

and WHEREAS, B'nai B8rith, as the world's largest and oldest Jewish service organization, has responsibility for leadership and guidance of its members according to the principles of its great Order,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the delegates assembled at the 1954 annual convention of District Grand Lodge No. 5 of B'nai B'rith believe that the Court, the public schools and the people of this country are united in a common goal of equality of opportunity for all children. We have faith that, working together in a cooperative and democratic spirit, we can attain this goal by orderly and legal adjustment consistent with both religious and democratic ideals.

We pledge ourselves and petiton all people to abide by the law as duly interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States.

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS (adopted June, 1956):

Righteousness is the pathway to peace. The historic decision of the Supreme Court outlawing segregation in our public schools is a forward step upon that path. The Court has now made known its program for implementing its unanimous decision. Mindful though we are of the many problems and passions involved, we call upon our colleagues to offer courageous leadership in helping to bring about the harmonious implementation of the Court's decision.

JEWISH 6

SYNAGOGUE COUNCIL OF AMERICA (Statement by Dr. Abraham J. Feldman, President of the Council, formally ratified by the plenary body of the Council on April 11, 1956): 4/6

"The philosophy of racial brotherhood is basic to adherents of the Jewish faith. This fundamental religious conviction was epitomized in the utterances of the prophet Malachi, 'Have we not one Father? Has not one God created us all? It has been reiterated continuosly in the Bible and in the Talmud as well as in medieval and modern Rabbinic pronouncements. The Synagogue stands witness that all men care created in the Divine image, have equal spiritual dignity, are entitled to the same rights and are brethen in the sight of God and man.

"This teaching of Judaism has also been affirmed by the best in American tradition. The statement in the Declaration of Independence that 'all men are created equal" and the Bill of Rights of our Constitution conceive of all men as brethen.

"We of the Synagogue Council of America observe with pain and alarm the violations of this fundamental principle of human brotherhood in the injustices, discriminations, and humiliations from which the American Negro suffers. In the face of such flagrant violations of the Divine commandements of human brotherhood and equality, we af the household of Israel raise our voices in protest, along with our brethen of other faiths. We ask that in accordance with Divine injunction all discriminations against Negrees be removed, that all barriers against their full participation in the economic, professional, patriotic, industrial, educational, artistic, and recreational life of the country be abolished.

"The Synagogue Council of America devoutly hopes that the law-abiding citizenry of our country, in cooperation with the courts and our civic and educational authorities, will join in a concerted effort to hasten

the implementation of the decrees of the Supreme Court of the United States which enjoin the ending of segregation with the greatest practicable expedition.

"The Synagogue Council of America herewith calls upon the Jewish community throughout the land to help foster a nationwide resolution among all our fellow citizens of all colors and creeds to live together with their neighbors in harmonious cooperation, a determination to be on their guard against evil rumor and false report intended to inflame one segment of our people against another, and a readiness to bring to the problem of race relationship, a constructive will for a righteous solution.

"In our prayers we shall petition our Heavenly Father for the wisdom and strength of will to translate the Divine behest of 'Love thy neighbor as thyself' into daily practice, and for the inspiration to rise to the challenge of the ideals of our religious and democratic traditions which vouchsafe the inalienable rights to all our citizens, regardless of color or creed. May the Almight bring us all to the realization of the Psalmist's vision, 'Behoold, how good and pleasing it is for brethen to dwell together in harmony.' "

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS 38

(Statement of principles adopted by 43rd General
Assembly in Los Angeles, California, Feburary 15, 1955)

Having consistently opposed every form of discrinimation because of our fundamental belief in the equality of all men under God, we rejoice in the uanaimous decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the school segregation cases. We regard this decision as a major chapter in the history of the growth of true equality under the law.

As proponents of Judaism, which first enumciated the concept of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, we pledge ourselves to do all within our power to make this decision of the highest court in the land meaningful in our respective communities.

We therefore urge our congregants and congergation in all sections of the country to join with forward-looking racial, religious, and civic groups in the community in using their influence to secure acceptance and implementation of the desegragation decisions in every community in our land.

55
28

LUTHERAN 8

AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH ( Statement Submitted by the Board for Christian Social Action and recommended by the 1954 church Convention for consideration by congregations and incorporation of its principles into their life and work.)

Segregation and social stratification, both based on essentially external differences, regrettably occur in Christian churches. Segregation stems mainly from hereditary differences in skin color or physical appearance. Social stratification arises largely from differences in levels of living or social standing. Such man-made distinctions of race and class belie the fundamental unity of the human race as God created it. The presence of segregation and stratification in the churches undermines the power inhering in the Gospel for uniting men through Christ in fellowship with the Father.

In the Church of Christ, though each person possesses talents peculiarly his own, and each has his unique functions to fulfill, yet all persons are alike in being individually of sacred worth. All are created in the image of God; all stand convicted of sin and in need of redemption; all are invited by Christ to come to Him. St. Peter was moved, against his own inclinations, to confess, "Truly I perceive that God shows no partiality" (Acts 10:34). St. Paul, describing the Church of Christ, declared, "Here there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave, free man,but Christ is all, and in all" (Col. 3:11).

Wherever and whenever the churches help to foster r ace or class distinctions between people, and wherever and whenever they support attitudes of superiority or inferiority between persons, groups, or classes, they violate God's pattern. St. James warned against distinctions based on wealth or power,saying, "But if you show partiality, you commit sin, and are convicted by the law as transgressors" (James 2:9).

Christian churches unfailingly, therefore, must condemn segregation and stratification as the evil fruit of natural man's pride and his arrogant assumption of superiority over those who appear to be different from him.

Yet, Christian churches must recognize in race and class feelings the operation of the "consciousness of kind" principle. The members of the various races and classes feel an essential oneness and a common bond with one another. Such voluntary associations of people having kindred interests and experiences are a normal part of the social order.

Christ recognized and worked within the realities of the social structure of His day. He did not seek a leveling of the difference between races andclasses. Instead, His goal was that the new spirit of God's love should govern the hearts and lives of members of every class and race. Thus would the normal human loyalties to race and class be

given a nobler meaning. Race and class differences would become opportunities to serve personality needs and to enrich human life.

The facts of race and class groupings offer the churches an opportunity for a ministry and a message directly pertinent to the life experiences of the members of each race and class. Under Christ's influence, pride and prejudice are renounced in race and class relations. Snobbery and discrimination are rejected. Jealousy, envy, quarreling and dissension have no place. The fruits of His Sprit, working in reborn lives, can bring joy, peace, patience, kindness, gentleness, and self-control into the dealings of race with race and class with class.

Were His Spirit truly to rule in men's hearts and lives, problems of race segregation and social stratification would disappear. The free and voluntary actions of men who love neighbor as self because of God's love for them will exceed in justice and equity the compulsion forced by decree upon the unwilling.

It is incumbent upon Christians, their churches, and their church agencies, so far as it lies within their power, to practice to the full the realistic insights of their faith in dealing with issues of race and class. Pride and smug assumptions of superiority or privileged position draw the Master's censure to day as they did for the sons of Zebedee.

It is the unique task of the churches, shared by every Christian, to seek to bring the power of the Word and Sacraments to bear upon individuals, thereby changing their hearts and lives. This course alone promises the ultimate corrective for the evils of segregation and stratification.

AUGUSTANA ~~EVANGERIAL~~ EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH

(Resolution passed at Synod, Moorhead, Minnesota, June 11-17, 1956)

Whereas, we recognize the growing tensions between the several races in our land and our Christian responsibility to work for better understanding.

a. We reaffirm the position of our Church, that all people have equal rights before God, and are entitled to equal opportunities.

b. We counsel our members to exercise love and understanding in all their dealings with persons of minority groups.

c. We urge our members to use their influence in the securing of full rights of citizenship for all, and in discouraging any activity in their communities which would seek to circumvent orderly judicial procedure in the implementation of the Supreme Court decisions of segregation.

d. We commend those who have sought to oppose wrong by non-violent means.

e. We recognize that the evils of racial discrimination are not restricted to any one section of the nation, and we encourage our people to oppose all forms of racial discrimination whether they be found in the North or in the South.

f. We point out to our members, especially those in the northern states, that discrimination in housing, real estate transactions, and employment is just as much a violation of Christian principles as discrimination in places of public assembly, public transportation, or schools.

g. We again encourage our congregations to include all unchurched persons in their communities in their programs of evangelism without distinction as to race, color, or national orgin.

h. We particularly commend those congregations who have refused to abandon communities where major populations shifts have brought large numbers of non-white persons into the vicinity of their churches.

i. Where there are members of local churches in which racial integration is taking place, or is likely to take place, who are unwilling to continue their membership in such congregations for this reason, we encourage such members to examine their consciences in the light of Holy Scriptures, and in the doctrines and decisions of the Church, specifically that God has created all men in His image, that Jesus Christ has given His life for the salvation of all men, that the Holy Spirit would call all men into the fellowship of the Church.

j. We remind congregations of their inescapable responsibility to bear witness in its locality to these truths, as well as the privilege of demonstrating that the Christian fellowship transcends barriers of races and class.

k. We urge pastors of congregations to which such disaffected members may be seeking letters of transfer to encourage them to remain in their own congregations and to demonstrate Christian acceptance of and love toward those whom they have deemed different from themselves.

l. We call the attention of the National Lutheran Council to the above resolutions.

THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH (Revolution adopted by the Church Council and, by action of the convention, incorporated in the minutes of the 22nd General Convention of said Church on June 25, 1956):

WHEREAS, The plain message of the Gospel is that Christ is the Redeemr of all peoples everywhere, and God does not in any measure, distinguish between persons, and that in Christ the Christian is brother to every man;

BE IT RESOLVED, That we humbly deplore our frequent failure to exemplify Christ as we ought in human relationships, and urge every member of our Church to continually examine his daily human contacts in the Light of God's Word and pray His Spirit to use us more effectively to show that all men of all races and backgrounds are one family in His love.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH-MISSOURI SYNOD 34

(Resolution passed at convention in St. Paul, Minnesota, June 20-30, 1956)

Subject: RACE RELATIONS IN NATIONAL AND WORLD-WIDE CHURCH WORK

WHEREAS, Every redeemed individual, regardless of race or ethnic origin, is most precious in the sight of God; and

WHEREAS, It is the duty and desire of the Church to bring the Gospel to these souls in order to win them for Christ; and

WHEREAS, The Church will measure its task and opportunities in the light of our Lord's imminent return to judgment, and will hold itself accountable to its Lord, looking forward to the great day of His appearing when men of all nations and kindreds and tongues shall gather around His throne and praise Him eternally for having washed their sin-stained "robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb" (Rev. 7:14); therefore be it

RESOLVED, a) That The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod affirm its adherence to and application of the Scriptural principles of fact concerning race relations and church work as adopted by its representatives in conjunction with the representatives of sister synods of the Synodical Conference, and as reported in the PROCEEDINGS OF THE FORTY-SECOND CONVENTION OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN SYNODICAL CONFERENCE OF NORTH AMERICA OF AUGUST 12-15, 1952, to wit:

per mos in parts

"1. God 'will have all men to be saved and to come unto the knowledge of the truth." 1 Tim. 2:4.

"2. His plan of salvation embraces the world. 'God so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him shall not perish, but have everlasting life.' John 3:16. 'He is the Propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world.' 1 John 2:2.

"3. God's grace in Christ Jesus should be proclaimed to all nations in accordance with the Savior's Great Commission to His church: 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature.' Mark 16:15. 'Ye shall be witnesses unto Me both in Jerusalem and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth.' Acts 1:8.

"4. In the execution of Christ's command, viz., 'to preach the Gospel to every creature,' no line of demarcation should be drawn relative to nationality, race, or color, 'for there is no respect of persons with God.' Rom. 2:11; Eph. 6:9; Col. 3:25; Acts 10:34.

Resolution No. 26 (continued)

"5. The holy Christian Church, the communion of saints, is the recipient of Christ's injunction to 'teach the nations to observe all things whatsoever He has commanded.' Not only did Christ instruct His Church to 'teach all nations,' but also to 'baptize them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.' Matt. 28:19, 20.

"6. The Church's chief function and task is to spread the news of Christ and His salvation to men, women, and children, irrespective of any national or race make-up, so that souls may be won for, and retained with, Christ, in whom alone they 'have redemption through His blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of His grace.' Eph. 1:7."

and be it further

(RESOLVED, b) That in all problems which arise in connection with the application and conduct of these above-mentioned principles of Scriptures, all members of our church unreservedly obey the Savior's command "that ye love one another," and practice Christian charity, forbearance, and understanding with each other, knowing that the same Lord is Head over all, and that His Spirit dwells by Word and Sacrament in all the Churches; and be it further

(RESOLVED, c) 1. That all congregations of Synod regard all persons regardless of race or ethnic origin living within the limits of their respective parishes, and not associated with another Christian Church, as individuals whom God would reach with the Gospel of His saving grace through the ministry of the local congregation;

2. That congregations operating in changing communities be encouraged to continue operations in those areas rather than relinquish their properties through sale to other denominations, and that the various District Mission Boards be encouraged to subsidize these congregations when this becomes necessary, so that the souls in those communities, regardless of race or ethnic grouping, may be won and served;

3. That synodical institutions, agencies and offices continue to make no distinction, based upon race or color, in their entrance requirements or employment policies; and be it finally

(RESOLVED, d) That since Christians are constrained to do justice and love mercy, we acknowledge our responsibility as a church to provide guidance for our members to work in the capacity of Christian citizens for the elimination of discrimination, wherever it may exist, in community, city, state, nation and world.

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISOCPAL 27

The AME ~~Chuech~~ Church stands upon the principle of human equality and the dignity of man. Though founded by persons of African descent in a protest against race prejudice in the Church of God, it has never refused persons of either it membership or ministry because of race or color.

Today we ~~reffirm~~ reaffirm this position and call upon our ministry to actively seek to integrate all persons into the church.

We rejoice that the ecumenical church today is recognizing race prejudice and the resultant disabilities which it imposes when sanctioned by social organizations and governmental agencies as a major sin of our generation.

We pledge to continue to work and pray to do all within our power to hasten the day when every citizen in every part of our great nation can depend upon every department of government to protect him in the full exercise of each duty and privilege of citizenship.

We recognize the dilemma of our democracy when it urges the duty of all to vote and give civic service while at the same time closes its eyes to murder, economic reprisals, burtality and intimidation against colored people whose only crime was their determination to exercise the right of participation in the government under which they live.

We assure our full support to all lawful agencies working to eliminate this ~~mailgenant~~ MALIGNANT growth upon the body of democracy.

We deplore the spectacle of law enforcement officers publicly working to develop programs of law evasion and urging resistance to the declared law of the land. We recognize with gratitude the efforts of the President of the United States and persons in all sections of the country and all walks of life who are endeavoring to speed the day when our country will stand forth in deed and fact as one country, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

We further deplore the exploitation of racism in national world politics and the unwillingness of both governments and church to affirm the full rights of every human being, providing equal opportunity and responsibility for each person to become the best possible.

We therefore implore the church at every level and all local, state, and national governments to exert every moral, legal and judicial influence to implement the Christian Ethic of Brotherhood and the World declaration of Human Rights.

(Text of statement issued by Council of Bishops at the 35th Quadrennial AME General Conference at Miami, Fla., May, 1956)

RISING BOND
RAG CONTENT

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION

Board of Christian Education - School and College

August, 1954

Resolution Re. School Integration

WHEREAS, the A. M. E. Zion Church was organized in 1796 as a protest against segregation and proscription based on color in the John Street Methodist Church, New York City, and

WHEREAS, the A. M. E. Zion Church has for 158 years subscribed to and actively engaged in all the movements under the Constitution calculated to bring about the fulfillment of the implications of the Declaration of Independence, the Federal Constitution and the Bill of Rights; and

WHEREAS, the A. M. E. Zion Church has been part and parcel of the Abolitionist Movement, the Underground Railroad, the post-slavery struggle for education and freedom of opportunity and the modern Civil Rights crusade for human equality and full citizenship of all Americans; and

WHEREAS, the Supreme Court of the United States has recently, May 17, 1954, declared segregation in public schools unconstitutional and has ordered the desegregation of all public schools in the United States;

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Board of Christian Education - School and College, assembled at the Quadrennial General Convention on Christian Education and the General Assembly and National Council of Christian Youth of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church shall go on record as:

1. Thanking God for the Supreme Court decision and reaffirming our confidence in the inevitable fulfillment of American Democracy under the Constitution.

2. Recommending to our far-flung constituency of more than 723,000 people at 44 Annual Conferences in Continental United States active cooperation with local school boards in implementing the program of immediate desegregation and urging our pastors, presiding elders and people to contriute to the morale-building principles employed to create the climate of public opinion favorable to desegregation in every form of American Life.

3. That we authorize, empower and urge our Secondary Schools and Junior Colleges to amend their charters and/or their rules and regulations, if necessary, so as to provide for integrated faculties and student bodies.

CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

Resolution unanimously passed by the General Conference, meeting in Memphis, Tennessee, May 17,1954:

> We commend the Supreme Court of the United States for its heroic and m just decision regarding the matter of declaring segregated schools to be unconstitutional, and we urge all people to accept this decision as a fair and just one; and that we all unite in an effort to secure for all people alike the fullest and richest blessing under what we regard to be the most epochal and significant decision rendered by our Supreme Court since the days of reconstruction.

# METHODIST

## The Methodist Church
(adopted by the General Conference, Minneapolis, Minn. 1956)

The teaching of our Lord is that all men are brothers. The Master permits no discrimination because of race, color, or national origin.

The position of The Methodist Church, long held and frequently declared, is an amplification of our Lord's teaching. "To discriminate against a person solely upon the basis of his race is both unfair and unchristian. Every child of God is entitled to that place in society which he has won by his industry and his character. To deny that position of honor because of the accident of his birth is neither honest democracy nor good religion." (The Episcopal Address, 1952 and 1956.)

There must be no place in The Methodist Church for racial discrimination or enforced segregation. Recognizing that we have not attained this goal, yet rejoicing in the progress made, we recommend that discrimination or segregation by any method or practice whether by conference structure or otherwise in The Methodist Church be abolished with reasonable speed. The growing spirit of brotherhood throughout the church strengthens our confidence that, under the leadership of the Holy Spirit, we will continue to go forward.

There is a changing racial climate in our world, largely growing out of the teachings of the Christian church. The conscience of society has become increasingly sensitive regarding racial discrimination and injustice. Methodists unite with people of all lands and all faiths in a determined effort to eliminate these unchristian practices. We look to the ultimate establishment of a truly Christian society.

The decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States relative to segregation make necessary far-reaching and often difficult community readjustments throughout the nation. We call upon our people to effect these adjustments in all good faith, with brotherliness and patience. In doing this all racial groups must be willing to admit their imperfections and seek to correct them. Let these things, however, be done in love lest the cause of Christ suffer at our hands.

It is our desire to accomplish the realization of Christian brotherhood and full participation by all in every aspect of the church's life. We join other people of good will around the world in moving toward the day when all races shall share richly without discrimination or segregation in the good things of life. Therefore, we resolutely go forward with the work begun with respect to race relations in the church and in our world.

In this spirit, we recommend the following:

1. That the institutions of the church, local churches, colleges, universities, theological schools, publishing agencies, hospitals, and homes carefully restudy their policies and practices as they relate to

race, making certain that these policies and practices are Christian.

2. That Methodists in their homes, in their work, in their churches, and in their communities actively work to eliminate discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin. That parents, teachers and others who work with children and youth help create attitudes which make it easy to live in harmony with those of other races.

3. That Methodist churches in changing neighborhoods, rather than seeking new locations, early prepare their people to welcome into their fellowship all races as they become a part of their community.

That our pastors, upon whom rests the responsibility of receiving individuals into church membership, discharge that responsibility without regard to race, color, or national origin.

4. That bishops, district superintendents, pastors, and lay leaders seek ways for the implementation of better fraternal relations between the Central Jurisdiction and other jurisdictions where they are adjacent by closer co-operation at annual and district conferences and at local church levels.

5. That Methodists at national and international meetings of the church make provisions for equality of accommodations for all races without discrimination or segregation.

6. That the many racial and national groups which make up our Methodist world fellowship be afforded the opportunity without discrimination to enjoy full participation in all the activities of the church.

# WORLD METHODIST CONFERENCE

Section IV of "A Message to the Methodists of the World from the Ninth World Methodist Conference," meeting at Lake Junaluska, North Carolina, in September, 1956:

The Conference, composed of representatives from many nations and ethnic groups united in fellowship in Christ, deplores the embittered strife which bedevils human relations. The Conference is entirely convinced that the Church is committed by its very nature to the establishment of a human society in which discrimination based on race or color will no longer exist. The Conference expresses its active concern for those of any color or race who are suffering from political, economic, educational, social, or religious discrimination, or segregation, and the earnest desire that Methodists themselves will initiate, contend for and foster, within their own Societies, a genuine and all-inclusive fellowship.

THE CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

(Resolution Adopted the General Assembly, June, 1955)

5. RESOLVED: That in the area of racial and cultural relations, we urge Christians to practice and seek to spread equality of opportunity for all people; equal pay for equal work; equal protection by law; equality of suffrage; equal recognition of persons as persons without respect to religion, class, or race.

40

Presbyterian Church in the United States (Excerpt from report of the Council of Christian Relations adopted by the 94th General Assembly in 1954, and Sustained by Succeeding General Assemblies)

Since segregation of the white and Negro people continues to diminish it is time to determine the church's relationship to this trend. This state of flux is due to two dynamic forces at work, the Federal Constitution and the Christian conscience, the one legal and the other spiritual, the one finding expression in statutes and court decisions, and the other in personal conduct, in the voice and policies of the church. If it be judged that segregation is not merely the separation of two peoples, but the subordination of one people to another, we can, on good evidence, observe that the courts have shown more sympathy toward the Negro than has the church. The church would then find itself in the embarrassing position of having to adjust its sense of morality to measure up to the mores of the state. This would belie its pristine nature. Our Christ was and sitll is ahead of the times; the customs, traditions, and laws of it. The church must strive to keep apace of its Master or become bereft of His spirit.

Our religious convictions form the dynamic for the making, amending and repealing of laws. We recognize three levels of relationship, the legal, the ethical, and the spiritual. A law is the least common denominator of human behavior. It is a restraint so generally acceptable that it can be enforced without curtailing freedom. Behind every set of laws is a code of ethics which contains the unwritten laws of corporate life. Unwritten laws, as they become generally taught and observed, are subsequently codified. Behind every code of ethics is a concept of God so that ultimately, every human relationship, whether it be voluntary or prescribed by statute, is determined by what a man believes about God. It will be a sad day for the church if these three levels of relationship should be inverted, that is, if our belief in a personal God should permit us to foster a relationship inferior to that which impersonal law demands. If this should happen, the church would lose its status as the conscience of society, its intangible, controlling and quickening force.

With special reference to the resolution placed in the hands of the Council of Christian Relations by the 93rd General Assembly for study and recommendations the Council recognizes that in Presbyterian procedure, the General Assembly does not direct that certain changes in educational and cultural patterns be adopted. On the other hand, the Council understands that the General Assembly may properly urge the adoption of such changes in the practices of the Church. In keeping with this procedure, therefore, the following recommendations are offered:

1. That the General Assembly affirm that enforced segregation of the races is descrimination which is out of harmony with Christian theology and ethics and that the Church, in its relationship to cultural patterns, should lead rather than follow.
2. That the General Assembly, therefore, submit this report for careful study throughout the Church, and that it especially urge:

→ (1) That the trustees of institutions of higher education belinging to the General Assembly adopt a policy of opening the doors of these institutions to all races.

→ (2) That the Synods consider earnestly the adoption of a similar recommendation to trustees of institutions under their control.

(3) That the governing bodies of the various conferences held throughout the Church consider the adoption of a similar policy.

(4) That the sessions of local churches admit persons to membership and fellowship in the local church on the Scriptural basis of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ without reference to race.

(5) That in this time of crisis and concern, we commend to all individuals in our communion and especially to all leaders of our churches the earnest cultivation and practice of the Christian graces of forbearance, patience, humility and persistent good will.

NOTE: Single copies of the report, "Two Major Issues," from which the above excerpt is taken, may be obtained free from the Division of Christian Relations, Presbyterian Church in the United States, 341-B Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 5, Georgia.

# PRESBYTERIAN

Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (adopted by the 168th General Assembly in Philadelphia, Pa., May 29, 1956):

## IN RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

Noting that there are serious racial problems to be faced in all sections of our country;

Observing that the problems confronting Christians in the South, the region affected most deeply and directly by the Supreme Court decisions outlawing racial segregation in public schools and other public services, are generally quite different from the problems confronting Christians in most other areas of the nation;

Realizing that the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. is not a sectional but a national body with members and churches in every one of the 48 states,

The 168th General Assembly

Addresses itself selectively to our churches and members throughout the nation with respect to the Christian responsibility that the Word of God and the mind of the Church lays upon them, in facing the critical problems of race relations.

## "No Problem"?

Realizing (1) that nowhere in our land can Negroes, and to a lesser extent other minority persons, escape the indignity of segregation or discrimination in one form or another, and (2) that the community or church that feels it has no problem because there is no present crisis may have an especially difficult problem;

Recognizing that though an increasing number of churches are actually seeking to bring all persons in their neighborhoods into membership without distinction as to race or social status, nevertheless, many churches while morally supporting integration, are failing to implement their stand in terms of positive evangelistic effort, and some churches appear actually to be opposing integration,

The 168th General Assembly

Enjoins ministers and members of our churches

1. To stop talking about having "no problem" in situations where tension does not exist and the problem is therefore concealed,

2. To stop being content with a mere confession of guilt apart from deeds of repentance,

3. To stop pointing the finger of accusation at areas of high tension or conflict,

4. To begin serious, prayerful study where there is no present tension,

5. To bring about in small groups encounters and frank conversations with minority persons of comparable education and experience, and specialists in the field of human relations,

6. To welcome people of all races in the life and work of their churches,

7. To evangelize in the homes of nearby residents without regard to race with the purpose of bringing them into the fellowship of the church.

## Residential Segregation

Emphasizing that it is the policy and purpose of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. to work for a nonsegregated society as well as a nonsegregated church;

Noting (1) that in many sections of our country real progress has been made in eliminating segregation in such fields as employment, transportation, hotel and restaurant accomodations, education, and other public services; (2) that in these same sections residential segregation usually continues to be a mojor problem; (3) that where residential desegregation has occured it has nearly always been in older housind areas that tend to change from segregated white to segregated non-white because of the flight of white residents; and (5) that in most communities practically no new homes have been made availiable to non-white families,

The 168th General Assembly

Calls upon Christians who are comtemplating the sale of property to see as of first importance the need of minority families for equal housing opportunities and adequate housind, and to make their houses available to all qualified purchasers without regard to race;

Directs the attention of homeowners to several studies, available from the Department of Social Education and Action, of the effect of non-white purchases on adjacent property values, demonstrating that values do not necessarily decline, and in fact often rise, after such purchases;

Urges sessions to bring Christians together in covenants of open occupancy which will stem the tendency toward "panic selling," and stabilize their neighborhoods on a nonsegregated basis.

## Victims of Reprisals

Noting with respect to the Supreme Court decision affecting racial segregation in public schools:

1. That the governments of at least six states have committed themselves, with substantial support in public opinion, either to oppose absolutely or to delay as long as possible compliance with the decision;
2. That in some areas of our country groups calling themselves by such names as the White Citizens Councils have formed for the express purpose of using "every lawful menas" to maintain racial segregation in all areas of life;
3. That economic pressure, intimidation, social and political pressure are commonly used, while racial violence, bloodshed, and murder are not unknown;
4. That men supporting desegregation have lost jobs, has their mortgages foreclosed, insurance policies cancelled, credit cut off, and wholesale deliveries of goods stopped;
5. That some individuals, both laymen and misisters, of many denominations have taken courageous positions in their churches and communities and
6. That several ministers of the Gospel are known to have been forced out of their pulpits because of statements they had made or positions they had taken relative to this issue;

7. That a significant number of Presbyterian, U.S.A., members have been subjected to indignities, intimidations, beatings, cross-burnings, and harrassing litigations,

The 168th General Assembly

Assures members of our Presbyteries and churches who may be under persecution of the corporate support of our Church and directs the Stated Clerk to give them encouragement, counsel, and other assistance as he may judge to be appropriate;

Urges Christians individually and corporately to help bear the burdens of their fellowmen under persecution, by sending gifts of money to Church World Service for the relief of persons designated as "political refugees in our own country."

JOB DISCRIMINATION

Noting that discrimination in employment consigns Negroes and other minority persons to the least desirable jobs without consideration of their personal qualifications or training, thereby depriving them of dignity and vocational opportunity,

The 168th General Assembly

Urges Presbyterian employers to take such steps as may be necessary to break the pattern of discrimination in employment;

Urges Christians to give individual and corporate support to employers who have courageously employed Negroes on a nondiscriminatory basis, prevailing pattern and attitudes of their community to the contrary;

And urges Christians to give support in the most appropriate ways for a federal Fair Employment Practives law.

RIGHTS FOR ALL

Recognizing the efforts of those responsible persons and organization that have sought through the courts by legal means to secure constitutional rights for all citizens,

The 168th General Assembly

Urges Christians to give them their prayerful support and to participate in their efforts.

CORPORATE ACTION

Noting that every major denomination has voiced support of the Supreme Court's decisions, but that pressures on individuals and churches at the local level to conform to the prevailing mood have been extreme in many localities;

Being aware that some Christians, both laymen and ministers, have supported the programs of White Citizens Councils and like groups, and a few have assumed positions of leadership in them, and that many Christians are urging ministers not to take positions against segregation;

Acknowledging the impossibility of apportioning degrees of guilt or innocence for a sin that afflicts the whole body of the Church, and that it is the Church's mission to be a prophetic voice of God's Judgment and an instrument of his reconciling grace;

Remembering that the Scripture enjoins us all to "teach and admonish one another" (Col. 3:16), and to "stir up one another to love and good works" (Heb. 10:24), and believing Christians acting corporately and together are stronger in the Spirit than when left to act only as individuals,

The 168th General Assembly

Enjoins presbyteries and, especially, church sessions to consider prayerfully, in the light of the testimony of Scripture for love and justice, the common voice of the Church Universal against racial segregation, and the developments cited above, the corporate response God asks of them in the specific situations in which they find themselves; and

Urges sessions of churches located in communities of racial tension to find ways of bringing Christians and other citizens together in small groups across racial lines to discuss their common problems and goals relative to desegregation.

A PRONOUNCEMENT OF THE 98TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF NORTH AMERICA, MEETING IN KNOXVILLE, TENN., JUNE 13-18, 1956

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## STATEMENT OF DESEGREGATION

We believe the United Presbyterian Church has always believed in the integration of the races. Therefore, in these days when this issue is astride the conscience of the nation we love, we reaffirm our first principles:

1. That God hath made of one blood all nations for to dwell upon the face of the earth.

2. That He is no respecter of persons.

3. That men are created equal and meant to live together in a love that means equality of opportunity and privilege.

In the light of these principles we thank God that the laws of the land have made segregation illegal in education.

Furthermore, believing that segregation is a violation of the Gosepl of Jesus Christ we hereby recommend that the Ninety-Eighth Assembly adopt the following resolutions:

1. That local congregations minister to their own immediate communities, regardless of race, color, national, economic or cultural background, win each person to the Lord Jesus Christ and offer full membership and fellowship to all.

2. That all Church-controlled and Church-related institutions extend their ministries to all qualified persons without prejudice to race or cultural background.

3. That boards and agencies of the Church make appointments to staff positions and other employment opportunities in conformity to this principle of integration.

4. The boundaries of presbyteries accord fully with the principle of integration.

Water Gate: Chronology of a Crisis
by Congressional Quarterly Washington D.C
1973 4-5, 10, 84-85.

Page 4 News stories on Sept. 16 identified A. C. Baldwin III, A former FBI Agent and an alleged participant in the Watergate bugging, as the source of O'Brien's information. In the Los Angeles Times Oct. 4, Baldwin said he had delivered eavesdropping logs to the President's Re-election committee less than 2 weeks before June 17. He said the material had was sent to someone besides the seven men indicted, but he did not name that person.

The Washington Post report On Oct. 6, that Baldwin, who was granted immunity from prosecution in return for his cooperation with investigators, told the FBI that memos describing wiretapped and bugged conversations in Democratic headquarters had been sent to three persons: William E. Thomas, Nixon's assistant for congressional relations; Robert C. Odle Jr, director of administration for the Re-elect committee, and J. Glenn Sedam Jr, the Committee's general counsel. The charges were denied.

5 A. Baldwin, the Watergate bugger who had been granted immunity, was hired for $18,000 a year to record

not only political discussions but personal
Conversations.

10 Baldwin testimony
Zerox

Alfred C. Baldwin III - All deliberate speed.
Zerox

# ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

## CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL (May 18, 1954)

We are gratified with the clearness, completeness and unanimity of the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the school segregation cases.

This is a logical step in the expansion and perfection of American democracy. The next step is the creation and practice of community educational patterns consistent with the spirit and intent of the court decision.

We are confident that throughout the country thoughtful citizens will support with appropriate efforts this historic reaffirmation of the principle of equality of all men before the law.

## FROM STATEMENTS OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS: (April 5, 1954)

Most Rev. Robert E. Lucey, S.T.D., Archbishop of San Antonio, Texas: "...The day of racial injustice has passed. The day of Christ-like charity has arrived.

Henceforth no Catholic child may be refused admittance to any school maintained by the Archdiocese merely for reasons of color, race or poverty. Students applying to our schools who possess the necessary qualifications of morality and academic standing no longer may be denied a Christian education because of their color."

Most Rev. Albert L. Fletcher, Bishop of Little Rock, Ark.: "....The day

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Most Rev. Albert L. Fletcher, Bishop of Little Rock, Arkansas (September, 1954): "...But now the highest civil court in the land has judged segregation in public schools to be unconstitutional. This decision clears the way legally for the Church to act more freely in giving to all races the same benefits she is able to provide for the practice of their holy religion.

It is especially urgent that Catholic Negro children be admitted to any Catholic school available in places where there is no Catholic school especially for them. Hence every reasonable effort should be made by the pastor and people to make it possible for these children to attend a Catholic school of the place....

Finally, let me remind some Catholics that persons of every race, creed and nation should be made to feel at home in every Catholic church. Every Catholic church is God's house, not only because it is dedicated to Him; not only because we pray and sing there in His honor; not even because we hear His gospel preached there. Every Catholic church is God's house in a more personal way -- it is where He dwells, body and soul, in the Blessed Sacrament. He is the Host -- we are the guests. All are His, not our, invited guests. Anyone who is good enough for Him to invite, certainly ought to be good enough for us to accept. His Church, you know, is catholic."

Most Rev. Vincent J. Waters, Bishop of Raleigh, North Carolina (August, 1954): "...Beginning with the Fall semester of 1954, our Catholic parochial high schools of the Diocese of Raleigh will register and accept for class work all Catholic high school students no matter to what race they belong, provided that they are Catholics and qualified for high school work."

"...Open all facilities of our Catholic hospitals to Catholic Negroes, in any places where this has not been done already, and to non-Catholic Negroes as far as extra room may permit. Permit qualified Negro physicians and surgeons to take care of these patients whenever possible, especially by offering opportunities for work to Negroes to help solve their problems."

Begin

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Most Rev. Joseph Francis Rummel, Arch Bishop
of New Orleans, Louisana-text of letter read
Sunday, February 19, 1956, from all Catholic
pulpits in the Archdiocese:

DIFFICULT INDEED is the approach to a propitious solution according to Christian principles of justice and charity of the problem of racial intergration in our schools, especially in the Deep South where for more than a century and a half segration has been accepted without serious questions or challenge.

"For months we have prayed, studied and consulted about the problem with a sense of our responsibility for the welfare of all souls that constitute the spititual family for which in virtue of our office as Archbishop we are resposible before God.

With an appeal to the Holy Spirit we now submit for careful consideration the following results especially regarding the moral difficulties which segregation presents.

"1. Racial Segregation as such is morally wrong and sinful because it is a denial for the unity and solidarity of the human race as conceived by God in the creation of man in Adam and Eve. Male and female, He created them and breathed into them the spirit of life and commended them to increase and miltiply and fill the earth.

"Throughout the pages of the Old Testament and the New there is constant recurrence of this truth, that all mankind has in Adam and Eve one common father and mother and one common destiny namely to serve God in this world and find eternal happiness with Him in the world to come.

"In 1954 Pope Pius XII directed attention to the fact that Christ gave to all the Apostles the mandate to make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you; and behold, I am with you all days, even unto the consummation of the world.'

"The Holy Father in the same document indicates that Christ sent His Apostles, as he had beensent by the Father, toteach all nations everything they had heard from Him (cf. Matt. XXV III, 19-20). The Apostles are, therefore, by divine right the true doctors, and teachers in the Chuch.

"In the same allocution Pope Pius XII also states that under the guidance of the Holy Father and the Bishops religious teaching may be worked out by capable priests, who as specialits apply the principles of Canon Law and Moral Theology to such questions.

When their conclusions are approved by higher authority, they are regarded as safe norms of conscience and conduct, This is precisely the procedure which we must apply to the problem of race segregation.

2. RACIAL SEGREGATION is morally wrong and sinful because it is a denial of the unity and universality of the Redemption. The Eternal Son of God, Christ Jesus our Lord, came into the world to redeem and save all men, to die for all men on the cross, to make the life of grace available through the Church and the Sacrements for all men, to embrace all men in His Mystical Body on earth and in the life of glory in heaven.

"Racial segregation would draw the color line across the inspiring plan of the Redemption and thus sin against the divine providence, the love and the mercy that conceived and carried out the wonderful Mystery.

"Speaking for the Old Testment on this unity of the human race we have the Prophet Malachy stating: Have we not one God created us? Have we not all one father? Why then doth every one of us despise his brother, violating the covenant of our fathers?

AN ST. PAUL has these pregnant words to offer for the New Testament in his letter to the Corinthians: For in one Spirit were we all baptized into one body whether Jews or Gentiles, whether bond or free; and in one spirit we have all been made to drink.'

"And our present Holy Father Pope Pius Xll refers in a recent allocution to '...that law of human solidarity and charity which is dictated and imposed by our common origin and by the equality of rational nature in all men, to whatever people they belong.'

" 'A marvelous vision,' the Holy Father calls it, which makes us see the human race in the unity of one common origin in God, on God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all and in us all; in the unity of nature which in every man is equally composed of material body and spiritual , immortal soul; in the unity of dwelling place, the earth, of whose resources all men can by natural right avail themselves, to sustain and develop life; in the unity of the supernatural end, God Himself, to Whom all should tend, in the unity, of means to secure that end.'

3. RACIAL SEGREGATION is morally wrong and sinful because it is basically a violation of the dictates of justice and the mandate of love, which in obedience to God's will must regulate the relations between all men.

"To deny to members of a certain race, just because they are members of that race, certain right, and opportunities, civic or economic, educational or religious recreational or social, imposes upon them definite hardship and humiliations, frustrations and impediments to progress which condemn them to perpetual degradation which is only a step removed from slavery.

"Such indignities are grievous violations of Christian justice and charity, which cannot be justified in this modern age of enlightenment and loudly proclaimed democracy. Of ciolations of charity St. Thomas Aquinas says in his work about the Two Precepts of Charity: That men having the same nature are morally bound to love one another. It is Thomas teaching that... every animal loves its like (Eccles. Xlll, 19), wherefore since all men are alike in nature, they ought to love one another Therefore to hate one's neighbor is contrary to, not only the divine law, but also the law of nature.'

"4. BECAUSE THE emancipation during the War between the States involved certain physical and economic hardships, racial segregation was regarded with toleration but never justifiable as a permanent racial adjustment.

"Even the Catholic Church considered it wise and necessary to give separate church and school facilities to Negroes to afford them the opportunity to practice their faith more freely and educate their children more fully than was often possible in mixed congregations, but this arrangement was never intended to be permanent.

"This is attested by most Reverend Archbishop Francis Janssens, D. D., who initiated the programs with the remark that he did so very reluctantly and in the hope that it would be possible after a brief period to have all Catholics worships under the same roof.

"WE COME NOW to the reasons for segregation at least in the school. These reasons are for the most part unwarranted generalization in which it is aimed to give the impression that all members of the Negro race and especially all Negro children are tainted with virtually all the alleged defect.

"The amazing fact is that as a race they are not still more generally lacking in mental ability, culture, moral self-control, immunity from social diseases, criminal propensities, etc., when you consider the neglect and barriers to which they have been exposed in education, general culture, economic opportunities respectable housing facilities, contact with stable social institutions and the more dignified ways of life.

"Although living and moving in the ~~laestrom~~ MAELSTROM of city or rural life, the laws and customs built up around the mystic term segregation have practically relegated Negroes to an island-like existence. They emerge to work, toil and serve even in the intimacy of the white home and family, but segregation cuts off the free avenues to progress in the better things of life that are synonymous with Christian civilization. This condition in itself is an indictment against continuing segregation indefinitely as its advocates envision.

THIS STATEMENT WOULD become unbearably long were we to analyze even briefly the alleged mental defects moral and criminal propensities, economic shortcomings and social disabilities and dangers which from the general basis for continuing segregation.

We are having these allegations examined objectively by competent judges and may announce the result in due time. For the present we can only state that there are differences between the races on these points, but there is also much generalization and much emotionalism.

We wish to assure the clergy, the religious and the laity of the Archdiocese that we are giving to this important problems our most serious thought study and consulation not to speak of the many prayers which we offer daily for Divine light and guidance, because we realize the importance of the issue which is involved.

Nothing would please us more than to be able at the present moment to render a decision that would serve as a guide for priests, teachers, and parents. However there are still many vital circumstances which requires further study and consideration if our decision is to be based upon wisdon, prudence and the genuine spiritual welfare of all concerned.

HENCE WE PLEAD with all of you for preserverance in prayer in order that the final decision may be in conformity with the will of Christ and the highest interest of souls according to the mind of Holy Mother Church. May we likewise unite in prayer that the decision, when made, will be accepted in the spirit of Christian charity and justice and in that unity of mind, heart and will which must always characterize the family of God.

"This is a problem which should be worked out not in an atmosphere of wrangling or contention or discord or hatred but in a spirit of conciliation and with a desire to achieve peace through justice and charity.

Prayer and calmness of spirit are much needed in all our hearts and for these we plead in the name of the Divine Prince of Peace: Peace I leave with you, my peace I give to you; not as the world gives do I give to you.

May this peace be shared by all of us now and during the time of deliberation, and may it endure in our midst for all time! Such is the prayer of Your Shepherd in Christ.

"JOSEPH FRANCIS RUMMEL,
"Archbishop of New Orleans."

Check spelling
Belligerent

THE UNITARIAN CHURCH

Resolution Adopted at 1956 Annual Meeting at Boston, Mass.

WHEREAS: Unitarians are on record as desirous of facilitating the process to nonsegregation in our American public schools, and the full recognition of the rights of all minority groups in our democracy;

WHEREAS: We cannot close our eyes to the realities of a new and belligerent obstructionism, nor to the considerable areas of discrimination that still remain; and

WHEREAS: Law enforcement agencies of several states have failed to cope with the problems involved; and the Federal Government is apparently unable, through the Department of Justice, to deal with the situation under existing statutes;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That the American Unitarian Association assembled at its 131st Annual Meeting
Urge our churches and fellowships to exert their utmost moral and spiritual influence to further the aims of the Supreme Court decision, to overcome the fears and prejudices of those who oppose it, and to preserve the integrity of our public school system;
Urge the President of the United States to appoint a bi-partisan committee to study both the immediate and the long-range problems of securing school integration in communities that now oppose it, to suggest the best procedures, to urge that a time table be followed, and to report at suitable intervals on progress that is being made in this matter;
Call upon the Department of Justice to seek out ways and means which will enable it to guarantee law and order is all American communities;
Urge the Congress of the United States to consider and pass specific laws to implement federal prosecution of crimes against the Constitution, in particular, anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation; and laws which will safeguard the right to vote wherever it is denied or threatened on account of race or color.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE THOMAS JEFFERSON CONFERENCE OF 58
THE UNITARIAN CHURCH, APRIL,1956 ( REPRESENTATING CONGREGATIONS
IN SOUTHEASTERN STATES ).

"WHEREAS: Unitarians have an historic and frequently-recorded obligation to uphold human brotherhood and freedom for all men; and

WHEREAS: Men of good will of all opinions and persuasions are earnestly working on local and regional levels for peaceful solutions of the difficult problems of racial tensions in the South; and

WHEREAS: We recognize the difficulties of implementing a wise and just course of action which goes against the deep-seated emotions of a significant number of people;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:"

"(1) That we members of the Thomas Jefferson Conference of Unitarian Churches and Fellowships, in annual meeting assembled, to hereby reaffirm our support of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States dealing with compulsory segregation of the races;

"(2) That we favor every attempt to meet and search for areas of agreement and mutual understanding among men of all races and persuasions, and stand ready to foster and join with all such attempts;

"(3) That we respectfully urge the President of the United States, the governors of the separate states, and all persons in civil authority to call and persistently support, within their respective jurisdictions, conferences of good citizens of both races in order that groundwork of healthy communication may be established and just solutions to these problems may be found."

THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH OF AMERICA 34
( Resolution adopted by the 1955 General Assembly. )

In as much as the Supremem Court of the United States has ruled that there shall be speedy desegregation in public schools, and as we are in agreement with the principle of racial equality which this decision implements, we hereby resolve that we urge the Universalist Churches of America to assume and maintain leadership roles in their communities to create climates of opinion which will hasten equal educational opportunity.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U. S. A.

STATEMENT ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL BOARD, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, MAY 19, 1954, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS RE DECISION OF THE U. S. SUPREME COURT ON SEGREGATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The unanimous decision of the Supreme Court that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional gives a clear status in law to a fundamental Christian and American principle. The decision will have far-reaching effects in the whole nation and the world.

It offers the promise of further steps for translating into reality Christian and democratic ideals. The decision is a milestone in the achievement of human rights, another evidence of the endeavor to respect the dignity and worth of all men.

The complexity of implementing the decision is recognized by the Court which has set the cases for further reargument on the formulation of the decrees. To put the decision into effect will test the goodwill and discipline of people in many communities. Adjustments will be more difficult in some localities than in others. In the period of transition from one pattern to another (whatever the length of the period to be prescribed by the Court), we know that the churches and individual Christians will continue to exert their influence and leadership to help the authorized agencies in the several communities to bring about a complete compliance with the decision of the Supreme Court. The law of neighborliness is the great guide available to Christians as they deal with this

situation in their local communities. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." The second part of the Great Commandment contains the potential for lifting men to a new level of social responsibilty and for creating new dimensions of human brotherhood.

UNITED CHURCH WOMEN-NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES IN THE U.S.
October 1953

The decision of the U.S. Supreme Court relative to segregated schools in this nation is now pending. Whatever this decision may be, Christian women face the immediate urgency of finding ways to meet the impact of the decision on their community patterns and practices. It is recommended that State and local councils acquaint themselves and their communities with the decision and help all groups concerned to understand its implications and to make the adjustments that may be necessary.

UNITED CHURCH WOMEN CSR Chairmen FROM THE FIFTEEN SOUTHERN STATES
June 21, 1954-meeting in conference in Atlanta, Ga.

1. Because of our high calling of God in Christ Jesus, we reaffirm our belief in human brotherhood and the inclusiveness of Christian fellowship. Therefore, we feel we are impelled to promote a Christian society in which segregation is no longer a burden upon the human spirit.

2. We accept with humility the Supreme Court decision as supporting the broad Christian principle of the dignity and worth of human personality and affording the opportunity of translating into reality Christian and democratic ideals.

3. We believe that the best solutions to our many problems can be reached when all people of all races work together toward a common end, and we urge the women to make every effort to bring together individuals in free discussion.

4. We are all charged with the responsibility of the training and the nurture of children and youth. We pray God's guidance upon us as we seek to shape right attitudes in the home, in the church, in the school and in all areas of life in which we move.

# WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

## Resolutions adopted at the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches, Evanston, Illinois, Aug. 15-31, 1954

The Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches declares its conviction that any form of segregation based on race, color or ethnic origin is contrary to the Gospel, and is incompatible with the Christian doctrine of man and with the nature of the Church of Christ. The Assembly urges the churches within its membership to renounce all forms of segregation or discrimination and to work for their abolition within their own life and within society.

In doing so the Assembly is painfully aware that, in the realities of the contemporary world, many churches find themselves confronted by historical, political, social, and economic circumstances which may make the immediate achievement of this objective extremely difficult. But under God the fellowship of the ecumenical movement is such as to offer to these churches the strength and encouragement to help them and individuals within them to overcome these difficulties with the courage given by faith, and with the desire to testify ever more faithfully to our Master.

From its very beginning the ecumenical movement by its very nature has been committed to a form of fellowship in which there is no segregation or discrimination. The Assembly of the World Council of Churches rejoices in this fact and confirms this practice as the established policy of the Council.

This Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches recognizes that one of the major problems of social justice in situations involving racial and ethnic tensions is that of securing for all the opportunities for the free exercise of responsible citizenship and for effective participation by way of franchise in both local and central govenment activity. It commends this matter to the attention of all Christian people for such action as, under God, they may be led to take in order to secure the solution of this problem.

**Note: The full report of the Section on "Inter-Group Relations-The Church Amid Racial and Ethnic Tensions," which was received by the Second Assembly and commended to the churches for study and appropriate action is included in the booklet "Evanston Speaks" available from: World Council of Churches, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York at fifty cents per copy.**

ADDITIONAL CHURCHES

Assemblies of God: Mr. Curtis W. Ringness, Assistant Secretary of the General Council, wrote that "No pronouncement has been made by the General Council of the Assemblies of God on segregation."

National Baptist Convention of America: No answer was received in time to be included in this compilation.

Churches of Christ: Mr. B.C. Goodpasture, Editor of The Gospel Advocate, wrote as follows: "The Churches of Christ have no central organization or headquarters. Each congregation decides what it should do in the light of New Testament teaching. The New Testament teaches that Christians should obey the law of the land in so far as they are in harmony with the teaching of the Bible. It is our opinion that the churches generally will deal with the segregation question on this principle."

Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints: No answer was received in time to be included in the compilation.

Church of Christ,Scientist: Mrs. Catherine G. Runner, Corresponding Secretary of the Christian Science Board of Directors, wrote as follows: "In the Mother Church there has never been segregation in the seating arrangements nor in the Sunday School. There are many members of the Negro race who are members of the Mother Church. They are admitted under the same regulations as are all the others who apply for membership, and these regulations may be found in the Manual of the Mother Church by our Leader, Mary Baker Eddy.

"Each branch church makes its own rules as to membership in accordance with the provisions of the Church Manual, Article XIII, Section 1, which include the statement:

" 'The Mother Church of Christ, Scientist, shall assume no general control of the other churches, and it shall be controlled by none other. Each church of Christ, Scientist, shall have its own form of government.' "

Church of God (Anderson, Indiana): Mr. R. Eugene Sterner, Director of Church Service, wrote: "The Church of God, with headquarters in Anderson, Indiana, has taken no official action on the segregation issue. Indeed, this movement is incapable of a united action, inasmuch as it is not, in the ecclesiastical sense, a denomination. Therefore,there is no titular head of the church who would be capable of issuing such a statement."

Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee): Mr. H.D. Williams, General Secretary and Treasurer, wrote:"Our church has not entered this controversial issue. We do have a very progressive work among the colored people in the United States, also outside the United States.

"In the United States they have their own Overseer, they have their annual convention where the appointments of various church officers are made.. We have found this to be a very practical and pleasant way of carrying on our work with them. Our colored work outside the United States is under our Foreign Missions Board."

Churches of God in Jesus Christ: Mr. Harold Doan, General Manager of the General Conference, wrote on August 29, 1956: "The Churches of God in Jesus Christ have just completed their annual General Conference and will not meet again as a body until next year. The churches as a conference have taken no definite stand, nor passed any resolution on the subject of segregation.

"Most of our churches are in the North and the matter has not been one of personal concern affecting any of our organized churches. Since we are congregational in government and are very loosely organized, any such resolution as you have in mind would have to be passed by the delegates to our General Conference.

"It may seem that we are avoiding the issue, but to date the matter has not been an issue within the church."

Church of the Nazarene: No answer was received in time to be included in this compilation.

Greek Archdiocese of North and South America: The following is an excerpt from the resolutions passed by the 13th Biennial Clergy-Laity Congress, held in Washington, D.C., September 30-October 6, 1956: "We, the clergy and lay representatives of the Greek Orthodox Church in North and South America, assembled at its Biennial Ecclesiastical Congress at the Sheraton Park Hotel in Washington....convey our brotherly greetings to all of our fellow Americans, irrespective of race, creed or social status, and urge them to cooperate with one another in the spirit of complete understanding and Christian brotherhood for the solution of the pressing domestic and international problems facing us."

United Lutheran Church in America: No answer was received in time for inclusion in this compilation.

Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of North America: No answer was received in time for inclusion in this compilation.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS: No answer was received in time to be included in this compilation.

JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES: The watch Tower Bible and Tract Society wrote that no resolution has been passed on the question of segregation, but that their position has been clearly stated in a number of their recent publications. An article in Awake!, April 22, 1956, states: "The fact is that true Christians must have no distinction among themselves: There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor freeman, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in union with Christ Jesus. (Galatians 3:28). New World Trans. However, true Christians of both races know that the only real solution to the old world's many social problems and injustices will come not in man's way, but only when Jehovah God, through his Son Christ Jesus, abolishes all the fears, inequalities and injustices of Satan's old world and replaces them with the blessing of God's righteous new one. Thus, rather than embroiling themselves in political agitation on behalf of their own or some other race, or kicking against the established system, they put their efforts into the far more important work of preaching the good news if God's kingdom to all people showing them the blessings that will come through God's direct intervention, but not in man's way."

SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS: Mr. W. R. Beach, Secretary of the General Conference, wrote that the Seventh-day Adventist Church has not felt the need in recent years of making a pronouncement or issuing a statement on the problem of segregation. He gave several quotations from standard publications of the church to illustrate that the church has condemned segregation down through the years. Specifically on the practices of the church, we wrote that Negro and Caucasin brethren fellowship without discrimination in their general meetings and conferences. "Many of our churches in the north have colored members. They associate with the others on a basis of full equality. Where we have a large number of Negro believers it has proved more satisfactory to have churches for the colored constituency. These churches have been organized into conferences. This, too, was carried out in cooperation with the Negro brethren and agreed to be church, not in the spirit of segregation, but rather that the work of God may go forward under more favorable conditions and more efficiently.

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

All of the statements included in this compilation, with the exceptions indicated below, were obtained from the organizations responsible for them.

From New South, Vol.11, No. 10 (October, 1956), published by the Southern Regional Council, statements by the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.; B'nai B'rith; United Church Women; Catholic Interracial Council; Most. Rev. Robert E. Lucy; Most Rev. Albert L. Fletcher, Most. Rev. Vincent J. Waters.

From Interracial News Service, May-June, 1956, published by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., statement of the Council of Bishops of the Africal Methodist Episcopal Church.

From "Denominational Statements with Reference to a Racially Inclusive Fellowship", published by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., statement of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church.

The statement by the Most Rev. Joseph Francis Rummel was furnished by the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

# Freedom

# the Christian Concept

*Report of the Council on*

**CHRISTIAN RELATIONS**

*Approved by*

**1957 GENERAL ASSEMBLY** 321

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN RELATIONS
BOARD OF CHURCH EXTENSION
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
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## COUNCIL ON CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

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# Preface

The 97th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, meeting in Birmingham, Alabama, April 25-30, 1957, adopted the following recommendation:

> *"That the Report of the Council on Christian Relations, entitled 'FREEDOM — THE CHRISTIAN CONCEPT,' be approved and commended for wide distribution and study among the churches."*

During these days both of opportunity and of crisis it is hoped that the content of this Report will get into the program of local churches. It should be of value for study groups as they seek to discover the demands of responsible Christian Citizenship. The Division of Christian Relations is eager to cooperate with the churches in any way which will be helpful.

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN,
*Secretary, Division of Christian Relations*

# FREEDOM

## *The Christian Concept*

The light of freedom that brightens our land is a reflection of the Christian faith as revealed in the New Testament. The freedom of the New Testament is basically a freedom from error about God, error that produced many forms of religious perversion, such as idolatry, oppressive legalism, hypocrisy. In the absence of a pure religion, society was essentially predatory. The ultimate truth about God is summed up in the person of Christ, and it is through a faithful and affectionate knowledge of Him that we are freed from error about God. The result is release from all that is demonic, from the tyranny of lust, from unresolved guilt, irrational discipline, sterile tradition, a sense of futility. As our Westminster Confession states it: "The liberty which Christ hath purchased for believers under the gospel consists in their freedom from the guilt of sin, the condemning wrath of God, the curse of the moral law; and in their being delivered from this present evil world, bondage to Satan, and dominion of sin, from the evil of afflictions, the sting of death, the victory of the grave, and everlasting damnation; as also in their free access to God, and their yielding obedience unto Him, not out of slavish fear, but a childlike love, and a willing mind." (The Confession of Faith, Chapter XXII.) Yet this New Testament freedom is neither irresponsible nor libertine. Characteristically, Paul states that the converts, "having been set free from sin, have become slaves of righteousness." (Romans 6:18.)

The New Testament does not specifically treat these issues of freedom that we face today in corporate life. It says nothing directly about the abolition of slavery and child labor, the emancipation of women, national autonomy, or democratic government. The Christian is exhorted to enjoy his personal freedom even if he is in bondage, because his faith now enables him to endure his earthly category and at the same time transcend it. Yet we can safely infer that the corporate freedoms we now have or covet are the products of that original freedom conferred upon every man who learns the truth about God. There are two reasons for this inference. First, no man can retain his own sense of freedom as long as he, individually or collectively, consciously violates the nature of another. He must be one who confers freedom in order to attain it. Second, if it is argued that Jesus never made any social pronouncements, it must be answered that rather He never made any distinction between one's behavior toward man, the individual, and man, the aggregate. His teachings in the framework of individual relationships were categorical and therefore applicable to every relation from the simple to the complex.

Our technique then as churchmen is to place our personal freedom in the matrix of present conditions and encourage its growth into all areas of life. The experience of this personal freedom creates a healthy discontentment with every form of bondage, subtle or conspicuous. That's why the Christian faith has issued into a form of government that offers the highest degree of liberty. John Milton, one of the articulate spokesmen of the Reformed Faith, wrote: "Our liberty and religion thus prosperously fought for, . . . nothing remains in all reason the certain hopes of a speedy and immediate settlement forever in a firm and free commonwealth. . . . And what government comes nearer to the precept of Christ than a free commonwealth; wherein they who are the greatest are perpetual servants and drudges to the public at their own cost and charges, neglect their own affairs, yet are not elevated above their brethren; live soberly in their families, walk the street as other men, may be spoken to freely, familiarly, friendly, without adoration?" (Establishing a Commonwealth.) We have in this land a commonwealth of which the reformers dreamed. In the case of Meyer v. Nebraska, 1923, the Supreme Court of the United States offered this interpretation of liberty: "(It) denotes not merely freedom from bodily restraint, but also the right of an individual to contract, to engage in any of the common occupations of life, to acquire useful knowledge, to marry, establish a home and bring up children, to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and generally to enjoy those privileges recognized at common law as essential to the orderly pursuit of happiness by free men."

As modern churchmen, who have known the truth that sets us free, let us apply our devotion to the maturing of these freedoms.

## I. *Freedom of Worship*

Early settlers came to the shores of America in the belief that here they might enjoy a measure of freedom in fulfilling the aspirations of their inner convictions. One of these aspirations was to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience without fear of molestation. The gospel encourages and supports this right of man to worship God as their conscience directs them. Early in the history of the Christian Church the doors of the Church were opened to *any* person who believed in the Lord Jesus Christ, without further qualification. The manifestation of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost symbolized the nature of the Christian Church with respect to those who would comprise her membership, and share in her worship and program.

A noted constitutional lawyer has written: "Of all our liberties, perhaps the most important is religious liberty. A government that coerces its citizens in the domain of the spiritual will hardly hesitate to coerce them in the domain of the temporal. If it will direct how they shall worship, it will certainly direct how they shall vote. Certain it is

that religious liberty is the progenitor of most other civil liberties. Out of victory in the struggle for freedom to worship as one's conscience dictates came victory in the struggle for freedom to speak as one's reason dictates. Freedom of the press came from the struggle for freedom to print religious tracts, and freedom to assemble politically can be traced to the successful struggle for freedom to assemble religiously. Even procedural liberties incident to our concept of a fair trial grew largely out of the struggle for procedural fairness in heresy and other religious trials." *(The Liberties of An American,* Leo Pfeffer, Beacon Press.)

Freedom of worship is more than a right to one's private views and devotions; it is a right to express them in organized public assemblage, to publicize the Church's faith by the written and spoken word, to make converts, to instruct children, to apply that faith to the whole of life. This right is denied many of our fellow believers behind the Iron Curtain, in many nations predominantly Roman Catholic, such as Colombia and Spain, in Mohammedan territories, as in Saudi Arabia. Our own Westminster Assembly in forming our Confession of Faith felt bound by Scripture to make this freedom of worship specific: "Saints by their profession are bound to maintain an holy fellowship and communion in the worship of God, . . . which communion, as God offereth opportunity, is to be extended unto *all* those who, in *every* place, call upon the name of the Lord Jesus." (Confession of Faith, Chapter XXVIII, Paragraph II; see also I John 1:3; 3:16-18.) The General Assembly, therefore, urges that its members pray that this fundamental freedom become available to all people, that the Department of State exert its influence toward that end, and that the Roman Catholic hierarchy receive upon its conscience a sense of responsibility for mutual tolerance.

Within the bounds of our own Assembly there seems to exist a striking example of the violation of the right to worship. Members of the Koinonia community near Americus, Georgia, state that their communal life is not primarily a social or agricultural experiment but an experience in worship. They have professed their allegiance to this nation, they have denied affiliation in any subversive party, they have violated no laws and have made a significant contribution to farming techniques in this area. Yet because their experiment knows no barrier of color they are treated as enemies of society. Their property has been strafed, dynamited, and burned; their children maligned, their lives jeopardized. Even worse, many "respectable" citizens of the area have joined in an economic boycott designed to destroy their financial stability and drive them to ruin. The General Assembly would remind the citizens of this area of the danger of trying to destroy those who dare to live by their Christian convictions, even though they may differ from them in their opinions. The General Assembly commends all Christian individuals and groups in Georgia who have spoken out so strongly against this denial of freedom to worship. Other examples might be given from

other areas of attempts to destroy freedom of worship as a basic right of all Americans. The Assembly calls on Christians everywhere to be alert to this grievous threat to freedom of religion.

## II. *Freedom to Learn*

It is in the Protestant tradition to support the public school system for a free public education as the handmaiden of democracy. Ignorance and prejudice are the weapons of tyranny. Yet we find our school system in jeopardy. There is a shortage of qualified teachers, buildings are inadequate or obsolete, indecision reigns as a result of the Supreme Court decision. This condition shall continue unless we give the teaching profession the respect it is due, and support financially a service we have received too cheaply. Therefore, the General Assembly urges its members to make every effort to maintain an adequate public school system for all elements of its population and to provide proper compensation for its teachers. It commends those teachers who have regarded their work a Christian vocation, refusing more lucrative offers to stay at their positions; those mothers of families who fill the breach during this critical shortage; and those qualified young people who are now training to teach as a Christian service to their community. The General Assembly would call attention to the fact that the Christian faith has never countenanced racial discrimination and that the supreme law of the land requires that it no longer be practiced in the public school system. Therefore, during this period of transition every member of the Assembly is urged to work in his own community for an honest and durable adjustment.

## III. *Freedom of Speech*

The Christian Church advocates the right of free speech even if the idea expressed be wrong. Freedom of speech involves the right of dissent; yet of late America has been compelled to struggle for this right both within and without her own borders. The fear of Communism has bred suspicion and distrust which is injurious not only in arresting creative thinking but in bringing our nation into disrepute among the free nations. The consequences of this fear are still seen in many areas of life whenever the stigma of Communism is put on anyone who dares vary from the customary pattern of society. It may occur in politics, in business, in education, or in the Church. A congressman is not reelected, a school teacher faces investigation, a health officer is dismissed, a journalist is forced to leave the community, a man suddenly loses his credit, and a minister loses his congregation — all because they exercised their right to speak freely. We would reaffirm our condemnation of Communism as a system and deplore the use of its evil methods against our own citizens by our own citizens.

Freedom of speech includes the right to register one's opinion through the medium of voting. While it is deplorable that so many of our citizens fail to exercise their franchise, there are many others who are denied the privilege by devious means, such as severe literacy tests, the use of a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting, concealing information concerning the time and place of registration, economic pressure, and threat of reprisal. The price of this corporate dishonesty is political demagoguery in its worst form.

## IV. *Freedom of Assembly*

In many parts of the world people have not the privilege of public assembly except as it is sponsored or sanctioned by the State. This condition is to be deplored and feared. Yet in the United States there are areas in which freedom of assembly is seriously restricted. Where there are groups which would meet on a non-segregated basis, the State sometimes stands in the way. Efforts to maintain the status quo in social patterns and to intimidate those who believe in the right of public assembly to discuss mutual social problems have been made by numerous "citizens" groups formed in many states. To strive to carry out the law of the land and to advocate the same is to incur the enmity of these groups. Perhaps it is in the areas of freedom of speech and freedom of assembly that Chritsian citizens should give primary attention at this time, for people with full freedom to voice their convictions cannot remain fettered.

## V. *Freedom to Serve*

One ought to have the freedom of becoming the person intended by his Maker that he should be, and to serve in the place and way for which he was given life. Work in which one may have a sense of fulfilling God's purpose for him should be available to all. Recent figures indicate that less than 3% of the total labor force in the United States is unemployed. Yet many people, because of racial or national background, encounter great difficulty in obtaining that work for which they are best prepared by their gifts and temperament. In a survey of the employment practices of major business firms in one large American city it was discovered that 18% of 20,000 job orders placed during the last six months with commercial employment agencies barred Jews from consideration. (Anti-Defamation League, *Rights,* January 1957.)

While there has been a trend in the last ten years toward the use of Negroes in federal, state, and municipal employment, far too many capable people are unable to get into the professions and certain salaried jobs. When such channels open up, it often necessitates moving to a section of the nation strange to them. Discriminatory practices in promotion and upgrading are often found among business firms and other agencies.

As Americans we believe in the "pursuit of happiness" for all citizens. If happiness is to be the lot of the man at work, there must be mutual respect and loyalty between the employer and the employee. This is especially important in an age when automation plays such a prominent part. As mass production tends to depersonalize the activity of the individual worker, it is all the more important that the relations between the employer and employee be Christian. This means the will for the good of the other on the part of each.

There is need also today to consider the lot of the aging, lest their right to satisfying work be taken from them. There are approximately 13,500,000 people over the age of 65, and this number is increasing. Christian business men in places of influence can render a fine service toward the happiness of a great many by giving thought to this problem in the planning of their business.

## VI. *Freedom of Fellowship*

One of the subtlest deterrents to the effectiveness of the Christian faith is restrictive fellowship. Even that faith itself when pridefully employed becomes a divider rather than a binder. When a particular church or denomination recruits its membership from one stratum of society, it mistakes social compatibility for Christian fellowship. In much of American life churches and secular organizations restrict their fellowship on the basis of economic, cultural, racial, and national factors. It is a type of short-sighted selfishness which prevents such groups from recognizing the good *in* another and from receiving the good *of* another. Churchmen are supposed to be the ambassadors of reconciliation. They cannot perform this function if they practice aloofness toward those of a different status. A social climate must be created which will encourage a free concourse of men of good will regardless of their race, status, or national origin.

## VII. *Freedom from Want*

Freedom from want is essential if one is to grow properly. Clothing, food, shelter, and health contribute to one's physical, moral, and spiritual well-being. Jesus was concerned that people should have bread to eat. Recognizing that man's life consisted of more than food and clothing, He yet was quick to relieve such need. In this land of plenty there are still groups of people who find life hard, and because of circumstances beyond their control know the pain of hunger and the strain of providing for themselves and their loved ones. In the Early Church provision was made for the needs of the community, especially for those of the "household of faith." Conditions have changed greatly since the first century, but the Church should not permit anyone to suffer who can be reached by its ministry whether at home or abroad. "No people can live in isolated plenty in the midst of a needy world and expect to avoid the withering of its

Christian spirit. As stewards of abundance, owing all to God, we must in simple justice and brotherhood share with those in need." (From "American Abundance," National Council of Churches, page 9.)

Adequate clothing and shelter are not the possession of some people, even in America. Recent reports show that some 10,400,000 housing units are rated sub-standard. In rural communities 23% of the housing fails to measure up to satisfactory living standards. (See "Houses and People" by Margaret E. Kuhn, National Council of Churches, pp. 6, 7.)

Freedom from want means freedom from disease and from the anxiety occasioned by one's inability to obtain proper medical care. In America much progress has been made in providing for the sick. The family doctor is giving way to the clinic and community hospital where diseases can be diagnosed and the patient treated. This transition gives good promise for the future welfare of our people, but in the interval some are being denied adequate medical care. Where patients are not admitted because of insufficient funds or because of lack of space for patients of a particular race, their freedom to live has been seriously, if not critically, curtailed. The rapid growth in population has far outstripped the development of facilities for the treatment of the sick. A tragic part of the picture is the woeful inadequacy of facilities for the care and treatment of mental cases so prevalent today. Far too many of God's family will not be treated for diseases which are remediable. For them life becomes a period of waiting. The program of Jesus included the restoring of individuals to physical and mental health. The early disciples were directed to continue this healing ministry. The Church today must manifest its concern and give its support to this expression of Christian faith.

One channel of opportunity with rich dividends is Church World Service through our Department of Overseas Relief. In the year 1956, 186,000,000 pounds of food were sent abroad under the Share Our Surplus program. This was distributed through Christian channels abroad at an average rate of 254 pounds for one dollar of cost. Our Church's share in this was 14 million pounds, valued at over two million dollars. In addition, Church World Service collected nearly four million pounds of clothing, bedding, etc., of which the people of our Church sent in 178,293 pounds. Food, clothing, medicines, vitamins, and self-help materials were sent to thirty-three countries abroad. Church World Service has also been active in helping find new homes for refugees. For instance, of 22,258 Hungarian refugees who have come to the United States, 4,099 were cared for by this organization. The field for service in this area is still the world.

## VIII. *Freedom from Fear*

We all recognize that the emotion of fear will never be extinguished by either religion or government. Nor would this be desirable, for there are natural fears that every man has that sharpen his senses. But man has

a right to be relieved of the dangers that threaten his well-being which result from the sinful aggression of other men. In this nation where Christianity and democracy are bywords, it is unthinkable that a Christian should join himself to klan or council whose purpose is to gain its point by intimidation, reprisal, and violence, or that he should lift no voice of protest against those who appeal to prejudice and spread fear. In the world community the chief threat to man's sense of well-being is the threat of war. The destructive potential of another conflict leaves us no alternative to peace. To this end the General Assembly (1) urges its members to support the United Nations as an instrument by which sovereign nations can meet together, plan together, and act together "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war"; (2) urges our government to continue negotiations for the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, pursuing such negotiations vigorously within the collective security concepts of the United Nations, when possible; and to continue to make unremitting efforts to find a solution to the present deadlock over methods of disarmament; and (3) urges the Congress to review and debate foreign aid proposals without malice and partisan maneuvering so that decisions will be made on the basis of need and in relation to our goal of peace; and firmly to support the technical assistance programs developed both by the United Nations and by our own government.

### *Conclusion*

While we have dealt with basic freedoms principally in the light of American life, we would urge just as strongly that we as Christians recognize the right of all people and nations to them. We would further recognize that unless we give our efforts to the winning of them for others, we shall hardly win them for ourselves; and surely our hands will be impotent to help others if they are idle in removing the barriers to freedom at our doorstep.

"Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom." (II Cor. 3:17.)

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# TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

May 17, 1963

# THE NATION

## RACES

### Freedom—Now

Birmingham Negroes had always been a docile lot. Downtown at night, they slouched in gloomy huddles beneath street lamps, talking softly or not at all. They knew their place: they were "niggers" in a Jim Crow town, and they bore their degradation in silence.

Last week they smashed that image forever. The scenes in Birmingham were unforgettable. There was the Negro youth, sprawled on his back and spinning across the pavement, while firemen battered him with streams of water so powerful that they could strip bark off trees. There was the Negro woman, pinned to the ground by cops, one of them with his knee dug into her throat. There was the white man who watched hymn-singing Negroes burst from a sweltering church and growled: "We ought to shoot every damned one of them." And there was the little Negro girl, splendid in a newly starched dress, who marched out of a church, looked toward a massed line of pistol-packing cops, and called to a laggard friend: "Hurry up, Lucille. If you stay behind, you won't get arrested with our group."

For more than a month, Negro demonstrations in Birmingham had sputtered, bursting occasionally into flames, then flickering out. Martin Luther King, the Negroes' inspirational but sometimes inept leader, had picked this bastion of racial inequality for the crusade, "because Birmingham is the symbol of segregation." In the last six years, there have been 18 racial bombings (Negroes call it "Bombingham") and more than 50 cross-burnings. Schools are totally segregated. So are restaurants, drinking fountains, toilets. Birmingham gave up its professional baseball team rather than have it playing integrated teams in the International League. The Metropolitan Opera Company no longer visits the city, because officials refused to integrate the municipal auditorium. Parks were shut down last year, because officials would not integrate them after a court order.

Unquestionably, Birmingham was the toughest segregation town in the South, from the Negroes' viewpoint. And it was symbolized by Public Safety Commissioner Eugene ("Bull") Connor, who had cowed Negroes for 23 years with hoarse threats and club-swinging cops.

King began planning the Birmingham action before last Christmas. He went to Birmingham himself, conducted a series of workshops in nonviolent protests and recruited 200 volunteers willing to go to jail for freedom. When he left, he told no one else in Birmingham of his plans. He didn't dare. Bull Connor had a ring of spies in the Negro community. Also King was obsessed by the fear that other groups, more aligned to violence than he was, might move into Birmingham. But he got there first.

UPI

FIRE HOSE BLAST FELLS NEGRO YOUTH IN BIRMINGHAM
"Let them turn their water on. Let them use their dogs."

King and Connor clashed head-on. The commissioner had his cops—plus a pack of snarling police dogs and a battery of high-pressure fire hoses. The Negro minister had only the determination and courage of his people. He had mobilized schoolchildren for his freedom parades. Hundreds of kids were in jail, and, as last week began, Birmingham was at the point of explosion.

**"Forgive Them."** On Sunday, the Negroes tried, as they had before, to worship in white churches. But segregation in Birmingham's Christian churches is nearly as rigid as in public toilets: Negroes got into four churches, were ordered away from 17 others. Late in the afternoon, King called a mass meeting at the New Pilgrim Baptist Church. Outside, Bull Connor massed 50 policemen and a fire truck with water pressure cranked up to 700 lbs. When the crowd of 1,000 poured out of the church just before dusk, they lined up and marched toward the police. A police captain demanded their parade permit. They had none. Seeing the fire hoses, they knelt in silence as a Negro minister solemnly began to pray: "Let them turn their water on. Let them use their dogs. We are not leaving. Forgive them, O Lord."

Suddenly, inexplicably, in a moment of overt mercy, Bull Connor waved the Negroes through the police line. He allowed them 15 minutes of hymns and prayer in a small park near the city jail; inside, behind bars, hundreds of other Negroes could hear the singing. Returning to the church, the demonstrators were told that Negro children would march again next day—and should carry their toothbrushes with them to use in jail.

The march began a few minutes past 1 o'clock, led by Comedian Dick Gregory, from the 16th Street Baptist Church. When a policeman demanded his parade permit, Gregory spoke softly—in contrast to his wisecracking smart talk to cops

AP

BIRMINGHAM COPS MANHANDLING NEGRO WOMAN
The children carried toothbrushes.

during last month's Greenwood, Miss., voting registration demonstrations. Gregory and 18 teen-agers in his protest platoon were herded into a paddy wagon. In squads of 20, 30, and 40, more youngsters left the church, were shoved into paddy wagons and taken to jail. Bull Connor arrived and yelled at a police captain: "I told you these sons of bitches ought to be watered down." That night, to shouts of "Amen, brother, amen," a King aide cried: "War has been declared in Birmingham. War has been declared on segregation."

The Negro leaders intended it to be a particular, pacific kind of war. King had preached Gandhi's nonviolent protest gospel ever since he arrived in Birmingham. The demonstrations were meant to be an outgrowth of the passive sit-ins and bus boycotts mounted in other Southern cities. But not every Negro in Birmingham remained so placid before Bull Connor's ferocity.

**"Those Black Apes."** So there was violence. It began shortly after noon the next day. Connor's cops were relaxed, eating sandwiches and sipping soft drinks. They were caught by surprise when the doors of the 16th Street church were flung open and 2,500 Negroes swarmed out. The Negroes surged across Kelly Ingram Park, burst through the police line, and descended on downtown Birmingham. Yelling and singing, they charged in and out of department stores, jostled whites on the streets, paralyzed traffic.

Recovering, the police got reinforcements. Firemen hooked up their hoses. Motorcycles and squad cars, sirens blaring, rushed into the area. Two policemen grabbed a Negro, shoved him against a storefront—and found themselves caught inside a glowering circle of 300 Negroes. A voice growled menacingly: "Let's free him." But demonstration leaders quickly broke into the circle and managed to save the policemen.

The riot ebbed—and then, an hour later, exploded again. In Kelly Ingram Park, hundreds of Negroes began lobbing bricks and bottles at the lawmen. A deputy sheriff fell to the pavement, shouting "Those black apes!"

For two hours, the battle raged, but slowly, inexorably, in trucks and cars, the police closed in on the park. The Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, one of King's top advisers, yelled helplessly at rioters from in front of the church, finally took a blast of water that slammed him violently against a wall. An ambulance took him away, and when Bull Connor heard about it later, he leered in mock despair: "I waited a week down here to see that, and then I missed it. I wish it had been a hearse."

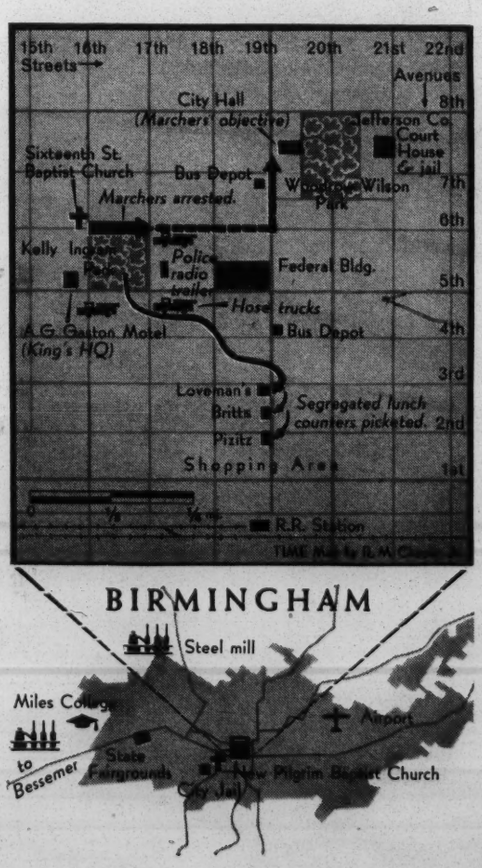
Now it was over. The Negroes were forced back into the church, and Commissioner Connor glared at the closed doors. Said he: "If any of those guys in that church there is a preacher, then I'm a watchmaker—and I've never seen the inside of a watch. They say they're nonviolent? I got three men hurt today. Is that nonviolence?"

That night, Alabama's ultra-segregationist Governor George Wallace sent 600 men to reinforce Bull Connor's weary cops. And Martin Luther King appeared before his followers to say: "We will turn America upside down in order that it turn right side up."

Birmingham had already been upset—and all but overturned. Downtown merchants, plagued for more than a year by a Negro boycott that was 90% effective, saw their profits plunging even more because of the demonstrations. Birmingham's racist reputation had long been bad enough to frighten away potential industry; rioting by King's forces would further scar the city's image. And, despite the headline-hogging prominence of such racists as Bull Connor and Governor Wallace, there were a significant number of moderates in Birmingham who wanted peace, simply because they believed the Negro indeed deserved better treatment than he was getting. In fact, last month Birmingham had elected Mayor Albert Boutwell, 58, a relatively cool thinker on racial affairs, over Bull Connor.

**The Pallid Peace.** Even as Negroes fought whites on Birmingham's streets, peace talks were under way. A team of Justice Department lawyers, headed by Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall, went to Birmingham, began a series of meetings with local businessmen. Of the white negotiators, Martin Luther King made four demands: 1) desegregate all public facilities in department and variety stores; 2) give Negroes equal job opportunities; 3) drop all charges against the 2,500 Negroes who had been arrested during the demonstrations; 4) set up a biracial committee to establish a timetable for reopening parks and other facilities which Birmingham's city fathers had closed to avoid integration.

The first meetings were held in deep secrecy, for the white businessmen involved feared both economic and physical reprisals from redneck hoodlums in Birmingham. Marshall attended nearly all of them. Negroes were represented by a local committee, including A. G. Gaston, one of the U.S.'s few Negro millionaires. Sidney Smyer, a lawyer and real estate man, was the chief spokesman for the



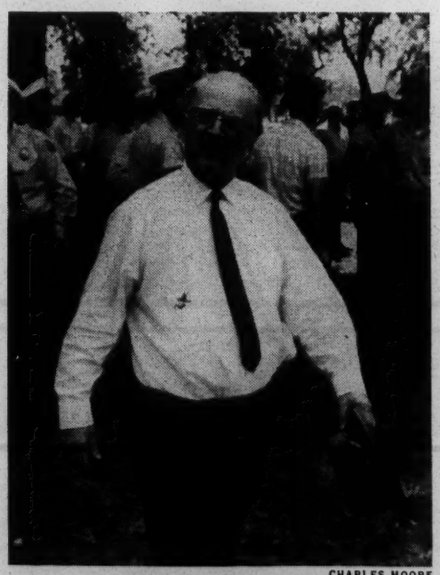
whites—and, at week's end, still the only negotiator from that side who had the courage to permit himself to be publicly identified.

There were meetings on Sunday and Monday—handled much like union-management negotiations, with representatives bringing results of the conference back to their leaders. King attended none of the sessions. On Tuesday about 60 white merchants agreed to some of the Negroes' demands. They did it only after Jefferson County Sheriff Melvin Bailey laid the facts on the line: either they do something positive, or martial law would clamp down on Birmingham.

To add to the pressure, the crisis spurred dozens of pleading phone calls from Washington and such Administration officials as Bobby Kennedy, Treasury Secretary Douglas Dillon and Defense Secretary Robert McNamara. Finally the businessmen gave halfhearted agreement to King's demands—but there was no assurance that they could persuade Birmingham's segregationist politicians to go along, and it was indeed an uneasy peace that settled on the city.

**Out the Window.** It was also a peace without victory after a war without heroes. Bull Connor was by no means Birmingham's only shame; the city's newspapers, for example, put the riot story on an inside page (*see* PRESS). Yet at the same time, Negro Leader King could be criticized for using children as shock troops and for inciting the protests even as a new, relatively moderate city administration was about to take over Birmingham.

President Kennedy also came in for criticism. At his press conference, Kennedy claimed that the Federal Government had done all it legally could do about Birmingham. But that, insisted other leaders, both white and Negro, was untrue. Said Harvard Law School Dean Erwin Griswold, a member of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission: "It seems clear to me that he hasn't even started to use the powers that are available to him. There are plenty of sections of the U.S. Code under which he could act—if he wanted to." Said Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has long argued that the Negro battle should be fought in the courts instead of the streets: "White people in Alabama make it impossible for us even to debate whether the President should act. My objectivity went out the window when I saw the picture of those cops sitting on that woman and holding her down by the throat."



CHARLES MOORE

COMMISSIONER CONNOR
He longed for a hearse.

That is a point of central significance about Birmingham: the law has taken U.S. Negroes about as far as it can; court decisions are a vital Negro weapon, but the Negro masses no longer believe that their war can be won in the chambers of the law. The Negro's progress through law has been glue-footed. Nine years ago this week, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled against school segregation; yet only 7.8% of all Negroes in the South are presently attending integrated public schools—and in many the integration is merely of the token sort.

Birmingham's Negroes were not worried about legalities; they were not worried about the niceties of "timing," or even about the morality of using children as troops. Instead, theirs was a raging desire to achieve equal human status—now, and by whatever means. Massachusetts Attorney General Edward Brooke, a Negro, expressed it well: "The pressure is mounting. It has been smoldering for some time—many, many years. And it is a justifiable impatience." Bob Eckhardt, a white and a member of the Texas legislature, put it another way: "The Negroes' goals are not in reach of court decisions any longer."

**It Could Happen Anywhere.** Birmingham therefore set off a chain reaction—uncontrolled. New lunch-counter sit-ins started in Atlanta, Nashville and Raleigh. The N.A.A.C.P. called for peaceful sympathy demonstrations in 100 cities. Jackie Robinson, now a vice president of Chock Full O' Nuts, said he would go to Birmingham to join in the Negro protest. So did Floyd Patterson. Communism was having a field day. Gloated Radio Moscow: "We have the impression that American authorities both cannot and do not wish to stop outrages by racists." More friendly foreign nations simply could not understand. Snapped a Brazilian official at the United Nations: "Talk about us underdeveloped nations. I think white Birmingham must be the really underdeveloped area—or should I say subdeveloped area?"

Perhaps most baleful of all, the Black Muslim movement within the U.S. Negro community took full recruiting advantage of the Birmingham riots. The Black Muslims do not seek integration; they want

MAULDIN-©1963, CHICAGO SUN-TIMES

"What Do You Mean, Not So Fast?"

total separation of the races, with Negroes not only independent but, if possible, superior. Now Malcolm X, top Eastern torchbearer for the militant movement, could only sneer at Martin Luther King's gospel of nonviolence. Said he: "The lesson of Birmingham is that the Negroes have lost their fear of the white man's reprisals and will react with violence, if provoked. This could happen anywhere in the country today."

Last week, at the crest of the crisis, a white Birmingham waitress said to a customer from the North: "Honey, I sure hope the colored don't win. They've winned so much around the South. Why, you go down and get on a bus, and a nigger's just liable to sit right down beside you. Oh, that's hurt Birmingham somethin' awful."

Neither Malcolm X nor the Birmingham waitress represents the majority of their races. But they do represent and symbolize two fixed positions: the Negro who looks with eagerness toward a militant solution, and the unyielding Southerner who hopes not to be further disturbed. There are many other positions, and there is a long gaping valley of confusion and diffusion. It is a great uncharted space where leaders follow and followers lead, for there is no certainty of plan or purpose there. Negro Author James Baldwin (*see following pages*) has illuminated this grey gulf with bolts of intellectual lightning.

Baldwin cries out in hopelessness and helplessness as he gazes across the gulf. For that gulf cannot be bridged by law alone; the law can furnish a foundation upon which Negroes can build to achieve their rights, but it cannot provide education, or cure poverty, or enforce understanding, or give body to an old-fashioned thing called humanity.

## "At the root of the Negro problem is the necessity of the white man to find a way of living with the Negro in order to live with himself."

STROLLING down a quiet street in a small town, James Baldwin came upon a scene that has since haunted his dreams. From a sunlit patch of grass came the singing laughter of a child. Baldwin looked —and saw a white man swinging his little daughter in the air. "It didn't last for more than a second," recalls Baldwin, "but it was an unforgettable touch of beauty, a glimpse of another world. Then I looked down and saw a shadow. The shadow was a nigger—me."

To Author James Baldwin, 38, this parable reveals everything worth knowing about the black man's view of himself in 20th century white America. It also reveals much about James Baldwin himself. He is not, by any stretch of the imagination, a Negro leader. He tries no civil rights cases in the courts, preaches from no pulpit, devises no stratagems for sit-ins, Freedom Riders or street marchers. He published an essay in 1959 called *Nobody Knows My Name,* and four years later, in Birmingham and Harlem, and in all the Birminghams and Harlems in the nation and the world, most Negroes still do not know his name. He is a nervous, slight, almost fragile figure, filled with frets and fears. He is effeminate in manner, drinks considerably, smokes cigarettes in chains, and he often loses his audience with overblown arguments. Nevertheless, in the U.S. today there is not another writer—white or black—who expresses with such poignancy and abrasiveness the dark realities of the racial ferment in North and South.

Last week Baldwin was in California, hopping from city to city to talk to college and high school students. Thrust from typewriter to rostrum by virtue of a widely acclaimed, blistering essay in *The New Yorker* (TIME, Jan. 4), now in book form under the title *The Fire Next Time,* Baldwin spared his audiences nothing. He spoke not for himself but for all Negroes to all whites. "I hoed a lot of cotton," he said. "I laid a lot of track. I dammed a lot of rivers. You wouldn't have had this country if it hadn't been for me . . . When I was going to school, I began to be bugged by the teaching of American history, because it seemed that history had been taught without cognizance of my presence. It is my responsibility now to give you as true a version of your history as I can."

**Identity & Myths.** The history, as Baldwin sees it, is an unending story of man's inhumanity to man, of the white's refusal to see the black simply as another human being, of the white man's delusions and the Negro's demoralization. The theme floods his novels and essays. The white man, he writes, is guilt-ridden and sex-ridden, and he has managed over the years to delude himself by transferring his own failures onto the Negro. "At the root of the American Negro problem is the necessity of the American white man to find a way of living with the Negro in order to be able to live with himself. And the history of this problem can be reduced to the means used by Americans—lynch law and law, segregation and legal acceptance, terrorization and concession—either to come to terms with this necessity, or to find a way around it, or (most usually) to find a way of doing both these things at once . . . In this long battle, the white man's motive was the protection of his identity; the black man was motivated by the need to establish an identity." And this has led to a polarization of deep passions: the Negro's rage and the white man's terror.

"I think," writes Baldwin, "if one examines the myths which have proliferated in this country concerning the Negro, one discovers beneath these myths a kind of sleeping terror of some condition which we refuse to imagine. In a way, if the Negro were not here, we might be forced to deal within ourselves and our own personalities with all those vices, all those conundrums, and all those mysteries with which we have invested the Negro race. Uncle Tom is, for example, if he is called Uncle, a kind of saint. He is there, he endures, he will forgive us, and this is a key to that image. But if he is not Uncle, if he is merely Tom, he is a danger to everybody. He will wreak havoc on the countryside. When he is Uncle Tom, he has no sex—when he is Tom, he does—and this obviously says much more about the people who invented this myth than it does about the people who are the object of it." The Negro is thus penalized for "the guilty imagination of the white people who invest him with their hates and longings, and is the principal target of their sexual paranoia."

**Fear & Acceptance.** And what of the Negro's rage? It grows, says Baldwin, from the white man's "sleeping terror." "We would never, never allow Negroes to starve, to grow bitter, and to die in ghettos all over the country if we were not driven by some nameless fear that has nothing to do with Negroes. We would never victimize, as we do, children whose only crime is color, and keep them, as we put it, in their place. We wouldn't drive Negroes mad as we do by accepting them in ballparks, and on concert stages, but not in our homes, and not in our neighborhoods, and not in our churches."

Negro rage is provoked, furthermore, by the white man's insistence on his own superiority, by his demand that the Negro, to achieve equality, must be accepted according to the white man's own definition of acceptability. "I do not know

BALDWIN ADDRESSING UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA STUDENTS

PHIL MOZESSON

UNCLE TOM (By Miguel Covarrubias)

many Negroes who are eager to be 'accepted' by white people," writes Baldwin, "still less to be loved by them; they, the blacks, simply don't wish to be beaten over the head by the whites every instant of our brief passage on this planet.

"White people will have quite enough to do in learning how to accept and love themselves and each other, and when they have achieved this—which will not be tomorrow, and may very well be never—the Negro problem will no longer exist, for it will no longer be needed.

"The Negro's experience of the white world cannot possibly create in him any respect for the standards by which the white world claims to live. His own condition is proof that white people do not live by these standards. Negro servants have been smuggling odds and ends out of white homes for generations, and white people have been delighted to have them do it, because it has assuaged a dim guilt and testified to the intrinsic superiority of white people . . . In any case, white people, who had robbed black people of their liberty and who profited by this theft every hour that they lived, had no moral ground on which to stand."

**Watermelon & Images.** The Negro no longer can be controlled by white America's image of him. "This fact," says Baldwin, "has everything to do with the rise of Africa in world affairs. At the time that I was growing up, Negroes in this country were taught to be ashamed of Africa. They were taught it bluntly, as I was, for example, by being told that Africa had never contributed 'anything' to civilization."

The lengths to which Harlem-born Baldwin, the son of a Baptist preacher, tried to escape the association with Africans—with Negroes, really—was pathetic. Baldwin himself avoided eating watermelon for years. At home, "one's hair was always being attacked with hard brushes and combs and Vaseline; it was shameful to have 'nappy' hair. One's legs and arms and face were always being greased, so that one would not look 'ashy' in the wintertime. One was always being mercilessly scrubbed and polished, as though in the hope that a stain could thus be washed away . . . The women were forever straightening and curling their hair, and using bleaching creams. And yet it was clear that none of this would release one from the stigma of being a Negro; this effort merely increased the shame and rage. There was not, no matter where one turned, any acceptable image of oneself, no proof of one's existence. One had the choice, either of 'acting just like a nigger' or of *not* acting just like a nigger—and only those who have tried it know how impossible it is to tell the difference."

**North & South.** White liberals are often unable to see the Negro in human terms, and the sensitive Negro antenna can read that fact deep in the liberal's mind ("Let the liberal white bastard squirm," broods a Negro character in Baldwin's *Another Country*). Baldwin cites a passage from Beatnik Author (*On the Road*) Jack Kerouac to make his point: "At lilac evening I walked with every muscle aching . . . wishing I were a Negro, feeling that the best the white world had offered was not enough ecstasy for me, not enough life, joy, kicks, music . . ." Says Baldwin: "I would hate to be in Kerouac's shoes if he should ever be mad enough to read this aloud from the stage of Harlem's Apollo Theatre."

Baldwin perceives curious differences in white attitudes in the North and South. Negroes, he writes, represent nothing to the Northerner personally, "except perhaps the dangers of carnality. He never sees Negroes. Southerners see them all the time. Northerners never think about them, whereas Southerners are never really thinking of anything else. Negroes are, therefore, ignored in the North and are under surveillance in the South, and suffer hideously in both places . . . It seems to be indispensable to the national self-esteem that the Negro be considered either as a kind of ward, or as a victim. They are two sides of the same coin, and the South will not change—*cannot* change—until the North changes."

**Change.** Baldwin offers no easy answers for an end to the rage and the terror. The Black Muslims, with their philosophy of separatism, frighten him. "I consider them really irresponsible in the most serious way—irresponsible in terms of what I consider to be their obligations to the Negro community, as all racists are irresponsible. They batten on the despair of black men."

Not law, but morality is the basis of Baldwin's hopes. He says: "It is the responsibility of free men to trust and to celebrate what is constant—birth, struggle, and death are constant, and so is love—and to apprehend the nature of change, to be able and willing to change. I speak of change not on the surface but in the depths—change in the sense of renewal. But renewal becomes impossible if one supposes things to be constant that are not—safety, for example, or money, or power." The Negro can achieve the nation's destruction, says Baldwin, through "the abdication by Americans of any effort really to be free. The Negro can precipitate this abdication because white Americans have never, in all their long history, been able to look on him as a man like themselves.

MILTON H. GREENE—LIFE

CARNALITY (By Actress Diahann Carroll)

"White Americans find it as difficult as white people elsewhere do to divest themselves of the notion that they are in possession of some intrinsic value that black people need, or want. And this assumption—which, for example, makes the solution to the Negro problem depend on the speed with which Negroes accept and adopt white standards—is revealed in all kinds of striking ways, from Bobby Kennedy's assurance that a Negro can become President in 40 years to the unfortunate tone of warm congratulation with which so many liberals address their Negro equals . . . The only way that the white man can be released from the Negro's tyrannical power over him is to consent, in effect, to become black himself, to become a part of that suffering and dancing country that he now watches wistfully from the heights of his lonely power and, armed with spiritual traveler's checks, visits surreptitiously after dark . . . The price of the liberation of the white people is the liberation of the blacks—the total liberation, in the cities, in the towns, before the law, and in the mind."

**Fire & Pain.** In the same terms, thanks to his newly assumed role of reluctant lecturer, Author Baldwin has now begun to exhort his own people to accept the past and learn to live with it. "I beg the black people of this country," said he last week, "to do something which I know to be very difficult: to be proud of the auction block, and all that rope, and all that fire, and all that pain."

Whenever he walks onstage to address a crowd of whites or blacks, James Baldwin takes the microphone and cries: "Can you hear me? . . . Can you all hear me?" If he can make himself heard—in depths far beyond the capacity of the human ear—everybody will know his name. And it won't be "Boy," and it won't be "Nigger."

## ARMED FORCES

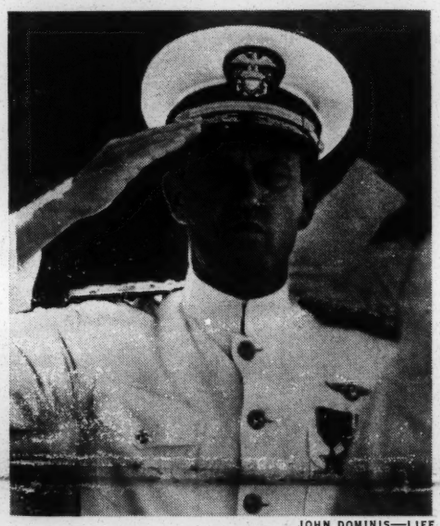
### "Guys Who Get in Their Way"

The dirty work fell to Deputy Defense Secretary Roswell Gilpatric. On Sunday afternoon he drove to the official quarters, atop Observatory Hill in northwest Washington, of the U.S. Chief of Naval Operations. There he informed Admiral George W. Anderson Jr. that he would not be reappointed when his present two-year term is up in August.

Anderson was stunned. So was most of the Navy. "A military man has really got to bow to this Kennedy crowd," said an admiral who is close to Anderson. "Guys who get in their way get knocked off." And Anderson had been getting in the way of Defense Secretary Robert McNamara for quite a while.

U.S. NAVY

ADMIRAL ANDERSON



JOHN DOMINIS—LIFE

ADMIRAL MCDONALD

Now hear this: "I expect everyone to fall in line."

**A Question of Style.** Anderson was critical of McNamara's centralized style of management. During last October's Cuba crisis, when McNamara insisted on supervising the smallest details of the U.S. blockade, Anderson protested that operations should be left to the military professionals. Last February, Anderson testified before Congress that the Navy needed more men, more ships and more planes than McNamara's budget provided. Going over McNamara's head to the President, Anderson argued that the Navy should have a greater say-so about its spending programs. In the TFX controversy, Anderson spoke out against McNamara even more bluntly than General Curtis LeMay, who, it was announced, will be reappointed as Air Force Chief of Staff. Anderson insisted that military men, not civilians, should decide on specifications for combat aircraft. Finally, Anderson did not get along with Navy Secretary Fred Korth, who recommended that he be dropped as the Navy's chief.

To succeed Anderson, President Kennedy named Admiral David Lamar McDonald, 56, commander of U.S. Naval Forces in Europe. A member of the Annapolis class of '28, McDonald has served as an aircraft-carrier commander (*Mindoro* and *Coral Sea*), as director of air warfare in the office of the Chief of Naval Operations and as deputy assistant chief of staff at SHAPE headquarters in Europe. In July 1961, he took over from Admiral Anderson as commander of the Mediterranean Sixth Fleet, a job that McDonald saw as that of "a kind of roving ambassador of good will." Last month he was promoted to admiral over 27 more senior vice admirals and assigned the European command.

**Reminder from the Boss.** When McDonald takes over as Navy chief in August, President Kennedy said last week, Anderson will "continue to serve the Government in a position of high responsibility." That position will probably be a diplomatic post in the Mediterranean area, where Anderson can continue to put his naval experience to use. But whatever Anderson's new job, the shift reminded the Pentagon once again that McNamara means to be in absolute charge. Once a decision is made, McNamara said recently, "by God, I expect everyone to fall in line. You can't run a military organization with divided authority."

## THE PRESIDENCY

### Amid Affairs of State

On a typical morning last week, the President at:

**9:30 a.m.** Pinned American Automobile Association gold medals on seven boys and one girl, aged 11 to 15, who as members of school safety patrols had saved schoolmates or other persons from possible death or injury. He was "very proud" of them, the President said.

**10 a.m.** Met with 80 or so members of the Association of American Editorial Cartoonists and their wives in the White House Rose Garden, managed to chuckle at 92 cartoons featuring John F. Kennedy, jokingly told the cartoonists that he is really "much thinner" and much less hairy-headed than they had depicted him.

**10:30 a.m.** Delivered, at Arlington Cemetery, a speech extolling Ignace Jan Paderewski, the great Polish pianist and patriot who died in the U.S. in 1941. Occasion: the dedication of a plaque marking Paderewski's crypt. Paderewski was buried at Arlington, said the President, with the understanding that "when Poland would one day be free again, he would be returned to his native country. That day has not yet come, but I believe that in this land of the free, Paderewski rests easily."

**11:30 a.m.** Made a speech, this time in the Departmental Auditorium, lauding the work of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped.

That afternoon the President defended his tax-cut and budget policies in a luncheon speech to the trustees of the Committee for Economic Development, an association of high-level businessmen and educators. In a question-and-answer session afterward, he said that "it would be a mistake" to save money by slowing down U.S. space programs, predicted the Russians would make "spectacular efforts" in space "in the coming months."

On other days last week, the President:

▶ Named retired Navy Captain William Robert Anderson, 41, the man who in 1958 skippered the nuclear submarine *Nautilus* on man's first voyage under the polar icecap, to head up the not-yet-existent National Service Corps, sometimes referred to as the domestic Peace Corps. Until such time as Congress passes the President's National Service Corps bill, Anderson—no kin to Admiral George Anderson, who was fired as CNO the same day—will serve as a "presidential consultant" on the project.

▶ Telephoned greetings to Harry Truman on his 79th birthday.

▶ Told his midweek press conference that he was "not hopeful" about the prospects for a nuclear test ban agreement with Russia.

▶ Let it be known that he had rented his new seven-bedroom ranch house on Rattlesnake Mountain for the summer to A. Dana Hodgdon, a Washington broker, for a reported $1,000 a month.

▶ Appointed his sometime Harvard classmate, Benjamin A. Smith II, to be chairman of the U.S. delegation at next month's North Pacific Fisheries Conference (U.S., Canada, Japan). Smith was the friend whom Kennedy picked to hold his old Senate seat in 1961-62 until Teddy was ready to run for it.

## THE CONGRESS

### Above Inhibition

At 84, Missouri's Democratic Representative Clarence Cannon is gnarled, grouchy, and filled with angry energy. When he complains into House microphones about the wastrel ways of Government, the New Frontiersmen get worried—with good reason.

Government spending is probably the biggest legislative issue of 1963—and Cannon, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, has a lot to say about the Kennedy Administration's record-breaking $98.8 billion budget. Every-

DESEGREGATION IN ALABAMA - 5-20-64

Anniston - biracial committee (4 N, 5 w) May 18, 1963
Public library desegregated 9-16-63

Bessemer - Repealed city ordinances requiring segregation, Summer 1963

Birmingham - 6-27-63 -3 municipal golf courses desegregated; at least 9 white churches accepted Negro visitors
7-13-63, Mayor Boutwell announced formation by city council of 211 member biracial committee with 20% Negro membership and 10 sub-committees.

Some segregation signs down in store fitting rooms and at water fountains.

7-23-63, City repealed its segregation ordinances
7-30-63 - Six downtown variety & Department store lunch counters and 7 stores in three suburban shopping centers desegregated eating facilities.

Present status of desegregation, so far as we know:

Lunch Counters:
Pizitz Department Store
Loveman's Department Store
Dobbs House (airport)
Greyhound Bus Station
Britts
Newberry's
Woolworth's
L & N Railroad Station
Trailway Bus Station
Terminal Train Station

Restaurants:
Pizitz Dept. Store
Loveman's " "
Dobbs's House (airport)
Greyhound Bus Station

Hotels-Motels/Theatres: none

Municipal facilities:
Zoo
Botanical Gardens
Fairgrounds & Kiddieland
Museum
Drinking fountains in City Hall

Schools:
Graymont Elementary
Ramsey High School
West End High School
U of Ala. Extension Center

Huntsville - Week of May 20, 1963 - first Negro policeman hired (there were four, by 1963, but these were suspended about a month ago??)

Aug. 8, 1963 - representatives of 40 industrial firms with government contracts formed association and issued statement in compliance with Equal Employment Opportunity Program.

Sept. 29 - 7 motels and a leading hotel desegregated.

Hotels: Russel Erskine (restaurant, open only to guests)
Motels: Albert Pick (completely)
Charran (restaurant was open, is no longer)
Holiday Inn (motel accepts registration by companies only-restaurant open)
Hinge Inn - completely but has refused service on isolated instances

Huntsville, continued:

Motels: Sahara - completely
Sands - completely
Thunderbird - Congress Inn - completely
Town House - completely

(there have been refusals in almost all of these motels occasionally)

Restaurants - Gulas' Rib Room

Theatres: three white, one Negro - no desegregation

Lunch Counters:
Montgomery Wards
Sears
Woolworths (1 Negro salesgirl, 1 waitress)
Liggett Rexall
Murphy's
Grants
Brownie's (only independant)
Miracle City
Pizitz (tea room)
Bavaria Delicatessen

Municipal
Playgrounds have been used only in test situation; not regularly
no desegregated pools.
Electric Center Auditorium has had integrated audiences
Two Negro policemen; no Negro firemen
Schools: all city; no county
College - university extension (at least three Negro students)

Has a biracial committee; official

Macon County: Aug. 17, 1963 - hired first Negro deputy sheriff

Mobile: Has biracial committee

Public accommodation desegregated:
Hotels - Sheridan Battle House (6-1-63)
Motels - Albert Pick, in theory but not so far in practice
Restaurants: Sheridan Battle House dining room
Lunch Counters: Woolworths, Kress, Walgreen; Albright & Wood (local drug chain) desegregated with others but has since resegregated.
Theatres: none

Municipal facilities: airport, libraries, busses, golf course (but not club house), art gallery (art classes held there segregated), public events in city auditorium (organizations leasing set own policy)

Picnic facilities in parks, swimming pools and stadium remain segregated.

Public schools: Murphy High admitted two Negroes Sept. 1963; court cases now pending.
Colleges: Spring Hill College

Montgomery - 5-27-63 Montgomery Advertiser-Journal announced papers would cease to print Negro editions, would include Negro news in regular edition. City repealed segregation ordinances.
8-3-63, police department announced plan to employ three N. Policewomen as school crossing guards.

Public accommodations: lunch counters at bus station and airport
Public library

Selma - 6-26-63, city repealed segregation ordinances by this date
9-29-63, four Negro women integrated First Presbyterian Church

Tuskegee County - 8-13-63, Negro deputy sheriff hired.

PHOTOGRAPH © CHRIS

*Carol Denise McNair, 11, one of the four bomb-murdered Negro children, never learned to hate.*

# DEATH OF AN INNOCENT

## What kind of a mind could have planted the bomb that killed four children in Birmingham?

**BY WILLIAM BRADFORD HUIE** AUTHOR OF "HIROSHIMA PILOT"

SOMEWHERE IN ALABAMA, still free, lives the murderer of the child you see here. He murdered her inside the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham. Chances are he never knew her, never saw her, yet he hated her enough to plant dynamite on a Saturday night and timed it to kill her next morning during Sunday school.

Her name was Carol Denise McNair. During her 11 years of life, I never knew her. But when, 70 miles from my home, she, with three other children, was murdered in church, I wanted to know her. And I wanted to understand her aspirations so that I could understand why her murderer wanted to kill her, what he could have against her.

I learned that until her head was crushed by falling concrete, Denise McNair had had a fortunate life. She was the only child of Mr. and Mrs. Chris McNair, two educated, aspiring, happy human beings who loved her and love each other. Both Chris and Maxine McNair are graduates of Tuskegee Institute; both are voters; both are valuable citizens of Alabama. Chris is a professional photographer, a good one. These pictures of Denise are his; he and I selected them from two hundred he made of his daughter during her lifetime.

Denise was also fortunate in her maternal grandparents. They are gentle, prosperous people, who operate a dry-cleaning business across the street from the church. Her grandfather found her in the church basement. He dug away the rubble

continued

# DEATH OF AN INNOCENT

continued

*She was raised with love and respect. It was difficult to explain racism to her.*

*Denise, an intelligent, sensitive child, was always a champion of the underdog.*

PHOTOGRAPHS © CHRIS MCNAIR

**Denise's murderer was afraid—afraid of her abilities, afraid of her aspirations**

and carried her to the ambulance, though he feared she was dead.

"I'm glad I found her," the grandfather said. "We loved her so much; and it seems right to find your own at such a time. There was so much screaming and running and confusion, so much terror, so much dust, and you could smell those dynamite fumes. I'll carry the memory of it to my grave, for I stand here every day and look across the street to where she died. But I'm glad I'm the one who lifted those big, sharp chunks of concrete off of her. My heart broke, but I'm glad it was me and not some stranger who found her."

MRS. MAXINE MCNAIR told me: "I'm glad Denise never learned to hate. She knew she was colored, but she had white friends, and in her thoughts and playacting, she associated herself, not just with colored children, but with all children. She liked to watch television and go to movies. Jerry Lewis was her favorite entertainer. Because he raises money for muscular dystrophy, during the last week of her life Denise gathered the neighborhood children together and used my old dresses and put on a show and raised $13.81 for the Muscular Dystrophy Fund."

"The first movie that disturbed her was *Giant*," Mr. McNair recalled. "The children in it who were mistreated were Mexican-Americans, and Denise couldn't understand. We told her that a *few* white people don't like colored children, but we kept stressing that *most* white people like all children. 'And those white people who don't like us,' she asked, 'are they the *old mean people* like on television?' We answered yes, that was about the way it was.

[illegible] when she went with me to [illegible] store to buy some ribbon. Other children were eating hot dogs, so she wanted one. I tried to avoid explanation: I told her we'd soon be home where she could have chicken, but she forced me to tell her why she couldn't have a hot dog. 'Remember, Baby,' I said to her, 'what we told you about those few mean white people? Well, those *few* people don't want you to buy a hot dog in a five-and-ten-cent store in Birmingham, Alabama.' That made her cry. She was hurt, and I felt desperately angry and frustrated."

In Alabama, the state provides schoolbooks for the first four grades, and one of our ancient inhumanities is that our "basic readers" are illustrated only with happy white faces. In all the stories of Dick and Jane and Father and Mother and Spot the dog and Puff the cat and Tim the teddy bear, in all these stories with which children learn to read, the faces are white. This practice handicaps the emotional and intellectual development of our white children. But for our colored children, year after year, to have to learn to read about white children alone; for them, each year, to have to ask their teachers, 'Why don't Dick and Jane ever look like us?'—this is cruel.

But this cruelty was moderated for Denise. She attended Center Street Elementary School, one of Birmingham's better colored schools, where her mother teaches. Denise's parents bought her many books in which there are colored children. Denise also helped herself. For her playmates, she wrote and illustrated a story titled *The Boy Who Wanted a Pet.* The children in it are both white and colored, and the pet is a chicken.

The McNair home is a comfortable, well-kept bungalow. In it, Denise had her own room, her piano, her books, records and toys. She studied music and dancing; she was talented; and her parents had given her what the psychologists say every child needs: a good opinion of herself.

"Did you ever have to spank her?" I asked.

"Sure," Mr. McNair replied. "She was strong-willed, and I spanked her several times as she was growing up. From the day she learned to talk, she insisted on being Denise, a unique personality. Some of this is good; we wanted to encourage it, but we insisted that she mind her parents. Her grandparents indulged her, like all grandparents."

Mrs. McNair smiled. "She was never a bad child. She was her daddy's girl—he indulged her, too. One thing: We didn't want her to be vain. The white people are not the only ones with a pigmentation problem. We have it, too. When colored children see only white children depicted as being comfortable, the colored children are likely to want to be as white as possible. This can lead light-skinned colored children to discriminate against dark-skinned children. We taught Denise not to feel this way. And she became a champion of underdog children, whether they were light or dark, white or colored. She was always inviting children in to eat with her, and invariably she invited the underprivileged ones."

On the morning of her death, Denise McNair wore a three-quarter-sleeve, purple plaid dress of winter cotton. Her hair was in a French roll with a gold barrette. She wore white socks and black patent-leather shoes. She and her mother, who were Baptists, rode to church in the family [illegible] Her father, who is a Lutheran, rode with his cousin to St. Paul's Lutheran Church. At 10:22 a.m., M[illegible] the choir loft with her Sunday-sch[illegible] Denise was down in the basement with h[illegible] class.

"[illegible] Sunday-school class two miles away," Mr. McNair said, "we heard the noise at 10:22. We thought it was thunder; the day was overcast. I guess it was 10:45 before we learned that the Baptist church had been hit, and I took off. As I approached the church, people were running everywhere, and police cars, ambulances and fire trucks were sounding their sirens. I stopped a man and asked, 'Did anybody get hurt?' He answered, 'You mean how many got killed!' Another man told me my wife was safe; he had seen her. Then my cousin drove up and said, 'Chris, we can't find Denise. We'd better go to University Hospital and see if she's there.' When we reached the hospital, we could learn nothing. Many injured children had been brought in, and we were told that some were dead. A hospital employee showed us a list of names, but Denise's name was not on it.

"My cousin and I were told to sit down and wait, and we sat in the waiting room and suffered. Finally, the employee came and told us to come with her. We were led to a room where four dead children were lying under sheets. I saw a little foot sticking out from under one of the sheets. A scarred patent-leather shoe covered with dust. I suppose every little girl's foot looks about the same, but I knew it was Denise. I didn't need to look under the sheet to know it was her. I looked . . . and all I could do was stand there and choke and clench my fists."

Who murdered Denise McNair? The first answer is: a man who knows how to use dynamite and hates enough to murder.

Thousands of men in Alabama know how to use dynamite. They include miners, former min-

ers, road builders, former servicemen and farmers who create ponds, blast stumps and dig basements and wells. Dynamite is an ideal hate weapon. It is cheap, readily available, simple to use; and planting dynamite at night requires no courage, entails little risk. It leaves neither fingerprints nor ballistic evidence, just impenetrable rubble.

Of these thousands who know how to use dynamite, I am informed that about 40 white citizens of Alabama are suspected of having participated in some way in 25 Birmingham "race bombings" since 1955. That was when the Montgomery bus boycott began. None of these suspects, as this is written, has been convicted of a bombing. (Recently, in Tuscaloosa, five National Guardsmen were indicted for exploding dynamite near the campus of the University of Alabama while they were guarding the student body against troublemakers. Two of them have pleaded guilty.)

THE MURDERER of Denise McNair was an extremist among extremists. Men infected with race hate differ only in the sort of action they are willing to take to "protect" what they call their "way of life." All men who express hate with dynamite are willing to kill—if someone gets struck by the flying glass or stones. But those who *toss* dynamite may aim only to shatter glass and terrorize. Those who *plant* dynamite usually aim to kill. Denise's murderer wanted to kill. He probably had worked as a miner, since his estimated 16 sticks of dynamite were skillfully planted under concrete steps and were timed to explode when the building would be occupied. He knew just what he was doing.

But why did the murderer want to kill Denise? To answer that he [illegible] not en[illegible] Why did he hate her? Hate d[illegible]ns from fe[illegible] He was afraid of her, afraid [illegible]ilities, afr[illegible] of her aspirations, afraid [illegible] to his ego. A Southern white man who had murdered a colored man once asked me, "If I ain't better'n a damn nigger, what-the-hell am I better'n of?" Denise's murderer would ask me the same thing. He fears that one day he may be left with nothing more than a hound dog to feel "better'n of." Lacking other distinctions, he clings pitifully to what he thinks is a distinctive "white race." He needs to divide people into Us and Them. He needs to say, "We built good schools for niggers. Why can't they stay in their place? What do they want to associate with Us for?"

Of this, I am sure: Denise's murderer believes he did right. Like her, he is probably a Baptist, yet he felt he had to kill her. He may be reading what I say here, and everything I reveal about Denise will prove to him that he was right in killing her. His political idol, no doubt, is the Governor of Alabama, George Wallace. So I'll explain the murderer further by comparing how he thinks with how Wallace thinks.

*Item:* Even at six, Denise wanted to buy a hot dog at a five-and-ten-cent store. Her murderer would deny her this right. So would Wallace. The Governor would have white citizens boycott stores that sell hot dogs to both white and colored children. The murderer might reason that boycott alone may not prevent hot dogs from being sold to both white and colored children. Perhaps he thought a "murder lesson" was needed to "keep niggers in their place" and to "preserve the Southern way of life." The Governor also believes the "Southern way of life" must be preserved. But he opposes violence. The Governor and the murderer would agree on what needs protecting. They disagree only on how to protect it.

*Item:* If, at six, Denise wanted to eat hot dogs at a counter with white children, what would she have wanted by the time she was eighteen! She might have wanted to eat with white people at a downtown cafeteria! Or to sleep in the same motel as white people! Her murderer opposes this: He murdered Denise, hoping to prevent it. The Governor opposes it, but takes a different tack: The Alabama Sovereignty Commission spends my tax dollars—and Chris McNair's tax dollars—hoping to prevent it. The Governor and the murderer are in tactical disagreement.

*Item:* Denise didn't like the state's schoolbooks. She didn't want to learn to read only about white children. She created a story in which white and colored children play together. Isn't that Communist-inspired? Denise's murderer would think so: so does the Governor. The Governor and the murderer are both fighting communism. Their tactics are different.

*Item:* In future years, Denise would have registered to vote; never in her life would she have voted for a George Wallace. The Governor opposes colored people voting. The murderer made certain that Denise never votes.

*Item:* In her thinking and playacting, Denise associated herself not only with colored children, but with all children. She wanted to attend an integrated school. She thought she had something to give white children in return for what they could give her. Had she been allowed to live, she might have enrolled at Birmingham's best high school. One of the colored boys now in a previously all-white school in Birmingham is vice-president of his class. With her talents, Denise might have be[illegible] have wanted the [illegible] university edu[illegible] in Ala-bama. She might have wanted to study medicine and be an anesthesiologist—like those women doctors on *Dr. Kildare* and *Ben Casey*. There is only one medical school in Alabama—the university's Medical Center in Birmingham—and Chris McNair's studio is in the shadow of it.

DENISE'S murderer would oppose colored children and white children's going to the same school. So does the Governor. The Governor's announced plan is to keep fighting, keep resisting, keep up the pressure, and force the Negroes to drop out. The murderer had his own loathsome variation of this plan.

*Item:* Instead of becoming an anesthesiologist, Denise might have become a skilled office worker and applied for a job with the State of Alabama. The Governor would oppose hiring Negroes to work alongside white office workers. So unquestionably would the murderer.

*A final item:* Denise's hero was the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. When Birmingham's colored citizens were demonstrating in the streets, fighting dogs and fire hoses last year, Denise begged her parents to let her demonstrate too. They refused, only on the ground that she was too young. Denise's murderer would regard Dr. King as Satan. The Governor said the King-led demonstrations were inspired by Communists. The murderer probably bombed a Sunday school to try to stop the demonstrations.

In Alabama, more than a million citizens, Negro and white, are revolted at the murder of Denise McNair. We regard her death as a senseless waste, a loss to the human race. We deeply regret that she was robbed of her future, for we did not fear her aspirations. We wish she could have had the opportunity to live her life at the highest level she was capable of achieving.

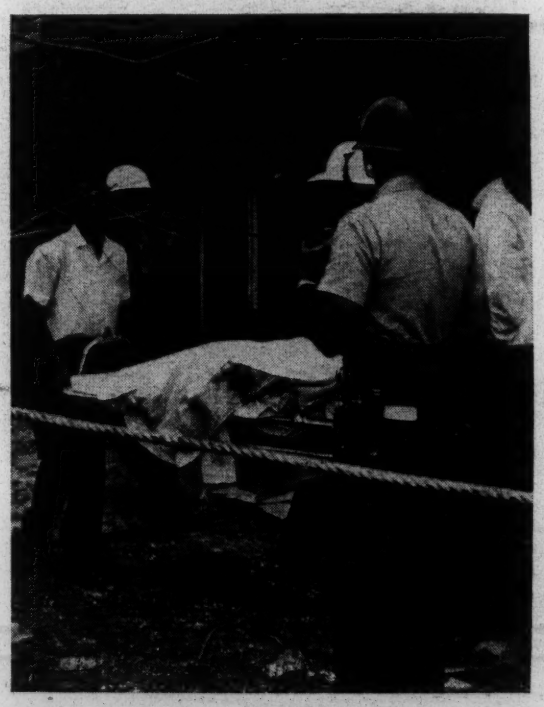
We believe that her murderer should be identified, tried and electrocuted. We are also ashamed of our Governor, and we believe he is hurting Alabama and all America.

I don't know how our other citizens feel. They are not articulate. The Governor claims he speaks for "the South" and for the majority of Alabama citizens. He doesn't. He speaks for himself. Many of the Governor's former supporters are obviously saddened by the murder. They may be uneasy over Denise's aspirations, but they seem to hope that the murderer can be identified and punished.

A few citizens still can't find it in their hearts to "blame the murderer much." They blame agitators, outsiders, homosexuals, Communists and Kennedys. They see Denise as a potential troublemaker; and they see the murderer as a simple citizen, harassed by agitators, trying to "protect his children and his way of life." They want George Wallace to be President or, at least, to dictate who becomes President.

A number of citizens have contributed $80,000 to encourage identification and conviction of the murderer. I think they may as well take their money back. I don't think the murderer will ever be identified. For whenever authority shares the fears of a murderer, and condemns only his violent effort to relieve his fears, the murderer is seldom identified, almost never convicted. END

**under the sheet to know it was her."**



*One of the victims of this obscenely conceived, hate-poisoned bombing is carried off by rescue workers. Denise's battered body was discovered by her grandfather, who has a cleaning shop across from the blasted church.*

Desegregation
Alabama

May 21, 1964

Miss Jeanne Tiller
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 101
2121 Building, 8th Avenue & 22nd St.
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

Dear Miss Tiller:

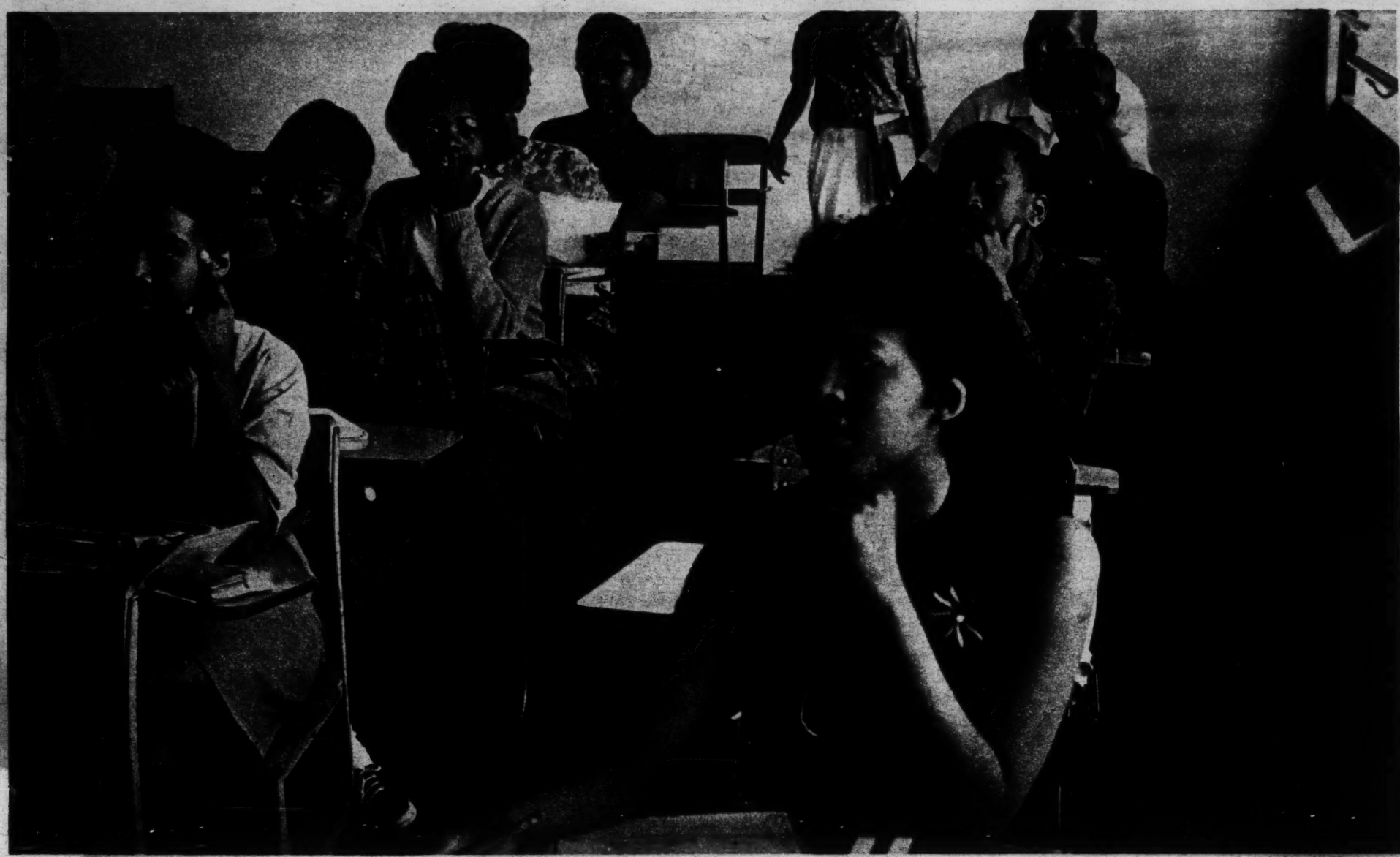
I am sorry it has taken so long to reply to your letter. I have been out of the office because of illness part of the time and mail just stacked up.

We do not have the kind of comparative study that you wish. I thought perhaps it would be helpful if I made a list for you of known desegregation in Alabama cities. This may not be complete; it is the desegregation that is known to us through news clips and personal reports from persons in Alabama.

I hope the enclosed information will be of some help. When you have finished the study you are doing, we would like very much to have a copy of it for our own research files. You will not doubt turn up additional information which we would like to have.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate



*In a high school in the South.*

"Together—and it will take all of us working together—we will break the cycle of ignorance, poverty and prejudice."

# Plea to Twelve Negro Children

*Late last summer, a Federal court ordered Tuskegee, Ala., to desegregate its high school. The city complied. Thereupon, Gov. George C. Wallace closed the school and sent a National Guard unit to enforce his order. President Kennedy federalized the guardsmen, and the school opened, but all white pupils joined in a boycott. For the rest of the semester, 12 Negro children were alone with 13 white teachers in a building designed for 250 pupils.*

*In January, the Alabama Board of Education ordered the school closed; the Negroes were split into two groups and enrolled in previously segregated high schools in towns 10 and 20 miles away. Both these schools were also immediately boycotted by their white pupils (for whom private schooling was provided), and in April one was partially burned. Yet the Negro children finished their year; the three seniors among them graduated. Their ages range from 13 to 18.*

*Today, the Tuskegee Civic Association of Tuskegee Institute, the Negro college, will honor the 12 in special ceremonies. One of the speakers will be Margaret Anderson, a teacher and guidance director who has experienced the problems of desegregation at her school in Clinton, Tenn. Here is her speech prepared for the occasion.*

**By MARGARET ANDERSON**

BOYS and girls, as young as you are, and as unprepared as you may feel for the role in which you have found yourselves, you must realize that you are caught up in a worldwide ferment of people seeking better lives and opportunities to grow. Your struggle is called a Revolution for Equality. It now extends to every continent on a shrunken globe. Small as your part may be, you are representative of one-tenth of the population of America, and two-fifths of the population of the South.

There are many facets to your Revolution for Equality. Our racial problems span nearly 300 years of our history. They encompass our economic life and the political and social structure of this nation. These facets are so entwined that actually to try to solve one without solving another is like sticking fingers in the holes in a dike.

I have tried to consider carefully what I might possibly say to you — out of my own experiences in working with Negro students of your ages and as a plain citizen, a parent and a teacher—which would be of help to you at this time.

When I think of your youth, I can only think that your place in history must not be to tear down or destroy, but to build. In order to build one must start with himself.

There are few now who doubt that the freedom your parents have worked so hard to gain is within sight. It is our hope that you will never have to endure the indignities suffered by your grandparents. The acceptance, opportunity, and equality which you will know in your time carry many responsibilities and challenges.

Foremost among these responsibilities, I suggest, is that you must develop yourselves to the fullest so that you can be useful citizens in a free society. The perpetuation of a democratic society such as ours depends upon the knowledge, the good judgment and the wisdom of all the people.

BOYS and girls, it is of paramount importance that you get as much education as you can. This means right now that you must stay in school, whether it be segregated or desegregated. And you must read and study, and study and read more.

In addition, you must prepare yourselves for a trade, develop a skill or go on to college so that you can enter the professions. America needs your talents. The talents of your race are relatively untapped.

The world in which you seek equality will be very demanding. Within the next few years, there will be little need for people with no skill or training. Even with a good education, there is a strong possibility that many of you will have to be retrained during your lifetime. It is difficult to retrain a person who cannot read or write, as we are finding out with many of the displaced coal miners in the Southern mountains.

Now some of you may say, as I have heard Negro students say, "How can I get an *(Continued on Page 75)*

# Plea to Twelve Negro Children

*(Continued from Page 7)*

education when the schools are inadequate, when I have no place to study, when there is no one in my family to help me, when I don't have the money to buy the things the other boys and girls have, when my own parents don't really care what happens to me, when I feel lonely and unwanted?"

THESE conditions exist and will not disappear overnight. You are affected by them. We must face them together in their ugliness. Some of the personal problems faced by Negro students I find are almost insurmountable. Only a few days ago, I talked to a brilliant Negro girl, with unlimited potentialities, who is on the brink of giving up her education. As she said, "I woke up one morning and looked around me and decided it was just too much to undergo."

Let me ask you what I asked her: "Are you willing to lay down your young life as another link in the chain of ignorance, poverty and deprivation because times are hard now?"

There is no magic button we can push so that all of us can become educated simultaneously. It is largely an individual matter. I say this to you because self-determination is a major factor in the development of any individual. And self-determination can be cultivated.

I can show you Negro boys and girls who had no place to study, yet ways have been found. One girl I know uses as her sanctuary a vacant schoolroom after school hours, or the library at night. I know two sisters who take turns coming to school because one has to stay with a sick mother. This is not as it should be, but it is better than having neither of them come at all. I can show you Negro students whose parents cannot read or write; the students are learning and teaching their parents. I can show you boys and girls who once did not dream of going to college; now they are there.

EVEN today, there are opportunities that were only dreamed of a few years ago. For example, did you know that most colleges now have opened their doors to Negro students and that admissions officers of the finest schools are scouting the country for capable Negro students?

Only recently, a Negro boy I know was *invited* to enroll in three colleges. At two of these he was offered fine scholarships. Our experiences suggest that too few young Negroes are ready to accept such opportunities. The same is true when it comes to jobs.

And so I plead with you to read, study and work. A long history of deprivation can be offset, not by simply opening all doors but only by strenuous effort on your part. This means that you must set your minds to the things in your lives that are important *now* and will count the most *later*. Let your parents and the adults of your community bear the burden of complaints. I have a strong feeling that, at your age, you do not really have time to take to the streets.

Your most important tasks would seem to be to face the state of things as they are, to develop yourselves as best you can and to hold on. Merely holding on during crucial times in one's life can be very

important to future success; it may take a great deal of courage. Let me tell you the story of a Negro boy I know who was hurt deeply, and what happened because he held on.

JAMES came to us from a small country school in a remote section of the hills where he had been a leader in his community. There he played basketball in the country churchyard as country boys do, without a real team or a real coach. After school hours and on Sunday afternoons, he taught the younger boys all he had learned about the game.

When he enrolled in our large desegregated school, he went out for basketball. As he said, "All of my life I have dreamed of being on a real team with a real coach." When he was permitted to try for the real team, it was as if his dream had come true.

No boy ever worked harder. He saved his money from odd jobs and bought the necessary equipment each boy had to buy for himself. The weeks passed, and the time came for uniforms to be handed out. Sixteen boys were lined up in the school gymnasium. Fifteen uniforms were handed out. James was the sixteenth boy.

The white boys bowed their heads in shame, for he was good and they knew he was good. But circumstances had arisen concerning Negroes playing against neighboring teams, and for his own protection, it seemed unwise for James to participate with other schools at that time.

Now he was faced with a choice. He could become bitter and resentful. He could give up and say, "What's the use; I don't have a chance." Or he could accept the unkindly incident for what it was and move on. James chose to move on.

I DID not hear much more about him that year except to notice his name on the school's honor roll. When the time came to make application for college, he passed the entrance test with excellent scores. He was accepted by a very great college. By now, he had such respect from the white citizens that they all wanted to help in some way —to atone perhaps for this sickness in our society. James received a fine scholarship. Today, he plays on a varsity basketball team.

There is no doubt in my mind that one day you will hear from this young man. He is one of those rare individuals who can see the precipices on both sides of a difficult road and keep a straight course. This is what I am asking you to do — hold on and keep a straight course — mentally, morally, and spiritually. I say this to you because at your age I know of nothing more constructive for you to do.

Second, I suggest that you must face the fact that you are a minority race. Any minority race in any country must have the cooperation of the majority in order to live peacefully and successfully. Despite the bitterness that surrounds this struggle, you must not permit yourselves to become intolerant. This will take strength on your part. Here again, education is of the greatest importance. As we improve our abilities to communicate, we grow in our understanding of each other. It is essential that we understand one another.

ON Memorial Day, 1963, at Gettysburg, Lyndon Johnson said:

"In this hour, it is not our respective races which are at stake — it is our nation. Let those who care for their country come forward, North and South, white and Negro, to lead the way through this moment of challenge and decision. The Negro says, 'Now.' Others say, 'Never.' The voice of responsible Americans — the voice of those who died here and of the great man who spoke here — their voices say, 'Together.' There is no other way."

I suggest also that not for one moment can you forget

*(Continued on Following Page)*

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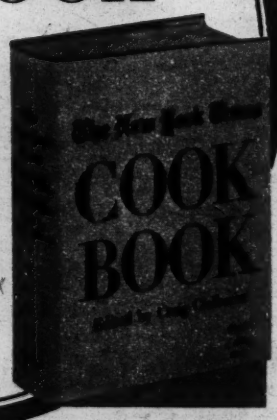

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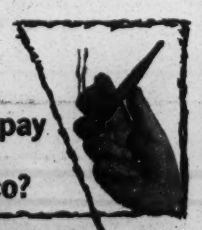

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(Continued from Preceding Page)

that you are, first, citizens of America, with the same responsibilities as every citizen to protect the principles upon which this republic was founded. If, amid our racial strife this hot summer, you should feel unkindly toward the American way of accomplishing change, remember that nowhere else in the world can grievances be aired so freely as here. The American Negro has always shown great

loyalty to his country. Do not permit this loyalty to waver in your generation.

American democracy has produced the largest group of outstanding Negroes in the world, from the colonial poet Phillis Wheatley, to Dr. Ralph Bunche who in 1950 received the world's most distinguished award, the Nobel Peace Prize. Think of your own Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver, who walked these very grounds on which we stand. Today, their works are housed in the great libraries of the world. They were not intolerant men or ever disrespectful toward their country. Both never ceased to be concerned for those of their own race less fortunate or less endowed.

LAST, I would hope that, as you grow older, you think a long time before leaving the South. We know conditions are not as they should be, but we have also seen that they are little better elsewhere. The South is your home. Your roots are here. Trust with me that in a few more days home will be a better place. Only if we stand together, work together and face these issues with integrity will improvements be possible. More people than you will ever know, both black and white, are working to make them so now.

Sometimes I think back to 1956 when 12 frightened Negro children trudged down a hill to the white school where I work, amid hate and violence of the worst type. They were 12 in number, as you are 12. Those days were hard for all of us, as I know the past months have been hard for you.

Many of our Negro students fell by the wayside that first year. The dropout rate was something over 50 per cent. Always, my heart goes back to those children. Some of them are now 25 years old and have families of their own. I see them standing in line for their welfare checks, or sitting idly on a front porch of a dilapidated cabin with no grass or flowers on the lawn, no light inside.

I can only think: "It shouldn't have been this way." For, you see, I knew them as young boys and girls, like yourselves, with hopes and aspirations. Within weeks, their hopes and dreams were crushed and they returned to the old way — to sit and wait for nothing. For this our whole society is to blame.

ONLY recently, I had occasion to hear some of the Negro members of that first desegregated class discuss their feelings after eight years. They agreed that except for making the way for others possible, the ordeal was of little benefit to their personal lives.

"But, oh," one girl did say. "I wish I had held on and finished school." She told how she had tried to take courses by correspondence but had to give up even this because of her inability to get a job and pay for such instruction. As she told her story, her own little girl played around the dirty, broken-down chair in which she sat.

Today our students do not always leave us as well-prepared as we would desire; nevertheless, some have gone through college and hold responsible positions. And today, I hear young Negroes — 13, 14, 15 years old — talk of being doctors, teachers and ministers.

Truly, the 20th century has bombarded our way of life. Yet today, boys and girls, if by some magic wand, you could have complete equality and every opportunity your hearts desire, you still would not have a millennium. The racial struggle of which you are a part is only one of the great human struggles going on in the world. As conditions for you improve, as we know they must, you are morally obligated not only to assist your own people but to be concerned with other aspects of American life where help is needed.

IN my Appalachian country, we have distressed areas. Their problems are not unlike racial problems because they involve human conditions. They may have arisen from different causes but the results have been the same: a debasement of mankind. There, in those beautiful mountains, too many of our children have become the victims of inadequate schools, inadequate job opportunities, ignorance and apathy.

A friend of mine, one of the great craftsmen of the area, who lives with his family on a mountaintop in Georgia, recently wrote:

"Our mountain, like many mountains, is rotten in all the ways man can find to cause things to decay. We have an empty school building crowning our mountaintop. Our unemployment rate in this county is over 16 per cent. We have only one lawyer in the county, only one doctor. We have trash heaps on our highway and commercialism (poverty of spirit) ruining and eating up our best resource: nature's creation. It is grim.

"The discouraging realities of every day in the Southern mountains are overwhelming . . . But we have tremendous faith that there can be worked out the best solutions to all of these problems."

Solutions are being offered. As the passage of civil-rights legislation will be a major step in easing conditions for you, superhighways, flood control and reforestation projects have been suggested for the mountain areas. Men of vision plead for industries to provide work so the mountain people can regain their sense of pride and usefulness. These changes must come.

BUT with them something else must come. It must follow after the conscience of a people has been aroused. It is as necessary for the war against discrimination as it is for the war against poverty. I like to call it "an integrity of spirit." It is what my friend on the mountaintop has. It is what our forebears had.

Together — and it will take all of us working together — we will break this cycle of ignorance, poverty and prej-

udice, so that every person in America can lead a better life and achieve his own individual greatness.

Boys and girls, there are many roads to the top of the mountain, but once you reach the top, the view is the same. Do not be afraid to dream big dreams, for America was built on a dream. But claim your rights in dignity.

*So nigh is grandeur to our dust*
*So near is God to man*
*When duty whispers low,*
*"Thou must,"*
*The youth replies, "I can."*

**CITY SCENE**

*Power boat on Kanawha River flying a large Confederate flag.*

# The Charleston Gazette

*The State Newspaper*

VALLEY EDITION

Charleston, West Virginia, Tuesday Morning, June 30, 1964 ★ 22 Pages—2 Sections—Five Cents

FORECAST—Some cloudiness, hot and humid. High in 90s. — Page 2.

## SECOND OF A SERIES

# *Threat of Major Riot Hangs Over Birmingham*

By Edward Peeks
*Staff Writer*

BIRMINGHAM — The prospect of racial harmony and equality in this big bruised city may well flounder on the rocky issue of police brutality and explode into a major race riot.

Peeks

If it happens here, it is not likely to come from renewed protest demonstrations to increase beginning steps toward desegregation. Or from segregationist bombings of the kind that splintered a church last September and killed four Negro children.

**Racial violence is more likely to erupt from a single incident that will appear on the surface to have nothing at all to do with the civil rights movement. Yet it will be below the surface with the deceptive depth of quicksand.**

Such an incident will involve, say, a traffic violation that will lead to charges of police brutality, as shown in one of the most recent cases in Birmingham.

Add to this probability a history of similar cases in recent memory. They cover a range of suspects charged with everything from disorderly conduct to robbery, but all ended up alike on the receiving end of a police billy club or blackjack, if not with a fatal police bullet in the head.

SOME VICTIMS were not charged with anything, as shown in the case of John Coley, 20, an Army reservist, who fell fatally wounded last September in a hail of police bullets. Coley was a bystander in a crowd that gathered on "Dynamite Hill" at the bombed home of Arthur Shores, civil rights lawyer.

Members of the crowd started throwing rocks and bottles at police officers who were called to the scene. Officers said they fired overhead to disperse the crowd.

**A series of incidents of the kind and police conduct during civil rights demonstrations deposited tons of friction over the years between Birmingham Negroes and the local police.**

What is true of Birmingham holds for other Alabama cities like Gadsden, Selma and Tuscaloosa, according to civil rights leaders at the grass roots.

It should be said at once that Birmingham no longer uses police dogs, whose employment under former Police Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor created an infamous image of the city around the world.

But the new administration of Mayor Albert Boutwell has yet to make good a promise to hire Negro policemen on the force. This hesitation and recent complaints of police brutality, Negro leaders say, contribute to the explosive turbulence below a calm surface. Too, they say, the administration has almost shown a reluctance to face up to the problem of Negro-police frictions interwoven in the history of the city.

A visitor notices that nothing attracts the attention of the Birmingham Negro in the street like the action of the individual policeman in performance of his duty.

* * *

TAKE THE INSTANCES of two officers ticketing an illegally parked car near 17th Street N. and Fourth Avenue in the heart of the business section operated "uptown" by Negroes. A few blocks away stands the newly remodeled Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, the target of last September's fatal bombing.

> ***'Some Policemen Only Know How to Approach a Negro With a Blackjack or Gun'—Birmingham Pharmacist.***

The reaction in the streets wasn't merely one of curious stares tinged with hostility that arises when motorists see an officer writing a parking ticket.

**Negroes stopped stock-still. Some watched with menacing looks on their faces while others stared with lips curled in obvious disdain for the two white officers.**

On the opposite side of the street stood a man who had a neck on shoulders like Sonny Liston's. He turned to the visitor, a rank stranger to him, and spoke with a dare in his voice and a sudden murky look of violence in his eyes:

"He won't give her a parking ticket. He collects protection money . . ."

* * *

THE OFFICER ticketed the black 1963 model car that stood shining like new. He joined his partner on the sidewalk and they continued around the corner on their beat.

With clenched teeth, the man with Liston-like shoulders turned to another knot of bystanders who momentarily had dropped their personal affairs to discuss the ways of Birmingham policemen.

**The visitor walked on down Fourth Avenue with a better understanding why the Rev. Martin Luther King and the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth spent considerable time in pool rooms and taverns counseling nonviolence last summer during the height of protest demonstrations in this city.**

A Negro pharmacist put the problem this way: "There is a great deal of distrust between the police and sections of the Negro community. There are Negroes who believe that policemen had something to do with the bombing of that church up there where those kids were killed. Let's face it. There's fear and distrust. Under the condition, some policemen only know how to approach a Negro with a blackjack or gun, whether he is being arrested for speeding or anything else."

* * *

A NATIVE Birmingham Negro, back home for a visit after living 12 years in Detroit, said he was glad he wasn't stopped by such a policeman while he was driving the wrong direction up a one-way street at night.

"The officer who stopped me was very nice," he said. "Seeing that I was a visitor who had lost my way, he didn't give me a ticket. He let me go with a warning and didn't call me 'boy.' It looks like something else has changed in Birmingham other than the streets since I lived here."

**Officials of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, spearhead of the desegregation drive in Birmingham, said a dozen downtown stores had hired from one to three Negroes in sales and clerical positions since protest demonstrations last summer. Before then, a few stores had employed colored help in jobs above the menial level.**

They said picketing goes on daily at holdouts, without police interference and harassment.

Negroes eat now at lunch counters in downtown department stores. Other gains were cited in the employment of Negro tellers and other personnel in a new downtown bank chartered by a biracial group, desegregated seating at ball games of the Birmingham Black Barons who have four Negro players.

Also, an increase in voter registration that brings Negro voters to about 15 per cent of the total in both city and county, token integration in the public schools, and Negroes on nine of 10 subcommittees of the community affairs committee, though not nearly in proportion to their numbers in the city's population.

* * *

THREE NEGROES passed the police examination, but none was hired, leaders said. One was rejected on grounds that he had a "bad credit reference."

"We need more Negroes to take the examination," said A. G. Gaston, a reputed Negro millionaire whose holdings include a motel, a modern office building, a life insurance company and a funeral home.

**A segregationist bomb last summer shattered the motel where aides of the Rev. Martin Luther King and officers of the Alabama movement were quartered during the racial strife.**

The motel and other bombed properties in the area have been repaired. They show no scars of strife, but stand as landmarks of bitter memories encompassing complaints of police brutality.

"About 300 complaints were reported to the FBI during protest demonstrations last summer," said the Rev. Edward Gardner, first vice - president of the Alabama movement.

* * *

THE INTER-CITIZENS Committee of Birmingham, whose officers consist of Negro ministers, has investigated complaints alleging police brutality in Alabama since formal organization of the group in 1960.

The committee has prepared a brochure of 67 cases, many of which have been sent to the FBI, the Department of Justice, members of Congress and to interested persons all over the country.

**Affidavits gathered in two cases by the committee figured in charges brought to court against three police officers.**

A policeman was tried in Federal District Court in 1960 and two others went on trial in 1962. But in each trial, an all-white jury exonerated the officers.

The complainant in the 1960 case was Theotis Crymes, 26, of Montevallo, Ala., a veteran and father of three children, who was shot in the back and paralyzed for life after he was arrested in a town near Birmingham on a charge of speeding.

"I got out of my car and an officer came after me and would have struck me with his gun, but I threw up my hands to keep from being struck," Crymes testified in court. "I asked what this was all about and what I had done.

"He then asked if I had any whisky in my car and I told him no. He made me put my hands up on his car, and he began to search me. And while I was standing with my hands up on his car, he shot me in the back, paralyzing me from the waist down...."

* * *

AFTER THE CRYMES case, the committee said in a statement:

"When one reads in the local Birmingham newspaper of a police officer who was fired because he reportedly shot into the fender of a car he was chasing (which he claimed was doing over 100 miles an hour, the occupants being white), and then reads also that a federal court exonerates an officer who shoots down an unarmed, innocent Negro in cold blood, one might well question the existence of justice at all in the state."

**Crymes was granted a pension for life by the Veterans Administration as a result of efforts by the committee with assistance from Sen. Kenneth Keating, R-N.Y. and Sen. Clifford Case, R.-N.J.**

In the 1962 police brutality charge brought to trial, complainants were Phillip Travis of Birmingham and his two sons, Phillip Jr., 24, and Kennon, 19, who accused two police officers of breaking into their home one morning before daylight.

They charged that the officers pistol-whipped them and shot the father in the leg. They said the policemen broke in after they were denied entrance without a warrant. Officers were seeking the younger son, Kennon, in connection with a derogatory remark made about police at a Negro cafe.

* * *

THE REV. C. Herbert Oliver, secretary of the Inter-Citizens Committee, said the latest charge of police brutality grew out of a traffic case on May 24 in the Collegeville section of Birmingham.

James Eddie Steele, 20, accused two policemen of beating him bloody for refusing to sign a ticket citing him for reckless driving. The officers said Steele ran and after they caught him, he put up a struggle and they had to use force to subdue him.

**Officers further said they had at first pursued Steele after he took off at a high rate of speed in the vicinity of a robbery, but after his arrest they determined that he was not one of the robbery suspects.**

**His mother, Mrs. U. G. Steele Jr., said someone telephoned her that two policemen were beating her son. She said when she arrived at the scene and begged officers not to beat him any more, they threatened to beat her if she did not shut up and leave.**

James Eddie Steele
*Beaten by Police*

**After he was bonded out of jail on charges of reckless driving, disorderly conduct and resisting arrest, Steele was hospitalized for two weeks with head injuries. He is an Alabama State College student and has been working at a machine company.**

* * *

**MR. OLIVER said incidents of the kind between Negroes and policemen usually draw a crowd of spectators, some angry and hostile at the mere presence of policemen because of similar instances in the past.**

**"The FBI and attorneys for the Department of Justice have not been as vigorous as they should in the investigation and the prosecution of complaints in the past," Mr. Oliver said.**

"It seems to me that the FBI in many instances want to maintain harmonious relations with local police here and elsewhere at the expense of the constitutional rights of Negroes," he added. "They don't want to do anything to disturb this relationship. Negroes are tired of being victims for the sake of such harmony."

7-7-64 -c

# Negroes Open All-Out Drive For Civil Rights in Alabama

By The Associated Press

Prominent Negro civil rights leaders unveiled Monday intensified desegregation campaigns in Alabama under the new Civil Rights Act as assaults on segregation barriers were launched throughout the South.

The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said at Birmingham that his staff members will go to Tuscaloosa and Selma, Ala., to assess the situations.

**61 JAILED**

At Selma, 55 Negroes and six white men were jailed when civil rights forces launched a new voter registration campaign.

A federal judge at Birmingham, taking note of the new Civil Rights Act, continued indefinitely a Negro request to prevent police from interfering with peaceful demonstrations at Tuscaloosa. "Circumstances have changed," said U. S. Dist. Judge Clarence Allgood.

At Jackson, Tenn., the president of the Southern Baptist Convention, the Rev. Wayne Dehoney, called on his fellow church members for "peaceful obedience to every letter" of the new federal law.

**IN MISSISSIPPI**

At Canton, Miss., a special committee from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People opened a three-day tour of Mississippi to look into racial practices "in various critical areas."

Negroes testing the civil rights law found many fresh openings in the pattern of segregation but renewed resistance in other places.

At Baton Rouge, La., a white government worker hit a Negro who took part in desegregating the cafeteria in the state capitol. The Rev. Arthur Jelks was hit on the jaw as he and two women companions walked out after lunch.

In Ocala, Fla., four restaurants served Negroes without incident, but a fifth establishment refused to serve a Negro group and ordered them to leave under Florida's anti-trespass law. When police appeared, they left.

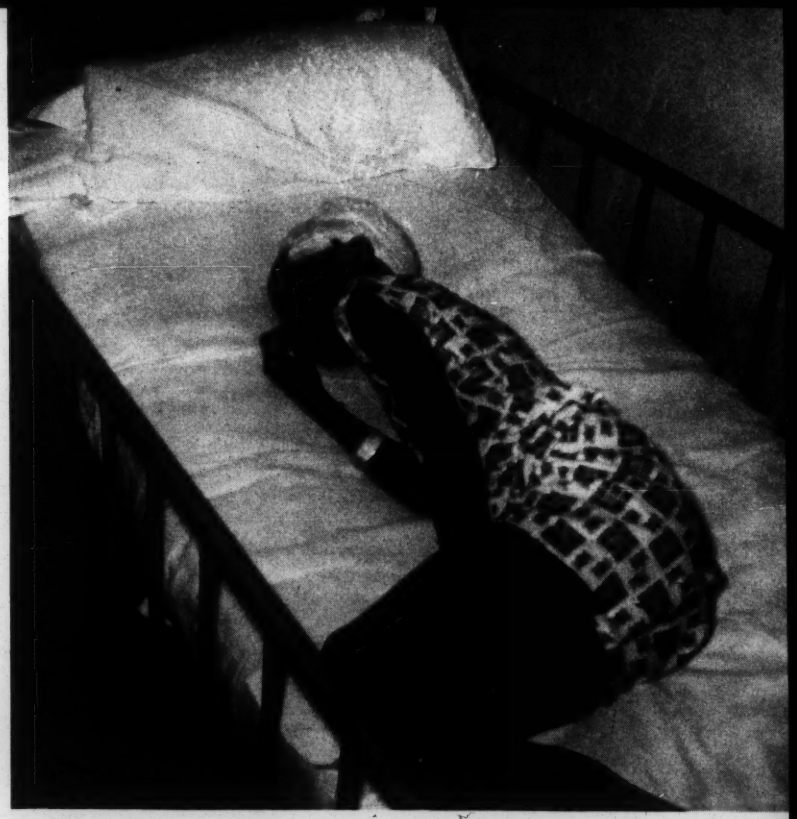
**OFFERED PLAN**

Gov. Farris Bryant of Florida held a closed-door meeting with a biracial group of clergymen who proposed a plan for desegregating the entire state. A spokesman for the clergymen said the governor took the plan under advisement.

Tallahassee's three public swimming pools were closed following an integration attempt. A city official said the pools were closed because they were operating at a loss.

A public swimming pool in Fort Smith, Ark., was peacefully integrated Monday by eight Negro boys.

In Jackson, Negroes successfully entered two hotels and a downtown motel, but the owner of the Robert E. Lee Hotel closed his establishment.



The little boy whose picture you see is eight year old Dennis Holmes of Brighton, Alabama, near Bessemer. Reportedly on Sunday morning, July 19, 1964 at around 10:15, little Dennis was walking home with his nine year old brother in Brighton, Alabama. A car with two white men in it passed by them and a rock was thrown from the car striking Dennis in the head. He was knocked unconscious and was picked up by his mother shortly afterward and taken to the basement of West End Baptist Hospital in Birmingham. His mother reports that his skull had been cracked and he did not regain consciousness until the following Thursday. His parents, Lafayette and Mary Holmes of 5017 Edward Street in Brighton say that there was not anyone around at the time who could identify the car or the men. They are spending long hours at the hospital in hope that their son will recover.

The Inter-Citizens Committee
Box 1443
Birmingham, Alabama

| COUNTY | WVAP | NVAP | WR | NR |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dallas | 14,400 | 15,115 | 9,542 | 335 |

(Between May 1962 and August 1964, the registrars accepted only 93 of 795 Negro app;ications and 945 of 1,132 white applications, according to Judge Thompson who presided over the Dallas Co. voting suit)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Perry | 3,441 | 5,202 | 3,006 | 289 |

(from '60 Census and VEP)

Voting - Selma

10-24-64-C

**Eugene Patterson**

# NASA Scientists Don't Like It

In the bare-knuckled tradition of Southern politics, the shelling down of corn began in Alabama this week. Louisiana went after Alabama's $200 million-a-year space industry payroll and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration decided it would "consider" the Louisiana request.

It was probably no coincidence that NASA Administrator James E. Webb chose the closing days of the presidential campaign to disclose NASA is getting fed up with its problems in Alabama.

Webb went into Mobile and Montgomery, Birmingham and Florence, and told businessmen's groups he was having increasing difficulty in getting NASA scientists and technicians to move to Alabama because of the state's image.

He did not mention Gov. George Wallace and he did not call civil rights attitudes the main problem. The trouble he has encountered involves the Alabama image and atmosphere, he said, and he added that the problem of getting top people to work in the state was real.

* * *

I called him in Texas and asked him precisely what he was talking about.

"A variety of things," Webb said. "But primarily, some of Alabama's top state officials have begun encouraging the view that anybody working for the federal government is doing something that is somehow wrong—a view that a federal project is not an honorable place for a man to work.

"How do you think this makes a NASA scientist feel? We've got 24 per cent of all NASA personnel in Alabama now. A substantial number would prefer to live elsewhere, and we are having great difficulty in getting scientists elsewhere to move their families to Alabama."

Webb said he had been "amazed" to find the economic value of NASA work was largely unrecognized in Alabama, but he said the difficulty of getting space personnel to move there was the primary reason he decided to lay it on the line to Alabama businessmen, and to consider Louisiana Rep. Hale Boggs' request that NASA begin moving Alabama work to New Orleans.

"I don't believe any Southern state can absorb and hold scientists if it doesn't want to provide an atmosphere in which they want to work," Webb said. "I don't want to move these installations out of Alabama. But where's the future buildup to come? In a state having an atmosphere where scientists don't want to live?

"Georgia's not like that. Georgia has been trying hard not to have such an atmosphere prevail."

It would be underestimating NASA's intentions if we were to write off Webb's comments as being mere bare-knuckled political talk aimed at changing Alabama's vote; the intention was more likely the opposite. It appeared to be a conclusion, irretrievably stated before and not after the election, that NASA has given up on Alabama as a place to build in, and will invest in the future elsewhere in the South.

*Doris Lockerman*

# Alabama Lost More Than It Won At Football Games

Alabama, congratulating itself on two victorious football encounters against Georgia last week, must also be subconsciously wondering if it hadn't lost a more important game of Southern Gentlemanhood.

People who sat in the Auburn bleachers while the crowd booed Gov. Carl Sanders say now that it was something like being in the middle of the Roman Forum when the mobs roared for the blood of the Christtians.

Doris Lockerman

"It was frightening and embarrassing at the same time." said a mother whose two sons have aspired to Auburn when they have reached that stage of their education. "It made me want to shed my skin. I couldn't believe this was a college campus."

**Well dressed in their sports coats and cashmeres, identified as former collegians by class rings, and as happy fellows by their ever-ready hip flasks, the visitor from Atlanta said she had not realized she was surrounded by rabble until the hoarse cries began to go up all around her.**

"Then," she said, "you should have seen the faces change. The whole section where we sat seemed to catch fire and scream fury and hatred. I kept hoping that somebody, the president of Auburn even, would take the microphone and apologize in person to Gov. Sanders for their misbehaviour. Maybe that would have made them see that they had demeaned themselves more than they had hurt Gov. Sanders. But nobody said a word."

Meanwhile, in Atlanta, coach Bear Bryant's Crimson Tide was inundating Georgia Tech and no one raised an unfriendly voice against Gov. Wallace, who was said to be ensconced in the bleachers as the official guest of Gov. Sanders, and was surely enjoying his team's strong victory to the utmost.

**In discussing the mental development of such persons as Lee Oswald, a psychiatrist recently noted that he and other rebels begin as dissidents, protesters, rejectors who gain strength in their malevolence in an environment of fear and expressed hatred.**

That, of course, is the way riots are bred. In Alabama last Saturday few individuals would have booed Gov. Sanders if they had met him face to face. They had simply found the freedom to express their nameless rage in the company of others.

The old rules of sportsmanship are disappearing in football jousts. There is a growing habit of booing bad plays, unwise quarterbacking, even injuries. But there was more than exuberant impudence in the razzing of a governor of a neighboring state who had come on a mission of friendliness.

**There was a great loss of face, and it was not the face of Gov. Sanders that was distorted.**

# Tuskegee Thrives in Racial Calm

11-29-64 Cont

By JOHN HERBERS

(Copyright 1964 by the New York Times Co.)

TUSKEGEE, Ala. — Biracial government in Tuskegee, long considered in anathema by whites, has brought a lessening of tensions and a new confidence in the future of the town.

Although the scars of almost a decade of conflicts remain, most white and Negro leaders agree that the community has moved into a new era of race relations. Some believe that with restraint on both sides the "Black Belt" town of 6,500 could become a model for the South.

**CHANGES OCCUR**

Only a few months ago Tuskegee was so torn by racial unrest that many feared it was in danger of drying up or becoming an all-Negro community. In recent weeks, these changes have taken place:

1. A new city council composed of two Negroes and three white moderates has been elected and installed without the upheavals many had predicted; four Negroes have been elected to Macon County offices and will assume their duties next year.

Most of the white leaders who had gerrymandered the Negroes out of the city in 1957 and opposed any change in the old order have been silenced and isolated.

**SCHOOL REOPENS**

2. Tuskegee High School, which closed last year after it was integrated by court order, has reopened and is continuing to draw students from the private school established by whites to avoid desegregation.

3. White and Negro business and civic leaders have reopened communications with meetings held on the campus of Tuskegee Institute, the Negro college founded by Booker T. Washington in 1881.

The change in leadership has not yet brought about significant changes in the social order. Residential neighborhoods, restaurants, churches and other facilities are largely segregated. Except for Tuskegee High, schools in the county are still segregated. Many whites continue to insist that the Negroes who have the majority of the votes still intend to "take over."

**FACING REALITY**

"I think the biggest change in Tuskegee," said a college official who asked not to be identified, "is that we have gotten rid of that Alice in Wonderland climate that prevails in so much of the Alabama Black Belt. People here have had to face reality. As a result people may be able to sit down and work things out."

One of the first acts of the council was to pave some of the streets in the Negro section. The previous administration, answerable to the white electorate, had left rutty gravel roads in areas of fine Negro homes.

The council's two Negro members—Dr. Stanley H. Smith, a sociology professor at the college and a member of Phi Beta Kappa, and the Rev. K. L. Buford, a bespectacled gray-haired minister—have proceeded slowly in pushing for reforms.

# Beaten in Alabama, Photographer Says

SELMA, Ala. (AP)—A photographer testified Wednesday that men carrying nightsticks and dressed like members of a sheriff's posse beat him during a racial demonstration here last summer.

David Prince, a free-lance cameraman from Atlanta, said he and a free-lance writer, Jerry Demuth, were roughed up while covering a Negro meeting last July 5.

Prince said he was struck by nightsticks wielded by men wearing clothes like those worn by members of the special sheriff's posse.

Demuth, also from Atlanta, told a three-judge federal court earlier in the day that he was struck on the head, but he said he did not know who hit him or with what.

Prince and Demuth were called as witnesses by the Justice department in its suit seeking to have four Dallas County officials and the City of Selma enjoined from purposefully intimidating Negroes in the exercise of their civil rights.

The officials named in the suit are Sheriff Jim Clark, Circuit Judge James A. Hare, Circuit Solicitor Blanchard McLeod and Probate Judge Bernard Reynolds.

Demuth said he had been employed at various times by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee but that on his visit to Selma he said he was on assignment for the Black Star News Agency.

Defense Attorney McLean Pitts tried to show that Demuth earlier had written a story for SNCC about racial conditions in Selma and that McLeod had questioned its accuracy in confronting Demuth with it.

The writer admitted that he had done the story from magazine and newspaper clippings, but denied telling the solicitor that SNCC sometimes changed his copy to make it look worse.

Demuth testified that after members of the posse had searched him and Prince and their car, McLeod told them to get out of Selma and out of the state. He said that conversation took place at the scene of a Negro meeting where Demuth said he had been struck on the head and Prince said he was beaten.

March 7, 1965

TO: THE GOVERNOR AND LEGISLATORS OF ALABAMA
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
THE CONGRESSMEN OF THE UNITED STATES
THE MAYOR AND OFFICIALS OF SELMA, ALABAMA
THE MAJOR NEWSPAPERS OF ALABAMA AND THE UNITED STATES
THE HUMAN RELATIONS ORGANIZATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES
THE PRESIDENTS OF THE DISTRICTS AND COLLEGES OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH - MISSOURI SYNOD.

SUBJECT:
INTERPRETATION OF MARCH 6, 1965 DEMONSTRATION BY 72 ALABAMA WHITES IN SELMA

Dear Sir:

On Saturday, March 6, 1965, 72 white Alabamians walked to the Dallas County Courthouse in Selma, Alabama, read a statement protesting voter registration intimidation, police brutality, and suppression of dissent, sang "America", and then returned to their starting point holding signs with messages like: "Democracy Is Government by All the People", "Police Brutality Enslaves Us All", and "Voteless-ness = Hopelessness."

The 72 persons included ministers, teachers, business men, housewives and college students from Birmingham, Huntsville, Montgomery, Auburn, and Tuscaloosa.

The big question is: "Why? Why did they do it?"

We would like to interpret what we did:

1. We wanted to express our outrage at the continued denial to register to vote, police brutality and suppression of dissent.

2. We did it via a dramatic demonstration because we felt frustrated by the use of letters and personal conferences with individuals and realized that deep injustices require radical measures before they are removed.

3. We hoped to encourage whites in Alabama to speak and act against the entrenched injustices.

4. We hoped to bring an end to foot-dragging, to the elimination of voter registration intimidation in Alabama and to bring in Federal assistance if drastic changes are not forthcoming immediately.

5. We intended to re-affirm the position that the demonstration technique is a solid, American tradition used by responsible, thinking citizens.

6. Although I cannot speak for anyone but myself, I know there were many in the group who share my Christian motivation. I participated because in the spirit of the incarnation of my Lord I felt constrained to identify myself with people who have been unjustly treated and to bring about justice - out of love for my fellow man, and to show forth Christ's love to the world.

Enclosed is a copy of the statement read on the courthouse steps.

In the interest of "liberty and justice for all",

Joseph Ellwanger, Chairman
Concerned White Citizens of Alabama
Box 2382, Birmingham, Alabama
Phone: 323-3265 or 324-2063

Enc.

## STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

We as white citizens of Alabama have come to Selma today to tell the nation that there are white people in Alabama who will speak out against the events which have recently occurred in this and neighboring counties and towns.

We consider it a shocking injustice that there are still counties in Alabama where there are no Negroes registered to vote and where Negroes have reason to fear the hostility and harassment of public officials when they do try to register.

We deem it a tragic retreat from the American principle of "no taxation without representation" when citizens of Alabama, Negro and white, must undergo a college examination to be able to exercise their right as responsible, law-abiding, taxpaying citizens, to vote.

We are horrified at the brutal way in which the police at times have attempted to break up peaceful assemblies and demonstrations by American citizens who are exercising their constitutional right to protest injustice. And, we are shocked at the inhuman way American citizens of Dallas and other counties in Alabama have been treated when taken prisoner in the recent demonstrations.

We are sickened by the totalitarian atmosphere of intimidation and fear officials have purposefully created and maintained to discourage lawful assembly and peaceful expression of grievances against the existing conditions.

THEREFORE: As citizens of the United States of America and of this state of Alabama we do by our presence here affirm our faith in the abiding principles upon which our nation and our state is founded and for which our forefathers died. We are immovable in our determination that this be a "nation under God with liberty and justice for all."

We urge that the governor of our state and all elected officials - state and local - use their power and prestige to see to it that all open and subtly intimidation of persons seeking to register to vote be removed.

We request that, since many citizens have for so long been given the clear picture that they are not wanted in the registrar's office, the state and local officials owe it to these citizens systematically to inform them that they are welcome and that they are encouraged to register and vote. We ask that not only the Federal government, but our own state legislature, go on record against the current "college test" type of registration form and favor a simple information blank and that assistance be made available for white and Negro citizens who are not able to fully understand or fill out the form.

We finally plead for Federal help in terms of laws and registrars, if these injustices are not removed forthrightly.

---

Read on the Dallas County Courthouse steps in Selma, Alabama, March 6, 1965 by Joseph Ellwanger, Chairman, Concerned White Citizens of Alabama, Box 2382, Birmingham, Alabama.

Birmingham News 5-14-65

## State could lose

# U. S. to cut off funds only

By RON GIBSON
News staff writer

ATLANTA, April 14 — A government official said today federal funds amounting to more than $217 million in Alabama could be withheld if the state does not comply with the non-discrimination requirements of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, but he said that it would be only as a "last resort."

James M. Quigley, assistant secretary of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, said this also applies to the five other Southeastern states represented at a Civil Rights Commission Conference in session here.

Quigley, in explaining Title VI of the rights law covering allocation of federal funds for state and local programs, made it clear that the federal government expected "complete and total" compliance in the matter of non-discrimination in using these U.S. funds. Title VI covers federal funds for such things as schools, pensions and health needs.

THE HEW OFFICIAL said his department would "make every possible reasonable effort" to obtain compliance from Alabama and the other Southeastern states — Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Tennessee.

A spokesman for HEW said later that this does not mean that funds for all state agencies would be curtailed simply because one agency failed to comply.

He explained that, for instance, the fact that the Bessemer Board of Education has "in taking the stand that it has" in deciding to take the matter into the courts would not affect other school systems which agreed to desegregate. The funds for those systems would continue to be allocated, he said.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION revealed that federal aid payments to the six states in 1963 alone totaled $1,249,957,777, according to a report from the secretary of the treasury.

Alabama's share was listed as $217,229,991 for that period including $185,121,762 in payments to state and local units and another $32,108,229 to individuals within the sate.

A commission spokesman said that the U. S. commissioner of education had accepted a statement of compliance from the Florida State Board of Education today. The only other agency statement listed by the commission as having been accepted prior to today was one from the Alabama Public Library Service.

ABOUT 100 SCHOOL districts in Alabama and State Superintendent of Education Austin R. Meadows have signed the assurance of compliance forms involving $63 million in federal funds, including the money allocated in President Johnson's recently approved aid to educe-tion bill. The State Board of Education, however, has not signed.

Two other agencies in addition to the Library Board and the school officials in Alabama have signed. They are the Board of Corrections and the State Department of Public Health.

**The Department of Pensions and Security has also failed to sign the assurance of compliance, which involves about $90 million of federal funds.**

U. S. COMMISSIONER of Education Francis Keppel has warned Alabama schools that they must submit desegregation plans by early May "at the latest" for next September, if they expect to receive federal assistance.

The Department of Pensions and Security reportedly plans to withhold signing the forms until a test case of the constitutionality of the requirement can be completed.

**"We will enforce the law if we are, in fact, forced to do it," Quigley told an audience of about 900 federal, state and local officials from the Southeast region**

"THE FEDERAL DOLLAR is color blind," he emphasized, adding that programs using federal funds "must be administered in a color blind fashion."

Quigley said that "discrimination cannot, must not and will not be a factor in the administration of such programs."

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act provides that "no person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance."

**Quigley said that there are 191 federal aid programs on the statute books and that at least 96 of these fall under the jurisdiction of the Health, Education and Welfare Department.**

QUIGLEY SAID he realizes compliance with Title VI "will be a difficult assignment in many areas" but that his department and other federal agencies will be available to assist in bringing this about.

He said this title could be described as "the ultimate weapon" in ending discrimination. "Use that weapon only in the most extreme situation," he warned officials at the conference. The federal government is ready to go that extra mile."

**The HEW official said that the basic function of Title VI is "not to cut off funds and wreck programs" but to**

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

# $217 million as last resort, official says

eliminate discriminations from those programs.

BUT HE emphasized again hat the rights law imposes on ederal officials responsibility or eliminating discrimination nd "we have no alternative" ut to withhold funds in cases vhere there is not compliance.

William L. Taylor, staff director-designate, also addressed he gathering.

About half of those present today were Negro. Quigley said it was the most completely integrated audience he had ever appeared before.

Meanwhile, an official with a private civil rights agency Tuesday night told an audience ncluding state civil rights advisory committees that Atlanta schools are becoming more segregated "year by year, even month by month."

Les Dunbar, director of the Southern Regional Council with headquarters in Atlanta, cites figures showing that in the past 10 years, Negro enrollment in the city's public schools has doubled while white enrollment has risen only slightly.

"THERE ARE ALMOST twice as many youths in all-Negro schools as there were 10 years ago," Dunbar said. "There are twice as many suffering the pains of a segregated system."

Dunbar said that in Washington, with its 88 per cent Negro majority, "it is farcial to speak of school integration. There are too few to integrate with."

In New York City, he said, it will be "only a few years until the majority of students will be Negro or Puerto Rican."

Dunbar criticized churches in Atlanta which he said moved out of areas of the city when Negroes moved in. "Who is to blame the homeowner for following the church leadership?" he asked.

He said such actions are helping to increase segregation in Atlanta.

Eleven members of the Alabama Civil Rights Advisory Committee attended the dinner meeting Tuesday night. They were Chairman Moreland Smith of Montgomery; Mrs. L. H. Foster, wife of the president of Tuskegee Institute; J. Murphy, law professor at the University of Alabama; the Rev. Albert Foley, professor at Spring Hill College in Mobile; Louis Eckl, executive editor of The Florence Times and Tri-Cities Daily; Orzell Billingsley, Negro attorney of Birmingham; L. H. Pitts, president of Miles College; Herbert Oliver, Negro Presbyterian minister of Birmingham; C. G. Gomillion of Tuskegee Institute; Ed McLaughlin, Calhoun County court judge of Anniston, and Dr. Richard Wasserstraum, white professor at Tuskegee.

TODAY'S CONFERENCE was designed as "basically and solely an education program," a Civil Rights Commission spokesman said.

Smith said he and other members of the Alabama advisory committee attended the conference because "we accepted appointments as private citizens, and we need to know what our responsibility is."

CHRONOLOGY OF ARRESTS
AND BEATINGS IN ALABAMA
SINCE JANURAY 19

SELMA

1/19 - 66 arrests
1/20 - 163 arrests
1/21 - 5 arrests
1/25-29 - 80 arrests

2/1 - 746 arrests (236 adults, 474 students, 36 pickets, 25 of whom were sentenced to 5 days hard labor and fined $50)
2/2 - 505 arrests (394 children and 111 adults)
2/3 - 300 srrests
2/5 - 549 arrests (74 adults and 475 students)
2/8 - 57 arrests
2/9 - 9 arrests
2/10 - 160 arrests (all students marched to jail 6 miles away by Sheriff Clark)
2/15 - 45 arrests (8 sit-ins and 37 demonstrators)
2/16 - 1 beating
2/17 - 1 arrest, 1 beating
2/18 - 5 arrests

3/7 - 1 white arrested on disorderly conduct
Dozens hurt, 50-60 treated, 17 hospitalized
3/9 - 3 white ministers beaten, (Rev. Reeb died 3 days later)
3/10 - 3 whites arrested and charged with beatings, a 4th later gave self up

MARION

2/3 - 515 arrested (15 sit-ins and 500 semonstrators)
2/4 - 173 arrests
2/16 - 16 arrests
2/17 - hundreds of students (approx 600)
2/18 - 5 arrests
2/19 - 5 arrests, several injuries, including 3 newsmen, 9 hospitalized, Jimmie Jackson shot (and later died)
2/21 - 1 arrest

RUNNING TOTAL OF ARRESTS:
SELMA 2596
MARION 1315
TOTAL 3911

Phone: 539-4277 or 539-5496

ACHR

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director
ROBERT S. VALDER, Associate Director

Jan. 5, 1965

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Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed,

Does this typing look familiar--sure is a nice machine I have here. Enclosed is the Quarterly Report to SRC on Alabama news. Thought you might like to see it to make any additions, revisions, corrections or interpretations to Pat as you see fit. I didn't put in much about the ACHR as I didn't know how much theywanted to know about what we've done.

Enclosed also is a tentative set-up for our workshop at the annual meeting. I've listed the workshop title, under some of the titles I've put those issues or that issue which I think could be covered in the workshop. The next column is a listing of suggested resource persons--I've tried to rely on Alabama persons, but I don't know too many of them, e.g., who would be best under what topic.

What I'd like you to do is this. (1)Give me your ideas on the workshops themselves--should OEO and USDA for example be under Federal programs, should Health and Hospitals be Title VI only, etc. (2) Give me your comments on resource persons--who that I have listed should be used under some other workshop, who should be contacted not at all, e.g., ignored, do you have additional suggestions especially from Alabama, etc., etc. (3) What if any financial help can we give any resource types in the way of rooms if they are going to arrive Friday night or in the way of travel expenses? (4) Once we decide upon all of this would you be so kind as to contact those persons who are in Atlanta to see if they'd come, explain their role in the workshop, etc?

One other comment. Where I've listed a representative from one of our localchapters I'm thinking of a person who has worked on that particular issue with his chapter--but I don't know which persons have been so doing and wonder if you could supply the name. Oh, one more thing. I suppose it would be good to get local chapter people or rather ACHR people to moderate these things. Could you suggest persons who might be knowledgeable more than others on the various topics who would also be good ~~resource/ty~~ moderator types? (Neat typing, eh?). If you can get an answer to me by Monday that would be great--on the student thing too. I'd like to have all the persons decided upon by then so we can get letters to them on Monday as I'll be out of town from Tues to Thursday and it's getting late. Keep smiling.

P. S. Is John Doar coming for sure; what's the present status re his coming.

Sincerely
Bob
Bob Valder

| Workshop subject | Resource persons |
| --- | --- |
| 1. Education (School desegregation projects only) | Jean Fairfax, Winifred Falls, Jane Reed, Birmingham representative, Mobile representative, Muscle Shoals representative, Connie Curry |
| 2. Employment (Title VII- Employment service offices- work study programs- vocational guidance centers re Brandon | Some one from Regional or local NAACP ; Charles Brandon; memberof Ala. Advisory Comm to Civil Rights Commission |
| 3. Federal Programs OEO, USDA, Ecucation Act, Housing Act | Picot Floyd, Jack Wilmore, Seabron from USDA, RAP man (if we have one) |
| 4. Health and Hospitals (Title VII only) | Mrs. Sherri Arnstein--good-from HEW; representatives from B'ham, Mobile, Muscle Shoals and maybe from SRC |
| 5. Housing | Mrs. ~~Freddie~~ Franklin M. Freeman; someone from Atlanta Regional office(intergroup specialist) Moreland Smith |
| 6. Law Enforcement | Chuck Morgan, Dept. of Justice person (Doar maybe?) Ala. Bar Assoc. person, Judge MCLaughlin(?); that Professor at Law School of U. of Ala. |
| 7. Voter Education & Educ. | Jay Murphy ~~Orzell~~ Orzell Billingsley, Rufus Lewis, Scott B.M Smith, William Mintz (state director of COPE-- at Voters Conference, Diane Bevel, Dr. Gomillion John Cashin Vernon |
| 8. Community Organization | Al Ulmer, Diane Bevel, Stoleley Carmichael or some other SNCC person |

January 10, 1965

Mr. Robert Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I am wondering how the challenge meeting in Muscle Shoals came off. We had a pretty good meeting in Tuskegee at which a large number of members were secured and also a considerable amount in pledges. They did not have an adding machine so we do not know the exact amount. Dr. Gomillion alone, however, reported having received more than $600, so that Nancy Spears and I estimated that they have nearly $1,000 to send you shortly.

Be thinking about the kind of proposal the Council should make as to what it would like to do with its share of the new Ford money.

Best wishes.

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

January 4, 1966

Mr. Robert Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Mr. Valder:

Enclosed is a check in the amount of $2,000. $1,375 of it representing your first quarterly grant-in-aid for 1966, and the remaining $625 representing the quarterly SRC grant toward the NAIRO intern's salary.

Please sign and return the enclosed receipt carbon at your convenience.

Sincerely,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

VERNON A. EAGLE
*Executive Director*

January 4, 1966

Dear Paul,

The request from the Alabama Council on Human Relations makes good sense to me.

I think they are getting the kind of mileage we like to see our of the Special Fund for student human relations councils and similar groups.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

January 3, 1966

Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Attorney General Katzenbach:

Mrs. Carrie Peady, Post Office Box 83, Wetumpka, Alabama, called our office today. She related a story of harassment and intimidation which I believe should be of extreme interest to the United States Government.

The issue involved is school desegregation; Mrs. Peady and her family and at least one other Negro family, both of whom have children in a formerly white school, have been the victims of home burnings, home bombings, arrests, and beatings. Apparently a secondary issue of voter registration may also be involved here, but school desegregation is definitely the major factor.

The bombing occurred yesterday, and Mrs. Peady said that the families involved particularly and Negroes generally are scared to death, and don't know what to do. She has been in contact with Attorney Fred Grey of 34 North Perry Street, Montgomery. His office number is 263-9360.

I suggested that she contact you and other appropriate persons; she said she would, but noted that the FBI had been slow in responding to a similar situation last October.

Might we suggest that every indication points to civil rights violation; the question of Title VI and compliance by school and other authorities might also be investigated.

I should like to stress the urgency of this situation; we would greatly appreciate any information you might have about this matter.

Sincerely,

Robert Valder
Associate Director

RSV:llr

cc: Mr. John Gardner
Mr. Jacques Wilmore
Mr. Paul Anthony
Mr. Moreland Smith
Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield

Howdy,

Boy sure is peaceful here - nothing to do.

Hope SRC can get something going on this Wetumpka thing. Sounded frantic.

R. Fowler called - their challenge meet is Jan. 11 - I plan to go. Joe Betts is a friend of Sessions & they hope to get him to that meeting. This will give Roy a chance to size him up so Roy will get to B'ham late Wed.

Ret to me. P.A.

December 30, 1965

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Vernon:

Here's the latest. If approved, the sum of $325 would come from the Special Contingency Fund for Student Human Relations Council.

This is another good example of using a little money remarkably well and I recommend its approval.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

Phone: 539-4277 or 539-5498

ACHR

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Mrs. A. W. West, Montgomery
W. L. Williams, Birmingham

December 28, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

The Alabama Council on Human Relations will hold its annual meeting on Saturday, February 5, 1966 at the Jefferson Davis Hotel in Montgomery, Alabama. In keeping with the desire to involve the university and student communities in the issues and problems facing Alabama we are contemplating a student conference at the Jefferson Davis Hotel in Montgomery on Friday night, February 4. The purpose of this letter is to apply for a grant to pay most of the expenses incurred by this conference.

On May 15, 1965 an Alabama Student Human Relations Conference, sponsored jointly by the Southern Human Relations Project of the United States National Student Association and the Alabama Council on Human Relations, was held in Birmingham, Alabama. Sixty-five students from eleven colleges and universities attended this conference. The students engaged in seminars on the poverty program, Alabama politics, the 1964 Civil Rights Act (emphasis on Titles VI and VII), and Alabama education. A steering committee, composed of two non-seniors from each campus represented, was named to plan an organizational meeting for early fall. That meeting was not held. Hence our plans to hold such a meeting in conjunction with the annual meeting of the Alabama Council on Human Relations (it might be noted that both the holding of the May 15 meeting and the naming of the steering committee was done at the urging of students).

The purpose of holding a conference immediately prior to our annual meeting is threefold: (1) to insure maximum student participation in the annual meeting itself--students will be encouraged to participate in this meeting; (2) to use the annual meeting as an added incentive for students to attend the student comference; (3) to avoid duplication of effort--many issues and problems about which students are concerned are identical to those which will be examined in the annual meeting, e.g., voting, housing, employment, the provisions and enforcement of the Civil Rights Act, the administration of justice, school desegregation, community organization and Federal programs.

The agenda for the conference, with possible minor revisions, would be as follows.

7:00 P.M. - 8:00 P.M.

(A) Brief introductions
(B) A talk by an administrator or faculty member of a college or university in Alabama
(C) A question and answer period

8:00 P.M. - 9:45 P.M.

Seminars on:

(A) Student issues
  (1) Academic freedom
  (2) Student Newspapers--their role, function, purpose, etc.
  (3) Curriculum reform
  (4) The role of students in policy making
  (5) Student Government--its role, function, purpose, programs, etc.

(B) Current student activities on college campuses
  (1) The background, composition, activities, problems and plans of
    (a) the Talladega Recreation and Education Committee--a student group working in the Talladega community
    (b) an intercampus group in Birmingham composed of students and faculty members from Birmingham Southern, Miles and Sanford and
    (c) the University of Alabama University Forum
  (2) An explanation of the Methodist Student Movement
  (3) An explanation of the Southern Student Organizing Committee
  (4) An explanation of the United States National Student Association

(C) Programs for student involvement in the community
  (1) Tutorials
  (2) Voter registration and education
  (3) Public and private anti-poverty programs
  (4) Work with local chapters of the Alabama Council on Human Relations
  (5) Community Organization--a definition and explanation, its purpose and methods, etc.

9:45 P.M. - 10:30 P.M.

General session consisting of:

(A) Five minute reports from each seminar
(B) Discussion of feasibility and desirability of an Alabama Intercollegiate Council on Human Relations
(C) Recess until 2:15 P.M. the following day.

2:15 P.M. - until finished (Saturday, February 5)
This session would continue where the previous session ended. It would be held simultaneous with the business session of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

If the students in attendance so desire the possibilities are excellent that they would either (A) elect officers and establish an organizational structure for a statewide student council on human relations or (B) select a representative, temporary executive committee to prepare an organizational meeting sometime later in the school year at which time officers would be elected, a structure would be formalized, program ideas suggested and exchanged, etc.

It is our estimation that we will need $325 in order to hold this conference. Meeting room facilities for the general sessions and the three seminars will cost $125. And we would need to cover the gas and room expenses for the students who act as resource persons in the seminars. However, the major anticipated problem is one of housing. We expect 70-100 students to attend the Friday night meeting and since they will need to attend the Saturday sessions and since it would be extremely difficult and perhaps inadvisable to arrange for housing in the Montgomery community for an interracial group at 10:30 P.M. we believe it will be essential to have provisions for hotel accomodations for the night of February 4.

We would strongly encourage students to make their own arrangements with friends living in Montgomery. This will not be possible for many students, however. We estimate that approximately fifty students will need hotel rooms. Double rooms are about $10 so if we were able to pay $6 for each double room it would only cost the students $2 each to stay overnight. $6 for 25 rooms for fifty students would total $150. We believe that most students would not mind paying their own travel and meal expenses if they received some help with housing expenses.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations would pay for other expenses such as promotion and publicity, non-student speakers and resource persons and incidental expenses.

Therefore a summary of expenses in excess of what we can contribute is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Meeting room facilities | $125.00 |
| Student resource persons-gas and rooms | 50.00 |
| Student housing | 150.00 |
| Total | $325.00 |

Thank you very much for your consideration of this request.

Sincerely,

Bob Valder

Bob Valder
Associate Director

Phone: 539-4277 or 539-5496

file

# ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

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Stanley Rosenbaum, Florence
Franklyn W. Taylor, Montgomery
Rev. J. L. Ware, Birmingham
S. C. Watkins, Tuscumbia
Mrs. A. W. West, Montgomery
W. L. Williams, Birmingham

Dear Paul,

I hope this is more or less what you wanted. Ed and I decided to figure this out so we'd know what's going on. We also decided to try to make this student thing a big deal--that is, push for a really good program, lots of students, etc. We're thinking that we should really work on the idea of having a student human relations council.

As you know time is very important as we will need at least two weeks to get this set up. So maybe you can give you friend "the word"--we'd like to know, whether it's yes or no as soon as possible.

Hope the letter isn't too long. My first experience at applying for $$$$$--terribly exciting.

Thanks much.

Sincerely,

Bob (Valder)

January 5, 1966

Mr. Robert Valder
Associate Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I checked with Paul about the money ~~of~~ for the Student Conference and he said he had sent the request to New York and expects to hear from them soon.

I will return the checks you mentioned as soon as I receive them. However, I forgot to remind you that it is not necessary to have my signature on the checks. Any two of the four persons authorized to sign make a check valid (that is Howie, Jane, Joan, and myself).

Sincerely,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

January 6, 1965

Mr. Robert Valder
Associate Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Mr. Valder:

Mr. Stanfield has asked me to write and tell you that you will receive the money for work with Student Conference. He will send the check out tomorrow.

Sincerely,

Patricia Franklin
Secretary to Mr. Stanfield

January 7, 1965

Mr. Robert Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Enclosed is a check in the amount of $325 for the Student Human Relations Council meeting. Please acknowledge on the recipt copy and return to us at your convenience.

Sincerely,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

Phone: 539-4277 or 539-5496

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director
ROBERT S. VALDER, Associate Director

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Stanley Rosenbaum, Florence
Franklyn W. Taylor, Montgomery
Rev. J. L. Ware, Birmingham
S. C. Watkins, Tuscumbia
Mrs. A. W. West, Montgomery
W. L. Williams, Birmingham

January 13, 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

This will acknowledge receipt of the check for $325 for the Student Human Relations Council meeting.

Sincerely,

Bob

Robert S. Valder
Associate Director

RSV:llr

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

file

January 14, 1966

MEMORANDUM

To : All members of the Board of Directors
From : Bob Valder for President Nat Welch
Subject: Meeting of the full Board on February 4, 1966

The Board of Directors of the Alabama Council on Human Relations will convene in regular semi-annual session on Friday, February 4, 1966 at 6:30 p.m. in the Pine Room of the Jefferson Davis Hotel, Montgomery.

Dinner will be served at 6:30 p.m.--if you wish to bring your spouse or a friend to dinner please do so. The meeting should be over by about 10:00 p.m. If your schedule permits, please plan to stay overnight and attend the Annual Meeting the next day.

Travel and meal expenses will be paid, as customary, for Board members; please arrange to travel together as much as possible.

Be sure to mark this date on your calendar and make plans to attend. Plans of vital importance to ACHR will be reviewed and acted upon. Some of the items of business will include the following: introduction of our new Rural Advancement Project Director (see forthcoming newsletter); plans for the annual meeting; this year's budget; the financial and membership campaign and considerations of the nominating committee. But the most important item of business will be that of the Executive Directorship.

At a meeting last Wednesday, January 12, in Birmingham the Executive Committee, including Ed Stanfield, interviewed the Rev. James Scott Sessions for the position of Executive Director of ACHR. Following the interview the committee told Mr. Sessions that, if he wanted the position, they would recommend at the February 4 meeting that the Board hire him as Director. Mr. Sessions will inform President Nat Welch of his decision within two weeks. Obviously, until a final decision is reached this matter should be treated with the strictest confidence.

Mr. Sessions was born in 1936 in Ballinger, Texas. He has attended Southern Methodist University (A.B. with a major in Philosophy), Perkins School of Theology and Drew University School of Theology (B.D. degree in 1962). Mr. Sessions' past activities and experience include: Danforth Intern; Associate Dean and Dean of the Northeast Regional Methodist Student Movement Conference; Director of the Wesley Foundation at Princeton University; Director of the New Jersey Methodist Student Movement and Executive Secretary of the Inter-Conference Commission Campus Ministry of New Jersey; volunteer work with the

Human Relations Council of Morris County, New Jersey; work camps in the West Indies, Brooklyn, New York, Montgomery, Alabama and Morristown, New Jersey; Director of Newark Tutorial Project of Drew. He is currently serving as Chaplain to the College at Drew University in Madison, New Jersey. If Mr. Sessions accepts the Directorship of ACHR he will not be available until June 1, 1966.

Please fill out the form below and return it at your earliest convenience to the state office. We hope you will be able to attend this most important meeting.

file Ala - Valdor

January 19, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atltant, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed,

Here are some more things. Might just as well reallyload you down with correspondence since you have nothing to do but take care of Alabama's problems.

Here are some proposed ideas which may be appropriate for the Board to consider adopting as official policy decisions. Feel free to make any revisions, deletions, observations, changes, etc.

first - send copies of proposed recommendations to Board before Feb. 4;

I would suggest that the dispositions of these recommendations would go something like this: (1) have the Board adopt them as policy positions; (2) make a short announcement at the business session of the Annual Meeting stating what the Board has said; (3) have a special little section in the February bulletin making it very clear that this is what the Board thinks and this is what the Board believes local chapters should be doing during 1966: (4) shortly after the bulletin goes out have a memorandum to the local chapterpresidents, local chapter officers, the new members of the State board and the appropriate committee chairmen to the same effect and strongly urge them to give every consideration to this.

Recommendations of Ed Stanfield and the Associate Director to the Board of Directors of the Alabama Council on Human Relations meeting in Montgomery on February 5, 1966:

1. The Board of Directors of ACHR urges each local chapter to carefully consider the merits of undertaking only one or possibly two programs at any one time which would be worked upon at length,in depth and by all active members. (Ed-I'm not sure about this idea, but think it might be worth exploring--at least for some chapters)

2. The Board of Directors of ACHR believes that each local chapter should make school desegregation their number one priority item between February 4 and the beginning of the 1966 school year; the Board believes each local chapter should work with other local and regional groups already active in school desegregation efforts; the Board strongly encourages each local chapter to organize an ~~community~~ information program whereby every Negro parent and student in their community will be fully aware of what the law is, of what their rights are and of how one,if so disposed, accomplishes the transfer process.

3. The Board of Directors of ACHR strongly urges each local chapter to make Title VI compliance their number two priority item for the remainder of 1966; the Board believes each local chapter should work closely with other local and regional groups already active in Title VI compliance efforts as well as with the appropriate Federal agencies; the Board strongly encourages each local chapter to organize a community wide program whereby every agency and institution in ~~that community~~ the area which receives Federal financial assistance is inquired into with regard to non-discriminatory practices and policies; the Board urges each local chapter to work closely with the state office of ACHR in this effort.

4. The Board of Directors of ACHR recognizes and points out to local chapters the very real value of regularly attending the meetings of public bodies such as school boards, city councils, housing authorities and other such groups; the Board strongly urges each local chapter to designate a representative(s) who would as a regular matter of practice attend such meetings and report back to the local chapter; the Board encourages this representative and other local members to become acquainted with the members of such public bodies.

A couple comments on the above: (1) perhaps number 1 is redundant since the idea expressed in it is implicit in # 2 and 3; (2) perhaps it isn't wise to have four recommendations (even if they are all good ideas) since too many recommendations might serve to give less emphasis to all of them; (3) If these were adopted this might lead people to think we shouldn't be working on employment, voter education, etc. which are, of course, very important; (4) I think the only really absolutely essential recommendation is number 2; (5) maybe we should use this Board meeting to map out what they think, as of Feb. 4 at least, should be the program concern(s) for 1966--this would have the value of giving local chapters some guidelines and would also serve to encourage local chapters to think more and more in terms of program at a local level.

The attached sheet is a copy of the proposed budget for the Rural Advancement Project.

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Valder

PROPOSED BUDGET FOR RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Directors Salary | 6600.00 | |
| Insurance | 300.00 | |
| State Council Overhead | 800.00 | |
| Travel | ~~1850.00~~ | 1,500.00 |
| Telephone | ~~600.00~~ | 480.00 |
| Office Supplies, Equip. | ~~200.00~~ | 500.00 |
| Rent | ~~400.00~~ | 480.00 |
| Printing | 100.00 | |
| Postage | 200.00 | |
| Secretarial (part time) | 550.00 | |
| Payroll Taxes | 200.00 | |
| Misc. | ~~200.00~~ | 290.00 |
| Total | $12000.00 | |

Ed:

I don't like this budget at all!! Too many things have too little money allocated. The following items, as I see it, can't possible be changed: (1) the directors salary obviously; (2) insurance; (3) payroll taxes--this is obtained by taking $6600.00 times 4.2 (the amount of FICA taken out for this salary) which totals $190.00 so I rounded it off at $200.00; (4) miscellaneous certainly can't be lowered any. So that means that one can play around with the following catagories: state council overhead; travel; telephone; office supplies and equipment; rent; printing and postage. And I think travel , telephone and office supplies and equipment should be higher--postage too, but I don't know where one would get it. Anyway that's it. Do with it as you will.

Bob

Phone: 539-4277 or 539-5496

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director
ROBERT S. VALDER, Associate Director

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Rev. J. L. Ware, Birmingham
S. C. Watkins, Tuscumbia
Mrs. A. W. West, Montgomery
W. L. Williams, Birmingham

file

January 19, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed,

Sure do enjoy hearing your cheery voice so often--keeps one in contact with the outside world.

Enclosed is a carbon of a letter to Ray Fowler. Thought I might as well say it even if it is a little too late. But it's amazing how manypeople from Tuscaloosa have just become members with no pledge--and many are profs and other professional types.

Also enclosed is some Headstart stuff. Mrs. Rogers has gone through our files and filled out the form--that is she's indicated on a separate sheet what she thinks are the appropriate and correct answers. We've sent you the two forms which need to be filled out; we've also send a couple past reports which contain some of the information needed on the new report form. Could you go through this and indicate what you think the correct responses are? Then just send all of this back to us with any revisions or whatevey you might have and we'll fill out and take care of the two report forms.

We figured out the overdraw at the bank. There was a check for $1.97 written last Dec. 14 which just came through so that was the problem. So I'll take a check from ACHR for $2.50 to the bank tomorrow and pay up and close the account.

Have done some checking with local Huntsville people and the challenge meeting tonight looks like it may be pretty darn good. Will have the covered dish deal, and about 60-80 people and we have the speeches and all figured out to insure maximum contributions. In fact,(this may not be in line with the "manifesto") Zeke, who's making the $$$$ pitch, doesn't plan to pass out membership cards. Just pledge cards and if they insist---- we'll let them fill out a membership. Should be interesting to see how this works out.

Keep smiling.

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Valder

Enclosures

P.S. Could you return all of the Headstart stuff?

enclosed

Ed:

I just had a thought--believe it or not.

I'm wondering what you would think about a raise for Mrs. Rogers. I don't know a thing about secretarial salaries--e.g. whether $325 a month is low, average, high or what. But I do know, as you do, that she puts out a tremendous volume of high quality work; I she wasn't around I'd be making a real mess of the ACHR.

If memory serves me correctly she got a $25 raise in June. It seems to me that if for no other reason she should get at least a token raise just as an indication of our appreciation.

What thinkest you????

Robert

Also - do you have a list, or is there a list here, of leader types who should be invited to the annual meeting? Folks like business leaders, politicians, industrialists, journalists, legal types, etc. If not would you have a list of suggestions?

Also - a reminder about your hope to have some free time (smile) to work on actions taken by the Board/

over

during 1965 (Iquery)

exec committee to have
adopted and approved
at Board meet on Feb. 9. If you
can do this in time we will run it off
& have available for the
Board meeting.

January 19, 1966

Dr. Raymond Fowler
Post Office Box 6142
University, Alabama

Dear Ray:

Enclosed is the information requested by your secretary on the phone the other day. I hope it is what you wanted.

I have a couple of problems which I hope you can help out with. The first regards the student conference which you have probably read about by now in the bulletin. I would like to invite a representative from the group at the University to come and explain its background, composition, activities, plans, problems, etc. I think the group's name is the University Forum or the University Forum for Human Rights or something like that. Dr. Nelson is, I believe, the moderator of the group--I'm sure you know which group I am talking about. Could you do one of two things: (1) find out who would be the best student to ask to come to the meeting to do the above and send me his (her) name so I can write and invite the person; (2) find out who would be the best student to ask to come to the meeting to do the above and invite that person yourself and let me know who you get. Either approach would be okay with me--whichever you think best.

The other problem concerns the financial and membership drive. As you said at the challenge meeting, it's true we are more interested in members than in money, but I think we need to pursue contributions and pledges, too. The fact of the matter is that we simply can't survive on memberships only. When you deduct expenses of mailing the monthly bulletin and the staff time needed for that and the few other services that we provide for members, it becomes readily apparent that there is very little profit from a membership. I don't want to belabor the point, but Ed thinks, and I fully concur, that we have to push for contributions and pledges, but at the same time we must work hard for members.

Hope all is going well there. And hope you don't think I am being too presumptuous in offering this observation.

Sincerely,

Robert S. Valder
Associate Director

RSV:llr

Enclosures

cc: Mr. Joe Bettis
Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield

January 20, 1966

Mr. Robert S. Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

Dear Bob:

I am sending back the forms from OEO with my suggested alterations in the answers.

The efficiency with which you and Mrs. Rogers are handling this and other things is very impressive. Your letter to Dr. Fowler is also commendable.

I talked to Nancy Spears this morning to check about that part of the form which had to do with the disposition of Head Start's property. I took the occasion to ask how they were coming along with their financial campaign. She said that Niel Davis and Dr. Gomillion were both working to secure pledges, that she had taken a few herself, and that several other people were enlisting members. It was encouraging to me that she was not happy with the speed of their reporting, and I believe that East Alabama will come through this year and may even profit from the experience when next year rolls around.

In reply to your request for lists of people to be invited to the annual meeting, let me refer you to the book Industrial Alabama for business leaders. I am sure that it is worthwhile inviting them, except perhaps for the public relations value. For politicians, journalists, judges, lawyers, I refer you to the little blue book, Governmental Guide. Mrs. Rogers should know where it is.

I still hope to get the minutes from last year in some kind of shape, but don't bet any money on it.

Best wishes,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

January 20, 1966

Mr. Robert S. Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

Dear Bob:

Concerning the possibility of a salary increase for Mrs. Rogers, I believe that the present would not be the best time to suggest a raise. As you pointed out, she was given a token raise in June, I believe that the most you could hope for at the present time would be another token raise. I would suggest that you wait until time to prepare the 1967 budget and then put in a significant raise - $50 a month.

I think I know how you feel. You may recall that I suggested to her that she apply for the Executive Director's job.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

January 28, 1966

Mr. Robert Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Knowing your problem with equipment, I suggested the changes indicated on the enclosed RAP budget. Paul has okayed the budget with my changes. If this is all right with you and Lewis, we'll send the first $3,000.000. Let me know.

On travel: Remember that Lewis is already there.
On telephone: A single telephone has a low basic cost.

Best wishes,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

February 7, 1966

Mr. Robert Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Mr. Valder:

Enclosed is a check for $3,000 as the first quarterly payment for the Rural Advancement Project in Alabama.

In keeping with our usual procedure please sign the enclosed receipt carbon and return it to us at your earliest convenience.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

February 7, 1966

Mr. Robert Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Bob:

This is just a word of appreciation for the hard work you evidently put in on the annual meeting. I know (from experience, for one way) that it was no sure thing to handle all of the details -- and you did it unusually well. Congratulations.

Yes, it is worthwhile. You are probably thinking now that you could do alone as much for improvement of the lot of the poor and oppressed as will be done as a result of your fooling around with that conference. Perhaps -- although it is debatable. But there is also a need for all those "middle class" folks to <u>be doing it</u>.

On the way to the airport Lewis Black (spelled L-e-w-i-s I asked him) indicated that the mild disagreement between "us" and NSF is disturbing to him. Naturally. "No man can serve two masters." His regard for the NSF program is not too high. I took the opportunity to explain to him that this was precisely our concern (mine, at least) about this "daily report" business: NSF will want to press him and the Alabama Council into the traditional NSF program -- which may or may not be best for the situation; I want ACHR and Lewis Black left free to be creative, merely calling on NSF for technical assistance <u>where needed and wanted</u>.

It is a relief to me to find that Lewis is more disposed to work for ACHR than for NSF.

At the risk of being repetitious, let me say that it would seem to me foolish not to be sure that the relationship to ACHR is made clear in all printing -- such as calling cards, stationery, door lettering, etc.

Some "thank-you" letter, huh?

Warm regards,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

February 14, 1966

Mr. Robert Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Please send me a dozen copies of The Stanfield Manifesto - 1966. And send one - make it three - directly to Brad Posten Rush.

Many thanks.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
D Director of Field Activities

ES/pf
cc: Mr. Brad Posten

Phone: 539-4277 or 539-5496

ACHR

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director
ROBERT S. VALDER, Associate Director

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Mrs. A. W. West, Montgomery
W. L. Williams, Birmingham

February 14,1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed,

As you know Lewis Black and I will be spending Thursday and Friday of this week in Atlanta. We'll spend Thursday with Jac and Friday at SRC.

I'm gonna ask you to do us a little favor. Since time is short--I know I procrastinated again--and since it's difficult to schedule four or five persons through the mail, I'm wondering if you would be so kind as to act as "Schedule Coordinator" for us? Although this position will have no pay you may be assured that our gratitude will be worth far more than mere money.

I'm writing to Paul for a Thursday night get-together just to get acquainted and talk; if he can't make that I've asked him to see you re Friday. I'm also writing to Vernon Jordon, Pat Watters and Emory Via; if you think it advisable perhaps Sam Adams too although I won't write to him for an appointment. I'm telling each of them that they might see you for a time.

I'd like to spend a good amount of time with Vernon--maybe a couple of hours to discuss all of VEP--the funding process, cooperative efforts with other groups, programming, etc. Lewis wants to talk to someone about MDTA, Dept. of Labor programs in general and allied things and I thought EMory would be good for that. And as you mentioned in Montgomery Pat would be good for many reasons.

And I'm also wondering if you could call William May at Regional OEO for an appointment sometime on Friday. He has taken over Picot Floyd's job as Floyd has left OEO, so Lewis tells me, to teach college somewhere. If May can't make it would you try to get William Zierden, who is their Field man for Alabama and Mississippi? 526-6353

Sure do appreciate this volunteer work your doing. By the way, you might schedule one J. Edwin Stanfield, formerly of Alabama and now in exile, for a conference too. I should think half an hour with him will be more than adequate. We'll arrive at SRC at 10:oo a.m. Thursday, but will probably just check in and spend the rest of the day with Jac.

See y'all then.

Please see next page.

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Valder

file

One more item. When Lewis was up here last week he mentioned that he was seriously thinking about running for the State Legislature. The legislative district he's in includes Hale and Pickens and, I think, Greene counties. Anyway Negroes are in a voting majority in his district now and he's pretty sure he'd win if he runs. What I'm wondering about is this. Would his participation in partisan politics jeapordize our tax exempt status? This is the only problem I can foresee; other than that I think it would have all kinds of disadvantages for ACHR, his job and the state at large. If you're not sure of the legal question perhaps you might check with someone so we can discuss this later this week. Or should I check with Erskine Smith or someone here?

Bob

February 24, 1966

Mr. Robert S. Valder
Associate Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I am pleased to inform you that an additional grant of $9,000 for 1966 has been made to the Alabama Council on Human Relations as part of SRC's expanded grant-in-aid program. Enclosed are our check in the amount of $2,250 -- the first quarterly payment -- and another copy of the general conditions of the expanded grant-in-aid program.

The purposes of this grant are to enable ACHR to employ and support a full time associate director (in a permanent staff position) and to make it possible to secure another intern beginning in the summer or fall of 1966. We anticipate that approximately $3,000 would be needed for the latter purposes.

We note that the Alabama Council is presently without an Executive Director. Therefore, as a special condition, the second quarterly payment on this grant will be made when <u>both</u> the Executive Director and Associate Director positions are filled. We also note the possibility that the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials will not continue their intern program. In that event use of approximately $3,000 of this grant may be renegotiated with the Southern Regional Council.

Let me again call to your attention, and, though you and President Gomillion -- who is being sent a carbon of this letter, to the attention of the officers and members of the Alabama Council the general purpose of these grants which underlies all specific purposes: "to enable the state councils to increase the membership and program and to become self-sustaining in their basic staffed operations."

Please sign the enclosed receipt copy and return it to me at your convenience.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf
cc: Dr. C. G. Gomillion
Encl. (3)

February 24, 1966

Mr. Robert S. Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Mr. Valder:

It's no big deal, I guess, one way or the other, but I am going to "rule" that your trip over here with Mr. Black was Alabama Council business and can legitimately come out of ACHR and RAP travel funds. Actually, SRC is the sponsoring agency for your internship only in the technical sense. The Alabama Council was supposed to bear all expenses connected with the deal.

Besides, SRC <u>is</u> picking up yours and Brad's tabs for the state staff meetings.

Besides, SRC doesn't have any money. Right?

How's the finance and membership campaign going?

Cordially

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

PA
VJV
PF - file

February 28, 1966

Mr. Lewis Black
20 Washington Street
Greensboro, Alabama

Dear Lewis:

Although we have already discussed the contents of this letter over the phone, I thought I might write to tell you of the thinking of those persons involved in the decision regarding your plans to run for the State Legislature.

Attorney Erskine Smith said there would be no problem, or at least a very small problem, if you were to run if certain conditions were met. Paul Anthony, Ed Stanfield, Jac Wasserman, and Dr. Gomillion shared an almost identical view of this matter. I think it is accurate to state that they all thought, the legal aspect notwithstanding, that it would be inadvisable for you to run primarily because it would of necessity require you to lose a considerable amount of time from RAP work, and secondly because no matter how closely you might follow the guidelines suggested by Attorney Smith, it would be difficult for you to be a candidate for, and possibly a member of the Legislature and at the same time be a full-time staff member of ACHR without the question arising of your salary being a campaign contribution since you would inevitably lose some time from RAP for which you were paid.

For the information of those persons receiving carbon copies of this letter, I might add that you have decided not to run for public office.

Sincerely,

Bob Valder

BV:llr

cc: Jac Wasserman
J. Edwin Stanfield
C. G. Gomillion
Erskine Smith

March 2, 1966

Mr. Robert S. Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Thanks for sending me two copies of the newsletter. It helps to have two copies of everything.

You and Mrs. Rogers are doing a good job on the newsletter. You must have had a good teacher.

I am frankly distressed about the poor showing on the financial campaign from East Alabama, Montgomery, and Tuscaloosa. (Birmingham, of course, is a total loss.) Apparently the message did not get across -- that although membership is of course important, no quantity of membership dues is enough on which to operate a state council staff. I hope you will help me preach this going and coming.

I do want to enter a mild caveat in connection with the notice that college students will be available to work with groups this summer. (This is Al's project, as I recall, and Al isn't here this week, so I can't ask him about the ground rules.) I think you should give first priority on the use of these students to local human relations councils, where they exist. I guess my quarrel is with the "first come -- first served" rule: -- other things being equal (or even very nearly equal!) we ought to be more interested in

offering program help to the human relations locals than to the local NAACP or (don't hit me for this) even the SNCC. We ought to encourage local councils to take advantage of this opportunity to carry out those programs for which they are specially suited.

And that's all for today -- wisdom-wise!

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

cc: Al Ulmer
Dr. C. G. Gomillion

Phone: 539-4277 or 539-5496

F

# ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director
ROBERT S. VALDER, Associate Director

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S. C. Watkins, Tuscumbia
Mrs. A. W. West, Montgomery
W. L. Williams, Birmingham

March 3, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Answered 3/9/66

Dear Ed:

I asked you about this before when I was in Atlanta, but forgot what you said. David Hunter asked us when he sent the check for $10,000 for The Courier to "send in due course a financial accounting of the money, as well as any substantive which may result." Is this my job or Bob Smiths'? If it is mine, what does it mean--that is, what am I supposed to do.

I was delighted to learn that we will receive an additional $9,000 from SRC. It was more than I had hoped for; thanks much. As you may know, I will be in Philadelphia this weekend at a NAIRO training session. I'll check then on the possibilities of another intern program. Enclosed herein is a copy of the case study report which I made for this NAIRO meeting.

I have a couple of questions which I probably have been informed of before but don't quite understand. On page 3 of the general conditions, one reporting requirement is that the last due quarterly program report had been received by you. Would you please explain what a quarterly program report is. And on page 4 of general conditions, you talk about special accounting for the grant-in-aid funds, with a breakdown of each category, etc. Would you please explain what you have in mind here, and how would this be reflected in the monthly statistical report.

You have probably received the February bulletin by now, so I suppose you are generally familiar with how the membership and financial drive is coming. I sure hope this "final push" comes off.

Any news on possible executive directors?

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Valder

BV:llr
Enclosures

Report of Bob Valder, NAIRO Intern

to

Career Service Board

for

Mid-Term Seminar, Group III

DESCRIPTION:

For years the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) elections of the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) have almost completely excluded Negro participation. The United States Commission on Civil Rights in a detailed study last spring documented this fact; due to this report certain regulations intended to eliminate discrimination were set down by USDA.

The ASCS is a sub-department of the USDA. In the bureaucratic hierarchy, it is under "State and County Operations" which is directly responsible to the Secretary of Agriculture. Each state has an Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation (ASC) office and staff with an "ASC committee" (similar to a Board of Directors) composed of farmers from throughout the state. This committee is appointed by USDA; from the standpoint of this study, its most important duty is to determine acreage allotments for each of that state's counties--acreage allotments for each state are determined by Washington. Each county has an ASC office and staff with an "ASC county committee." The county committee hires the staff and determines the acreage allotments for each farmer in that county. This committee is elected by "community committeemen," who are elected by persons from their "community" which is a sub-division of the county.

It should be noted that county committeemen probably have more direct influence upon the lives of small, poor farmers than anyone else because they decide how many acres of cotton, peanuts, tobacco, etc. each farmer in that

in that county can plant.

They also administer price support programs and grant funds to farmers for using agricultural conservation practices. Funds dispersed from county offices are so large that "in many areas county government operations are dwarfed by ASC programs as measured in dollar expenditures or impact on residents or both."

DIAGNOSIS:

County committees have traditionally served to the advantage of large land-holding whites and to the detriment of rural Negroes. According to USDA, every farmer, tenant and sharecropper, Negro and white, is eligible to cast one vote for community committeemen. This, however, has not been true in the past; in fact, no Negro in the South served on a county committee as of February, 1965. It was in an attempt to increase Negro participation in the election process that the Alabama Council on Human Relations (ACHR) became involved in this.

I believe the reasons for complete exclusion of Negroes in ASCS elections are, if not self-evident, at least understandable as part of the Southern experience. Complicity on the part of the Federal Government was also an essential factor

PRESCRIPTION:

The Board of Directors of ACHR in its September, 1965 meeting instructed its staff to indicate their concern about a fair and non-discriminatory election, scheduled for mid-November, to the Secretary of Agriculture and other appropriate USDA officials.

As a result of this letter, a meeting with two officials from ASCS, the ASC state committee and staff, the ASC state advisory committee on civil rights, representatives from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student

Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and myself was scheduled.

At this meeting a number of recommendations dealing both with methods of strengthening weak regulations and enforcing other regulations were suggested to the Federal officials by the private agencies represented. Members of the Citizens Advisory Committee on Civil Rights to USDA were also informed of the situation and our recommendations.

EVALUATION:

The results were about what we had anticipated. None of the important recommendations were adopted; violence and intimidation were not unusual; evasion and disobedience of regulations by local officials were widespread; and there was only very slight evidence of additional Negro participation (about 25 Negroes were elected to regular or alternate positions on community committees--there are still no Negroes on county committees in Alabama).

The next time I would attempt to include additional organizations and start earlier.

As a matter of fact we are now doing this. It is hoped that a larger number of organizations will meet in the next two or three weeks to suggest specific recommendations for USDA to consider adopting for next year's elections.

I would expect the situation to be only slightly improved next year and that due almost entirely from pressure from the Federal Government who will so respond because of pressure from elsewhere. However, due to the effect of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, I would expect that most evidences of discrimination in the ASCS election process will be eliminated in the next five years.

NOTE: Some of the above information is from Equal Opportunity in Farm Programs: An Appraisal of Services Rendered by Agencies of the United States Department of Agriculture, 1965, United States Commission on Civil Rights.

March 7, 1966

Mr. Robert S. Valder
Associate Director
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Concerning the accounting for the Stern Family Fund money, I think that your accounting need show nothing more than the fact that the money was used to finance five interns for nine months, in keeping with our contract with Southern Courier. Hunter should get a copy of the contract, together with an explanation of its purpose, if he has not already received one. Bob Smith, I think, should show that the matching condition was met and should be responsible for any reporting of programs or activities or results.

Incidentally, remember that the contract calls for some sort of quarterly report from the "interns." You might talk to Bob Smith about it. It could be nothing more than a collection of clips of the stories carrying the by-line of each, together with any comments he or she would care to make. But you probably should have something in the files just in case somebody gets horsey.

Get Mrs. Rogers to show you one of the quarterly reports I always prepared to send to SRC. It is the same three or four page report we mimeographed and mailed to Bord -- just a summary of what has been going on in the council during the quarter.

We can talk about the separate accounting for the Ford money when we get together. In general, I think a separate heading, "Special Grant Account" or "Ford Grant Account," should be set up. When you receive a quarterly payment, enter it in that account. After the staffing called for is arranged, you could simply transfer appropriate sums to the general account, enter them as "receipts" in the general account and "expenditures" in the "Ford Grant Account." Clear as mud?

Carry on,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

FORM 80 ND

Same letter sent to
The Reverend VandenBosche
Mrs. Frances Pauley
Mrs. Alice Spearman

March 10, 1966

Mr. Robert S. Valder
Associate Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Could you have an extra copy of regular Rural Advancement Project reports made and sent to me - just for our information?

Thanks.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

in mind for some of the money (school desegregation and community organization). Paul is saying, in effect, that a choice will have to be made as to how you want to use the Ford money. If you elect to use part of it to finance the book, SRC will okay it.

Father Clancy, I still think the best way out of your dilemma is to proceed on the deal with Nat, hire the new man at once if that seems wise and possible (although I still think you might consider a slight delay) and put more emphasis on raising funds from the membership. As I recall, your finance committee had projected a figure of less than $10 per capita, including membership dues, in funds raised from the membership. To my mind, any serious effort should improve on that rather easily. Certainly this is a necessary part of any real answer to the funding problem. If both Ozell and the new man understand this necessity, I agree with you that the vigor of the two-man team would make up the necessary financial difference.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

Phone: 539-4277 or 539-5496

ACHR

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

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W. L. Williams, Birmingham

April 5, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

I received your post card. By now you have received the March Financial Report which has the expanded grant-in-aid included in it. The check was dated in February, but received in March. We have transferred $5,000 of The Courier's money to savings as well as the first quarter SRC expanded grant-in-aid check. We have not transferred any funds to ANB yet, but plan to do so.

The Executive Committee meeting last Saturday wasn't terribly well attended, but we did expedite quite a lot of business. You will recall your suggestion last January that at the Board meeting we adopt some kind of statement of appreciation for Attorneys Smith and Vann. I forgot to do it then, but did bring it up last Saturday. The Committee felt that perhaps some kind of nominal donation with a letter of thanks would be more appropriate. Dr. Gomillion asked me to check with you about: (a) the relatively helpfulness of Erskine Smith and David Vann--that is, should it be directed at both of them, one of them, or what; (b) what is your feeling about sending a check for a nominal figure, and do you think $50 is too much, not enough, or what?

We are wondering if the expanded grant-in-aid money is correctly shown on the March Financial Report. If not, we might talk about this at the staff meeting later this month.

Any word on a new director?

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Valder

BV:llr

April 6, 1966

Mr. Robert Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Thanks for your letter of April 5, and for the very good quarterly report and financial report. The expanded grant-in-aid money is shown satisfatory on the March financial report. Later on when some of it is spent for the purposes stipulated in the grant, it may be necessary to have a special section of the report for this purpose.

Concerning the matter of compensation of Erskin Smith and David Vann, my own feeling is that the most appropriate action is an official and heart-felt thanks from the Executive Committee. I am sure that they intended to donate their services in each case, otherwise, they would have billed us. If the Executive Committee wanted to offer some token of appreciation, I think some thing like a book for each would be appropriate. A cash gift would not be enough as payment, and would not be appropriate as a token of appreciation.

That is just my opinion for what it's worth.

Best wishes,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

April 6, 1966

Mr. Robert Valder
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Mr. Valder:

Enclosed is a check in the amount of $2,000. $1,375 of it representing your first quarterly grant-in-aid for 1966, and the remaining $625 representing the quarterly SRC's grant toward the NAIRO intern's salary.

Please sign and return the enclosed receipt carbon at your convenience.

STANFORD

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

April 29, 1966

Mrs. William D. Spears
265 Cary Drive
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Dear Nancy:

Enclosed are some guidelines for a book distribution program from SRC. Ed is the person handling this, and he and I decided that if you are interested, your Head Start centers would be ideal places for this distribution.

If you are interested, draw up a proposal as outlined and send it to Ed. The proposal should have such things as how you plan to distribute the books, what kind of books you want (dictionaries, how-to-do-it, fictional, adventure), grade and reading level, and some indication of subject matter. If you have particular authors in mind, specify them.

We are not sure what quantities are available, so you might ask Ed about this. I would guess it may be between 400-1000 volumes, but that's only a wild guess.

Hope your trip to Chicago was a success. This getting money for Head Start is really something else, uh--my condolences.

Sincerely,

Bob Valder

file

BV:llr

Enclosure

cc: Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield

file ES

Phone: 539-4277 or 539-5496

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

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W. L. Williams, Birmingham

May 9, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

The RAP funds are low as you can see by the April Financial Report. The balance on hand is really $154.99 after paying the rent on May 1.

I think I am correct in assuming that the check for the second quarter was due on May 4. We were wondering whether failure to send it was due to an oversight. There is not enough left to pay the salary checks due on May 15.

Could you let us know what to do about this situation as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Valder

BV:llr

May 10, 1966

Mr. Robert Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Bob:

We have an inquiry from Mr. Doug Kelley, Executive Director of Encampment for Citizenship Inc., as to the possibility of visiting this area May 16 through 20 to meet with groups of students who might be interested in attending either the Encampment for Citizenship or one of the Centers for Education in Democracy. This is to inquire whether it would be possible for you to arrange for him to meet with a group of students in Birmingham on the afternoon or evening of May 19 or 20.

If this is not practical, don't hesitate to say so. How about calling me when you get this and have had time to think about it, to let me know, so that we can know what to advise Mr. Kelley?

For students in either age group (15 to 18 or 19 to 23) Encampment for Citizenship is offering a full scholarship of $450 plus $5 a week spending money plus transportation to those whose families have below $3,000 income. For those with income of more than $3,000, transportation and all but the $30 registration fee will be paid.

Cordially,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

May 10, 1966

Mr. Robert Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Mr. Valder:

As you know, the Southern Regional Council is undertaking a limited experimental project in the distribution of paperback books to persons who would not otherwise have access to sufficient or adequate reading materials. The project was discussed at the State Councils Staff Meeting in Atlanta two weeks ago, and this mailing is a refinement of the plans for the project as a result of that discussion.

Your or your organization is requested to select a small number of organizations or institutions in your state which you feel could use the books in new or existing programs. Depending on the price and availability of the kinds of books that are needed, approximately 3,500 volumes will be available for placement through your contacts. Thus, your consideration of the number and type of groups you contact should be guided by how many volumes they will probably need. For example, the number of volumes needed to supplement the Negro history selection in a high school library will be considerably less than the number necessary to institute a community library.

The enclosed material is designed to acquaint you with the nature and objectives of the project, and to indicate how its operation can be conducted through your organization.

Enough copies of the enclosures are included for you to send one to each of the organizations you contact.

You will notice that proposals are requested from each prospective recipient of the books. Of course you will be advised of the arrangements made with all organizations that contact us at your recommendation, and you will be requested to give a personal evaluation of the operation of the programs that receive books in your state.

Since one of the objects of this project is to encourage local groups to take on the support of programs that are initiated or supplemented with books, there is an interest in leaving the operation of the program in local hands. Nevertheless, you are requested to maintain enough contact with the operation to make a personal assessment of its success.

We hope to get the distribution underway as soon as possible and look forward to hearing from you or the organizations you contact in the near future.

Yours truly,

Harry L. DeLung, Jr.,
Administrator for
Paperback Book Project

HLD/pf

Phone: 539-4277 or 539-5496

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

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Mrs. A. W. West, Montgomery
W. L. Williams, Birmingham

June 3, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

Enclosed is information from NAIRO relative to your report. I've talked to Nate and he asks that since you've submitted no report on me since last fall that this report cover the entire period since that report.

Thanks for the information on the Group Insurance. Jan and I were talking just last week about how we wished SRC would do just this.

Enclosed is some literature from Fayetteville, West Virginia.

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Valder

file

BV:llr

Enclosures

This was dictated prior to D. C.

May 12, 1966

Mr. Robert S. Valder
Associate Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Just for the record, the second quarterly payment of $2,250 on the expanded-program grant for the Alabama Council on Human Relations, due May 15, will be delayed pending completion of the Council's proposed staffing as indicated in our letter informing you of the grant.

Best wishes,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

cc: Dr. C. G. Gomillion

May 11, 1966

Mr. Robert S. Valder
Associate Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Bob:

A thousand pardons! Our failure to send the quarterly RAP grant payment is indeed due to an oversight.

Our check for $3,000 is enclosed herewith. Please sign and return the accompanying carbon, as usual, to acknowledge receipt.

Best wishes,

Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

ES/pf

file

June 14, 1966

Mr. Robert S. Valder
Associate Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

Dear Bob:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $2,250.00, the second quarterly payment of the expanded grant-in-aid to the Alabama Council.

I don't need to tell you again, I guess, how happy we are over here about the staffing arrangement which makes this payment possible!

Please sign the enclosed carbon and return it to me at your convenience.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

JES:jes

Enclosures

Ala.

August 7, 1966

Mrs. Jane Reed
11017 Crestfield Drive
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Jane:

I saw in the Southern Courier this morning that the Huntsville City School Board has voted to close Councill High School. I want to extend hearty congratulations to the Huntsville Human Relations Council and the Community Service Committee. Please convey this to all concerned.

I know that the effort to secure transfers was successful because of your effort in large part, so let me add to this note of congratulation a note of thanks to you personally.

Let me know sometime how things are going with the Council in General. I hope that everything you all are doing is as successful as this project.

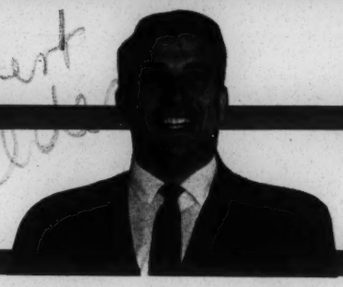
Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield

JES:mlm

file
Robert
Valle

# RE-ELECT CONGRESSMAN



WM L. DICKINSON CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE
P.O. BOX 4275 MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

Bill Dickinson

Ed - Thought you'd get a large change out of this. Bob

October 1, 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

You didn't tell me about this!

Dear Mr. Stanfield:

Some months ago you wrote BILL DICKINSON about your support of his determined stand after the Selma-Montgomery march. For that the Congressman was deeply grateful and so indicated to you at that time.

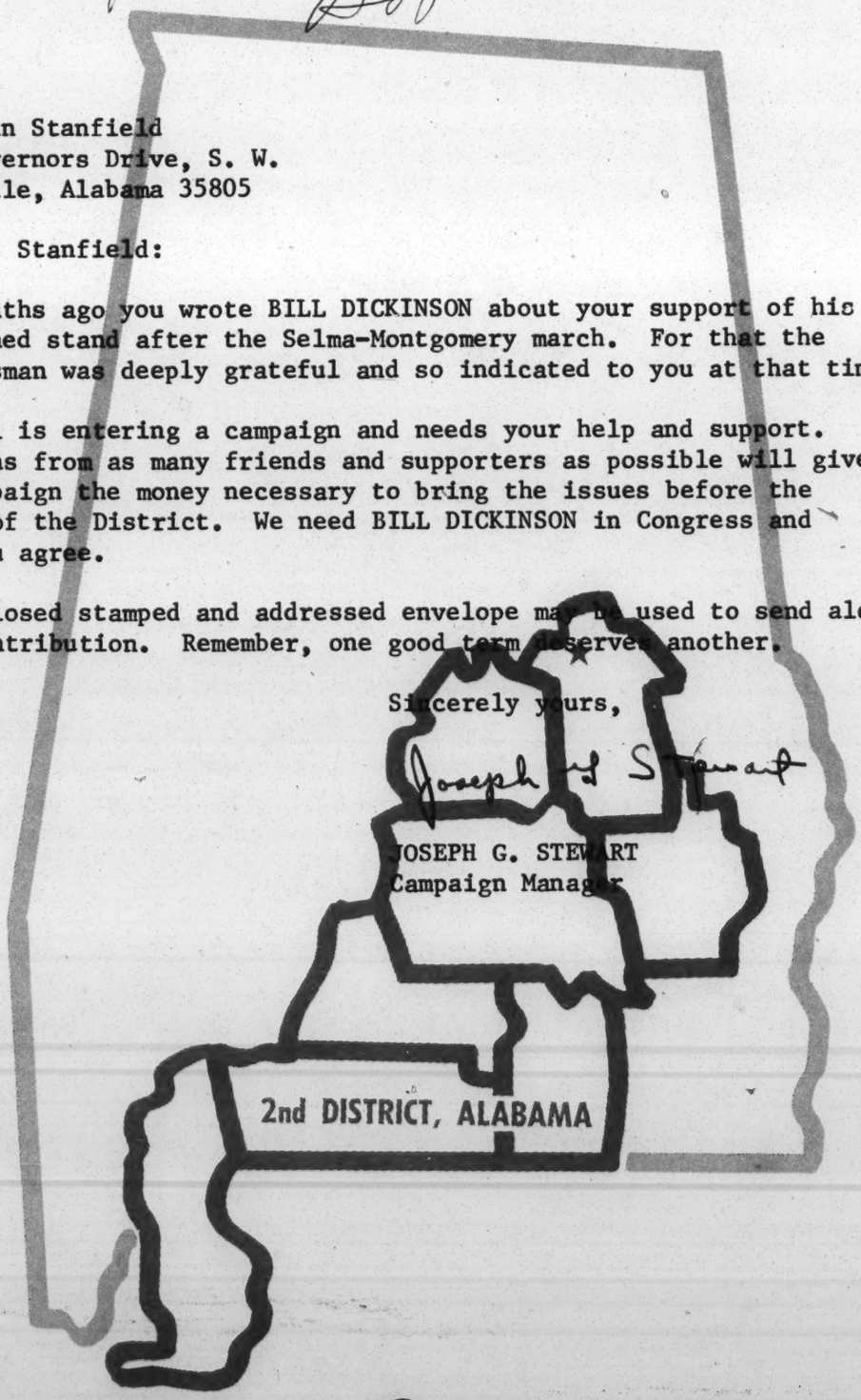
Now Bill is entering a campaign and needs your help and support. Donations from as many friends and supporters as possible will give his campaign the money necessary to bring the issues before the voters of the District. We need BILL DICKINSON in Congress and know you agree.

The enclosed stamped and addressed envelope may be used to send along your contribution. Remember, one good term deserves another.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph G. Stewart

JOSEPH G. STEWART
Campaign Manager



October 18, 1966

Mr. Robert S. Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Post Office Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Bob:

The 26th will be fine. I'll plan to drive over there fairly early that morning and spend the night. Would you get me a reservation at the University Motor Lodge?

Will Lewis be around that section of the state for the County Convention you mentioned? If not, I might drift over toward Hale County and conduct a "white glove inspection."

I know you are snowed under and have little time to think about such things, but maybe we could do some preliminary planning on the finance and membership campaign while I'm there.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:CL

Telephone (205) 887-3438

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

POST OFFICE BOX 1310 AUBURN, ALABAMA 36830

JERRY RODEN, JR., Executive Director

LEWIS BLACK, Director, Rural Advancement Project BOB VALDER, Associate Director

file

October 21, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

We are looking forward to seeing you next Wednesday. We have reserved a room for you for that night.

The way it looks now, I shall have all day Wednesday free--we will have plenty of time to go over the financial drive, and anything else.

As far as I know, Lewis will not be over here next week. So I guess you will need to conduct your "inspection" over there.

If you can arrange it, try to keep the night of the 26th free. We are having a meeting at Tuskegee that night for all of the ASCS candidates who won (ballots are counted next Tuesday). We also hope to have lots of folks from the county there. This meeting will be to decide how the delegates to the County Convention should vote.

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Valder

BV:mee

November 29, 1966

Mr. Robert Valder
Associate Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Post Office Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Dear Bob:

You are already aware, I am sure, of the approval by the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council of a grant-in-aid of $15,300 to the Alabama Council on Human Relations for 1967.

The amount combines our regular and expanded grants, which were separate in 1966. As noted in the "Grant-in-Aid Conditions," a copy of which is enclosed, one-fourth of this sum will be remitted, subject to fulfillment of the requirements, on or after the first of each quarter of the calendar year.

Please read carefully the grant conditions, especially the reporting reporting requirements in item 3 and the general purpose stated in item 4, to which they are directed.

We are gratified by the response of the Alabama Council on Human Relations and of the state councils generally--to the purpose of the expanded grant-in-aid program in 1966, and we are happy to be able to continue our financial support at this high level for another year. We are compelled to reiterate, however, that support of general operations at this level cannot be regarddd as likely for more than one additional year.

Be assured of our good wishes and all possible assistance for the Alabama Council in 1967.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield, Director
Field Activities

JES:cl
Enclosure

November 3, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I am writing to remind you of my interest in the mininum wage program which we discussed earlier.

I am really not sure of how to proceed from here, but I hope you have some ideas on that. I guess I am thinking right now of getting together some local chapter, probably in Auburn or Tuskegee, to see what we can come up with.

Of course, you will need to provide whatever literature you think best in terms of clarity, comprehensiveness, etc.

Let me hear your ideas and we can proceed.

Sincerely,

Bob Valder

BV:mee

cc: J. Edwin Stanfield

November 3, 1966

Mr. Robert S. Valder
Associate Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Post Office Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Dear Bob:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $3,000.00, the quarterly payment now due on the Rural Advancement Project grant to the Alabama Council.

At your convenience please sign the enclosed receipt copy of this letter and return it to me.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

Enclosures: check
carbon copy

file

Telephone (205) 887-3438

# ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

POST OFFICE BOX 1310 AUBURN, ALABAMA 36830

DR. C. G. GOMILLION, President

BOB VALDER, Associate Director LEWIS BLACK, Director, Rural Advancement Project

November 4, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

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Mrs. Paul J. McCoy, Huntsville

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Rev. Powers McLeod, Montgomery
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Rev. Harold Long, Birmingham
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Mrs. Grace Hooks, Tuskegee Institute
Thomas de Jefferson, Tuscaloosa
Ross Bonner, Tuscaloosa
Arthur Whitfield, Mobile
Mrs. James Kennedy, Mobile
Joe D. Wilson, Huntsville
Don Ring, Huntsville
Paul Wooley, Montgomery
Earl Pippin, Montgomery
Prof. George DeBoer, Florence
Mrs. Thelma Mullins, Sheffield
Mrs. Laura Daly, Talladega
Alfred Radney, Talladega

Dear Ed:

Enclosed are a number of things which are self-explanatory. Emory Via and I talked about the minimum wage thing and I finally figured out what I was talking about. Thanks for the $3,000. We're sure gonna need it as you will see in the next RAP financial report.

I'm writing for some information about the SRC insurance. Stephen had a little accident (nothing serious) and needed some stitches and that kind of stuff. The accident was at home. We're wondering how do we get the insurance coverage from SRC? Am I supposed to already have some kind of form or does SRC need to send me one or just what. As far as I know SRC has sent us no form. They have sent us that booklet explaining the program but it doesn't tell what to do in case you need it. Could you find this little thing out for me soon and let me know? Appreciate that!

Also, Jan will almost definitely be coming tothe Annual Meet and is looking forward to seeing Joyce and spending some of my money. Don't blame me now if Joyce spends some of yours.

And, lastly, I think we should get together for maybe an hour while I'm there to go over the meeting in B'ham on the 19th. I hope to have everything we'll need to have in B'ham done by then so will bring it along, e.g., Valder Manisfesto, etc.

Great typing, eh???

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Valder

November 15, 1966

Mr. Robert S. Valder
Associate Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Post Office Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $2,250.00, the quarterly payment due on this date on our expanded grant-in-aid to the Alabama Council for 1966.

Please sign the enclosed receipt copy of this letter and return it to me at your convenience.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

Enclosures: check
carbon copy

file

Telephone (205) 887-3438

# ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

POST OFFICE BOX 1310 AUBURN, ALABAMA 36830

DR. C. G. GOMILLION, President

BOB VALDER, Associate Director LEWIS BLACK, Director, Rural Advancement Project

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Mrs. James Kennedy, Mobile
Joe D. Wilson, Huntsville
Don Ring, Huntsville
Paul Wooley, Montgomery
Earl Pippin, Montgomery
Prof. George DeBoer, Florence
Mrs. Thelma Mullins, Sheffield
Mrs. Laura Daly, Talladega
Alfred Radney, Talladega

November 21, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

Just thought I'd harrass you a bit more with a couple of reminders and one more letter from Dr. Berry in Huntsville.

The reminders are: (1) Talk to Vernon about possibilities of a V.E.P. grant in Mobile, and (2) Check with Louise Cole on those books for Mobile.

The enclosed letter from Dr. Berry is self-explanatory. I thought your letter to him said the right things.

Thanks for your help on Saturday.

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Valder

BV:mee

Enclosure

cc: Mrs. Kathleen Wood

Telephone (205) 887-3438

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

POST OFFICE BOX 1310 AUBURN, ALABAMA 36830

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BOB VALDER, Associate Director LEWIS BLACK, Director, Rural Advancement Project

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Paul Wooley, Montgomery
Earl Pippin, Montgomery
Prof. George DeBoer, Florence
Mrs. Thelma Mullins, Sheffield
Mrs. Laura Daly, Talladega
Alfred Radney, Talladega

December 15, 1966

Mr. J. Edwin Stanfield
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed:

Just a short note to say that I think your idea of convening ~~at~~ the next staff meeting in Washington is a good one.

file

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Valder

BV:mee

Ed - Enclosed is a clipping re that movie. Altho it doesn't explain the movie contents much it does tell who's behind it, etc.

I looked in the newsclipping file under hate, sex, bad guys, orgys (both violent + non-violent) but finally found it under miscellaneous, of all places.

Bob

That Sovereignty commission is some group, huh? I see your friend - Martha Witt - gave them the benefit of her knowledge

December 27, 1966

Mr. Robert Valder
Associate Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Post Office Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Bob:

The December 22 newsletter was excellent, in my humble opinion. I surely do like that gold paper!

I plan to attend the annual meeting -- welcome or not.

Best regards,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

December 30, 1966

Mr. Robert S. Valder
Associate Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Post Office Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I dislike bringing it up again, but we simply must get some sort of reporting from Lewis Black--soon and reasonably regularly. I know you are as busy as a bee in a tarbucket, but could you, perhaps after consultation with Jerry, come up with something in the way of a scheme?

Personally, I am convinced that what he is doing is valid and worthwhile. I know that you and the ACHR Board are similarly persuaded. I would be willing simply to trust that he is doing good work, even if we never heard from him again for the duration of the program. But it is just one of the facts of life that we have to be able to say what he is doing. Reporting is clearly one of the parts of the job, and--confound it--if he does not report, he is not doing the job!

I wrote to him last week--just a friendly, informal note, saying in almost jocular fashion that I have missed hearing from him and wonder what he is up to. No response.

Please!

Warm regards,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES:cl

file

NAIRO-ERMF INTERGROUP RELATIONS INTERNSHIP PROGRAM

THIRD QUARTER REPORT
of
BOB VALDER

I. WORK ASSIGNMENTS:

During the past six months, some of my major work assignments included: the responsibility of administering an office; making all preparations for two Board of Directors meetings, two Executive Committee meetings, our Annual Meeting, and a Student Conference; conducting the annual membership and financial drive; working with local chapters and other organizations and individuals on program concerns; laison with Federal agencies responsible for the implementation of certain Civil Rights Act provisions; supervision of a staff person; writing of six newsletters and numerous reports and memorandums. Numerous trips across the state and to Atlanta and to Washington have been made in the last six months. I have given talks to youth groups, civil rights groups, and participated on panels and in conferences.

Most of these assignments were rather routine in that they simply called for certain things being done in a certain manner. Only a few of them called for initiation on my part. I believe that I have been able to help local chapters particularly on certain program concerns, especially those dealing with school desegregation and Title VI compliance in general.

## II. SELF EVALUATION:

I believe my internship experience has been quite valuable in that it has exposed me to many different program possibilities, to many different problems and to a number of agencies, organizations and individuals with whom we can work in the future.

Telephone (205) 887-3438

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

POST OFFICE BOX 1310 AUBURN, ALABAMA 36830

JERRY RODEN, JR., Executive Director

LEWIS BLACK, Director, Rural Advancement Project BOB VALDER, Associate Director

File

Sun P.M.

Dear Ed,

Just got thinking. Oct 28, that Friday is the ASCS County Convention so I will be tied up that day. I thought I was free on both the 26 & 28 but forgot about the County Convention. So the 26th is a much better day for me. Perry & I were just talking & the 26 is best for him too.

Bob

October 29, 1953

Mr Dan Whitsett, Chairman
Alabama Division
S R C
Sylacauga, Alabama

Dear Mr Whitsett:

The last annual membership meeting changed the by-laws about the Board. It chose fifty regularly elected members. Nearly that many have accepted and here is the list of those who have. In addition, the President, Vide Presidents, General Counsel and Executive Director are members of the Board.

Also, provision was made for head or acting head of each State Division to be ex officio members of the Board of SRC, plus any other person whom the State Division or affiliated Committee might elect to be on the Board of Directors of SRC. You can see why two. Most of the Chairmen are white and we wanted even-steven representation.

Please therefore put into your program for whatever is your next upcoming general meeting the matter of choosing one other person, preferrably Negro, to be on the SRC Board as representing, along with you, the Alabama Division.

Sincerely yours,

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosure

RECEIVED
NOV 16
Southern Regional Council

November 13, 1953.

Mr. Thomas R. Thrasher,
1574 Gilmer Ave.,
Montgomery, Alabama.

Mr. J. E. Pierce,
Alabama State College,
Montgomery, Alabama.

Mr. C. D. Conillion,
Tuskegee Institute,
Tuskegee, Alabama.

Dear Friends:

I have been negligent in calling a meeting of the Executive Committee of the S. R. C. We need to plan for our Annual Meeting, and also the office in Atlanta has published some very valuable booklets which we should consider mailing out to prominent leaders over the State.

I am wondering if Tuesday, December 8, would be a convenient time for us to meet at State Teacher's College at 2 P.M. That would be my first preference, and Thursday, December 10 is second.

I would like for Mr. Pierce and Mr. Conillion to notify Mr. Thrasher which of these two days will be satisfactory, and then let him get out the notices over the State.

Sincerely yours,

DCW:C

Dan C. Whitsett

Copy sent to Mr. George S. Mitchell

November seventeen, 1953

Reverend Dan Whitsett, Chairman
Alabama Division SRO
Sylacauga, Alabama

Dear Mr Whitsett:

I enjoyed your letter of November 13 to Mr Thrasher, Mr Pierce and Mr Gomillion.

The North Carolina Division so far galvanized itself into action as to ask us here to send out, with a letter from their Chairman, three copies each to the Chairman of all City and County School Boards in North Carolina and we have done that. Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas, and Kentucky, have all made arrangements, not yet finally completed, for getting it out, and I am trying to get similar plans made with Florida, South Carolina and Georgia.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

April 19, 1954

Mr. Dan C. Whitesett
First Methodist Church
Sylacauga, Alabama

Dear Mr. Whitesett:

When Mr. C. H. Parrish, of the University of Louisville, travelled in Alabama in February and some of March, 1954, he wrote down the names and addresses of many of the persons whom he visited or talked with by phone. Here is his list. Some are white, some are Negro. Many are people of some prominence in their towns. Parrish sent the all a mimeographed letter dated April 1, 195 in which he said that George Mitchell of the Southern Regional Council might be writing t for financial help to SRC, and the "fault" o this would be entirely Parrish's.

I think the list would serve a good purpose if used for recruitment of members b the Alabama Division.

So I ask you to make whatever use of it may seem suitable to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

State Division

June 16, 1954

Dictated June 15

Mr. Dan C. Whitsett
107 East Spring Street
Sylacauga, Alabama

Dear Mr. Whitsett:

I have asked Mr. C. H. Parrish to do some travel during the Summer months to advise us on, after consulting with you and others in the Alabama Division, matters of personnel and program as you plan to set up the new structure.

Parrish greatly admires you, and benefitted a lot from his previous Alabama trip.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Copy to Mr. C. H. Parrish

September 10, 1954

Mr. Dan C. Whitsett
The First Methodist Church
Sylacauga, Alabama

Dear Dan:

That is fine that the Bishop has agreed to use Bob Hughes, and that you are getting the group together at Montgomery, September 17, at 2:00 p.m. Dismally, I have promised to be in North Carolina all that week, but I have an able new assistant, Fred Routh, who will be the one keeping up most of the links with the new state groups. I would like to send him, and will, if that is all right.

We will be having a general meeting of new State Secretaries about Mid-October, and Hughes should plan to come over to that. But, if between now and then he has any opportunity to be in Atlanta, it would be fine if we could all talk with him and get him further into the right groove.

Congratulations on this good move!

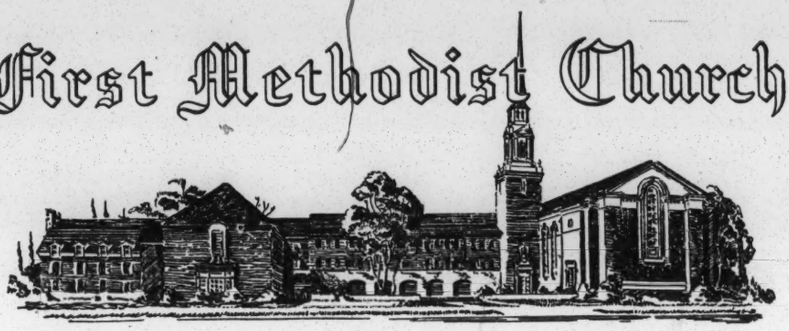
Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Fred Routh

# First Methodist Church



DAN C. WHITSETT
MINISTER

MRS. CARY G. CLOWES
FINANCIAL SECRETARY

T. B. BROWN, JR.
CHM. OFFICIAL BOARD

M. S. HURSTON
TREASURER

SYLACAUGA, ALABAMA

September 8, 1954.

RECEIVED
SEP 9 1954
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Bishop Clare Purcell has agreed to appoint Rev. Bob Hughes of Rockford, Alabama, to his position with our State Organization. I have contacted the majority of our Executive Committee and have received their approval. Our first meeting where he will be presented, and where a decision should be made as to State Headquarters will be at the Center Campus in Montgomery, September 17, at 2 P.M. We would be happy to have you present if possible.

Surely Mr. Hughes would desire to have some time in your office before beginning his duties October 1.

Sincerely yours,

Dan C. Whitsett

Dan C. Whitsett

DCW:C

September 13, 1954

Reverend Dan C. Whitsett
The First Methodist Church
Sylacauga, Alabama

Dear Mr. Whitsett:

George Mitchell has already written you that I will attend the organizational meeting you are planning at Montgomery on September 17, at 2:00 p.m.

Professor C. H. Parrish of the University of Louisville will accompany me on the trip to Montgomery. Dr. Parrish has travelled over the South this Summer for the Council, and has a first-hand knowledge of many of the problems and opportunities which we face.

We would appreciate a resume of Mr. Hughes' experience for our files here in the central office.

I am looking forward to meeting you and being of assistance in any way possible in furthering the work of the Alabama state organization of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

Fred Routh
Assistant Director for
Program Development

FR/eab
cc: GSM

Bd.
Nov. 10. meeting
then to also
founder

October 27, 1954

Dictated October 25

Mr. Dan C. Whitsett
107 West Spring Street
Sylacauga, Alabama

Dear Dan:

I have been out for ten days and just get back to your letter of October 18. We will be mighty sorry not to have you at the meeting November 10.

I resigned from the Board of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and of the Southern Conference Education Fund in 1947 when, against my urgent and repeated advice, the SCHW proceeded with an invitation to Paul Robeson to make a singing-speaking, and money-raising tour of the South on behalf of the SCHW.

I do not think the Southern Conference Education Fund is a Communist front, and I never have thought that Jim Dombrowski is a Communist. Further, I think that in any situation with the degrees of injustice which are in the South it is natural and right that there should be a voice of protest pitched at the level which they, in the SCEF, maintain. But I do not care to pitch my voice that high!

I find fault with them in terms of both strategy and wisdom, but they doubtless find fault with me in terms, at least, as unflattering.

I do think you court needless criticism if you become identified with the SCEF, but everybody has to make his own decisions and go on his own.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

# First Methodist Church

DAN C. WHITSETT
MINISTER

MRS. CARY G. CLOWES
FINANCIAL SECRETARY

T. B. BROWN, JR.
CHM. OFFICIAL BOARD

M. S. HURSTON
TREASURER

SYLACAUGA, ALABAMA

October 18, 1954.

RECEIVED
10/19/54
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I regret that our Annual Training Conference will be in session the week of the Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council Board. Otherwise I would certainly be present.

I would appreciate your advising me confidentially about the meeting which James Dombrowski is calling, to be held in Atlanta on the 15th. While I am to be away in Revival meeting that week, I still question whether to sign as one of those calling the meeting.

I appreciate the work Jim has done, but being Chairman of our State Southern Regional Council, I do not want to become too involved in an organization whose skirts are not quite clear, and may invite undue criticism. A line from you would be appreciated.

He'd not know
Dear urgent
this might be
AD

Sincerely yours,

DCW:C

Dan

Dan C. Whitsett

October 29, 1954

Dict.ted October 27

Mr. Dan C. Whitsett
First Methodist Church
Sylacauga, Alabama

Dear Mr. Whitsett:

The Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council (that is the central organization) has five or six vacancies, and the Nominating Committee is seeking names of suitable people to put in these vacancies. Clearly the Board should be strengthened in the rank of business leadership.

We hear that Mr. Ed Norton, a Birmingham businessman, would quite possibly be willing to become a member of the Board of the Council, and would give us added strength in Alabama and elsewhere.

Here's a list of who is presently on the Board.

We have no channel for intimate conversation with Mr. Norton. Maybe you have. Maybe you could go to Birmingham and sound him out. Will you advise us what you discover on inquiry?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

November 24, 1954

Mr. Dan C. Whitsett
107 East Spring Street
Sylacauga, Alabama

Dear Dan:

Please refer to my letter to you of October 30th.

In lieu of the arrangement described in that letter, and in furtherance of the responsibility that the Council and its affiliated state groups evidence care on the point of loyalty of employed personnel, the Executive Committee of the Council in meeting November 23, 1954, requested that each state chairman sign and submit to the Council's office in Atlanta the following statement.

In the case of the following persons employed by me in my capacity as Chairman of the _____ _____ [appropriate state affiliate], I am satisfied that every such employee is a loyal American.

Signature_____

This will constitute full compliance with the Executive Committee's policy.

I enclose a suitable blank for use in this connection. Similar language should be submitted for each new person entering the whole or partially paid service of your organization, during such time as the organization is substantially assisted from the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

December 15, 1954

Reverend Dan C. Whitsett
First Methodist Church
Sylacauga, Alabama

Dear Dan:

The following people attended the Conference of Educational Leaders at Hot Springs, Arkansas, October 26th and 27th. It was this Conference which adopted the statement appearing in the November, 1954 issue of New South. We think you might wish to cultivate them for membership in your group.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/sab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

W. A. Bell
Birmingham

J. F. Drake
Normal

Arthur D. Gray
Talladega

Samuel B. Hay
Tuscaloosa

H. Councill Trenholm
Montgomery

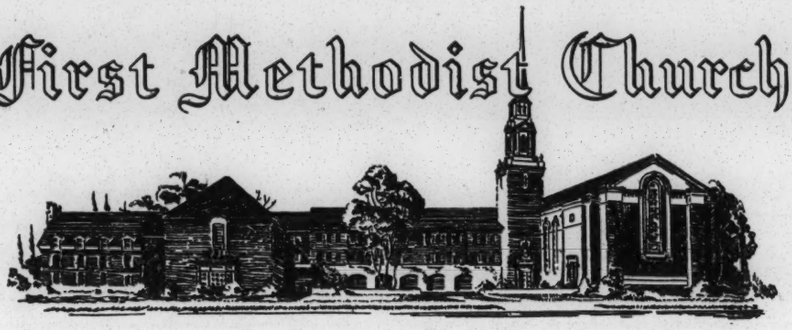
Luther Foster
Tuskegee Institute

bc: GTH
FBR
CHP

# First Methodist Church

DAN C. WHITSETT
MINISTER

MRS. CARY G. CLOWES
FINANCIAL SECRETARY



T. B. BROWN, JR.
CHM. OFFICIAL BOARD

M. S. HURSTON
TREASURER

SYLACAUGA, ALABAMA

January 25, 1955

JAN 26 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We are looking forward to your coming to Sylacauga for the informal discussion on Sunday afternoon, February 13th, at 3:00 P. M. I telephoned Dr. Gray in Talladega, and told him if he did not have previous arrangements, that he may contact you for a morning service. We will have most of the members of our Board of Education and interested citizens in the Church and city.

I am enclosing the requested form on employees.

Sincerely yours,

Dan C. Whitsett

Dan C. Whitsett

DCW/at

Ala

July 22, 1957

The Reverend Dan C. Whitsett
First Methodist Church
Sylacauga, Alabama

Dear Reverend Whitsett:

Your letter of July 18, addressed to Fred Routh, has been referred to me. We are forwarding under separate cover some materials which may be of use to you in the preparation of your series of articles in Roundtable. They include:

What's Happening in School Integration?
The Negro and the Schools
Next Steps in the South

You will find What's Happening in School Integration? particularly helpful, I believe, in that it summarizes both compliance with and resistance to the Supreme Court decision by the Southern States. If more particularized information is needed, you might like to obtain a copy of Status of School Segregation-Desegregation in the Southern and Border States, a statistical summary, state-by-state, of segregation-desegregation activity affecting Southern schools from 1954 to the present. (Data on enrollment, teacher pay, etc., is also included.) This publication may be ordered from Southern Education Reporting Service, P.O. Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville, Tennessee. There is a charge of $1.00; perhaps the charge is higher to non-subscribers to Southern School News, their regular publication.

Our information on the disparity in per capita school expenditures for Negro and white students in the Southern states is somewhat limited. The Negro and the Schools contains a table (pg. 153) giving this information for the years 1940 and 1952. Enclosed is another table, taken from Statistics of State School Systems: Organization, Staff, Pupils, and Finances, 1953-54. (A publication of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education.) The latter table will give you the type of

information you are seeking; however, we do not have a copy of this publication dated later than 1954. I am told by one source that financial records which make a division according to race are no longer published; however, if time is available, it might be wise to write to the Office of Education of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare requesting more recent information of this nature which may be available.

If we can be of any further service to you, please call on us.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

Enclosure - Copy of Table 48, Statistics of State School Systems

cc: Frederick B. Routh

Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

DAN C. WHITSETT
MINISTER

NEWTON MALONY
ASSOCIATE MINISTER

JERRY D. WORTHY
CHM. OFFICIAL BOARD

# First Methodist Church

M. S. HURSTON
TREASURER

MRS. CARY CLOWES
FINANCIAL SECRETARY

MRS. W. T. GILES
CHURCH SECRETARY

JOHN DRESSLER
MINISTER OF MUSIC

MRS. CLOYD SMITH
DIRECTOR, CHILDREN'S WORK

MURRAY MCCLUSKEY
FINANCE CHAIRMAN

SYLACAUGA, ALABAMA

July 18, 1957

Dr. Fred Roth
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I am to write a series of articles for our youth publication, Roundtable. Three of them are to be on human relations. At Montgomery I heard you give some valuable statistics on the number of states complying and those in the process of complying to the Supreme Court decision. If you have that written out, would you kindly permit me to use some of your facts.

Likewise, if you have the present disparity in per capita school expenditures between the races in three or four of our Southern states, I would like to contrast that.

Sincerely,

Dan

Dan C. Whitsett

DCW:pm

P.S. Any other news which should be included in such articles would be appreciated.

TO: STAFF

FROM: KS

I note from a form returned today by Rev. Dan Whitsett that the Alabama organization is now called the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

FRANCIS E. WALTER, PA., CHAIRMAN

MORGAN M. MOULDER, MO.
CLYDE DOYLE, CALIF.
JAMES B. FRAZIER, JR., TENN.
EDWIN E. WILLIS, LA.

HAROLD H. VELDE, ILL.
BERNARD W. KEARNEY, N. Y.
DONALD L. JACKSON, CALIF.
GORDON H. SCHERER, OHIO

RICHARD ARENS, DIRECTOR

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
WASHINGTON

August 30, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of August 21, 1956, concerning the Southern Regional Council.

For your information, the Southern Regional Council has not been cited as subversive or un-American by this Committee nor by the Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

Francis E. Walter

Francis E. Walter
Chairman

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE ATTACK ON SRC
IN THE FIRING LINE OF MAY 15, 1957

:

The Firing Line is the publication of the American Legion's National Americanism Commission, P. O. Box 1055, Indianapolis, Indiana. It seems to accept without question the testimony and charges of professional accusers (e.g., Manning Johnson, the late Paul Crouch) even though they have long since been discredited and much of their specific testimony has been found by such official groups as the Subversive Activities Control Board to be false and unreliable.

In the issue of May 15th, the Firing Line contains an article on the Southern Regional Council. This article presents in the guise of facts allegations against SRC and various of its past and present board members that range from outright falsehoods to cunning distortions designed to support utterly unfounded conclusions. Following is a point by point analysis; the indented paragraphs are quoted verbatim from the Firing Line.

> Readers of the April 15, 1957 issue of the Firing Line will recall the Council was identified as a "Southern Red front" by MANNING JOHNSON on March 8, 1957 before the State of Louisiana Legislative

> Committee on Segregation." The Firing Line report also revealed testimony which reflected the Council was "formed by JAMES E. JACKSON, a Southern organizer of the Communist Party" and "is affiliated with the Mississippi Council on Human Relations."

The Louisiana State body referred to here was set up to combat desegregation and is headed by State Senator William M. Rainach, who is also the chief leader of the White Citizens Councils in that state. Manning Johnson is a self-styled ex-Communist whose testimony has been repudiated by the U. S. Department of Justice and the Subversive Activities Control Board. His testimony about SRC is demonstrably false. The founding of SRC by a group of outstanding Southerners is a matter of public record. The incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore of The Methodist Church, Ralph McGill, editor of The Atlanta Constitution, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, and the late Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina. Any claim that these men would have permitted the James E. Jackson in question or any other person of Communistic persuasion to play any part in the founding of the organization is fantastic. The founding of SRC is a matter of extensive public record, as reported in the press and official documents, all clearly showing that this charge is an outright falsehood.

The statement that SRC "is affiliated with the Mississippi Council on Human Relations" is both inaccurate and irrelevant. The Mississippi Council is a thoroughly respectable body of citizens of that State, including among its officers the wife of a cotton broker and the Catholic Bishop of Mississippi. It was for a time affiliated with the Southern Regional Council (not vice versa) though it now functions as an independent group.

> Records of the American Legion reveal a definite trend of interrelationship between the SRC and the Southern Conference For Human Welfare, a defunct Communist front organization. According to the files of the National Americanism Commission, the following 16 former Directors of the SRC have been supporters of this aforementioned subversive organization: CHARLOTTE H. BROWN, LOUIS E. BURNHAM, GEORGE E. CLARY, HERBERT DAVIDSON, J. M. ELLISON, CLARK H. FOREMAN, GUY B. JOHNSON, DAVID D. JONES, GEORGE S. MITCHELL, HOWARD W. ODUM, F. D. PATTERSON, EDWIN A. PENICK, HOMER P. RAINEY, IRA DeA. REID, FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON and AUBREY WILLIAMS.

The charge that SRC was related to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare continues to be used by the detractors of this organization although it has long since and repeatedly been refuted. SRC was the official successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, founded in 1919 by a group of outstanding Southern churchmen. SRC came into existence at a time when the Southern Conference had been operating for six years, and it was attacked by some persons on the grounds that it was a more conservative organization set up in competition with the Southern Conference. It was never in any way connected with the Southern Conference.

The spurious technique of connection-by-association used here was exposed for what it is by the Atlanta Constitution in 1953. At that time, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, the distinguished president of Atlanta University, had announced his candidacy for the Atlanta Board of Education. Pro-segregationists sought to have him disqualified, using as the Firing Line does the charge that he had once served on the board of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The Atlanta Constitution on May 12, 1953 editorialized as follows:

ATTACK ON CLEMENT IS DIRTY POLITICS

> *** A member of the [City Executive Committee] board has charged that Dr. Clement is a Communist sympathizer because he once belonged to the now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare.
>
> This newspaper is proud of the fact that it contributed largely to the demise of that organization. We were

> twice threatened with lawsuits because of our exposure of it; therefore, we believe we have some authority to speak.
>
> The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was organized by honest, loyal Americans, with a viewpoint to organizing all constructive forces in the South to improve the South's economic and social status. It later was infiltrated by Communists, but for a good many years it was composed of and led by persons of unquestioned loyalty, during which time its membership was about 99.95 per cent loyal. It offers the typical example of a few rotten Communists spoiling a good barrel of apples.
>
> Even so, it was not until a good many years had passed, and after most of the membership had withdrawn, including Dr. Clement, that persons of suspected communistic tendencies took over what remained of the organization. They did not long endure, largely because this newspaper exposed them and kept upon them the full light of publicity. Therefore, we feel free to say that this smear attack on Dr. Clement was false and unworthy, and those conducting it reflect no credit on themselves, our city, state and region.***

Suffice it to say that Dr. Clement's qualifications were upheld by the City Executive Committee, he was overwhelmingly elected in the primary, and he has recently been re-elected to the Atlanta Board of Education.

In this incident and in the Atlanta Constitution's editorial reproduced above lies the full explanation of the dishonest technique used by the Firing Line and SRC's racist critics in their attempts to discredit this organization.

It might further be noted that among the 16 former directors whose past presence on the board of SRC is supposed to have infected it with subversive sympathies are the following:

Dr. George E. Clary, Executive Secretary of the Southeastern Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church.

Mr. Herbert Davidson, Editor and Publisher of the Daytona Beach News and Journal.

Dr. J. M. Ellison, Chancellor of Virginia Union University.

The late Dr. Howard W. Odum, nationally famous scholar of the University of North Carolina.

The Reverend Edwin Penick, the presiding Episcopal Bishop of Raleigh, North Carolina.

The distinguished positions held by these individuals and their impeccable reputations in the South and North alike are enough, in themselves, to refute the insinuations of the Firing Line.

> The files of The American Legion reflect the following 9 current SRC Directors have also been affiliated with the subversive Southern Conference For Human Welfare: RUFUS B. ATWOOD, PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, RUFUS E. CLEMENT, A. W. DENT, BENJAMIN E. MAYS, H. COUNCILL TRENHOLM, E. C. PETERS, JOSEPHINE WILKINS and MARION A. WRIGHT.

The same answer as that given above also applies here. Consider the positions held by these nine current directors:

Dr. Rufus B. Atwood, president of the state-supported Kentucky State College.

Mr. Paul R. Christopher, regional director of the AFL-CIO who serves by appointment of Governor Clement on an official state commission of Tennessee.

Dr. R. E. Clement, identified above.

Dr. Albert W. Dent, president of Dillard University of New Orleans.

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College and one of this nation's most prominent leaders in the World Council of Churches.

Dr. H. Councill Trenholm, president of the state-supported Alabama State College in Montgomery.

Dr. E. C. Peters, president emeritus of Methodist-supported Paine College in Augusta, Georgia.

Miss Josephine Wilkins, former administrator of the Fact-Finding Movement of Georgia and past president of the League of Women Voters of Georgia.

Mr. Marion A. Wright, respected attorney, former chairman of the South Carolina Library Board, past president of the University of South Carolina Alumni Association.

If the worst that can be charged against the Southern Regional Council is that these distinguished Southerners served on its board, the

organization can be proud indeed.

> For the information of Firing Line readers, the following 8 current Directors of the Council have been affiliated with the aforementioned Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., which was fully exposed in the July 1, 1955 issue of this publication: F. WOODS BECKMAN, BLAILSFORD (sic) R. BRAZEAL, RUFUS E. CLEMENT, JAMES M. DABBS, CHARLES G. GOMILLION, DUNCAN HUNTER, BENJAMIN E. MAYS and JOSEPHINE WILKINS. It may be of interest to recall that former SRC Director AUBREY WILLIAMS has been President of the Southern Conference Educational Fund since 1948. He was named as a member of the Communist Party during the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's 1954 hearings.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund is the successor to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Three of the individuals named in this paragraph were named in the preceding one. The others include the Dean of Morehouse College, an honorably retired Federal Government employee, a South Carolina planter who is a leading layman of the Southern Presbyterian Church, the Dean of Tuskegee Institute, and a Methodist clergyman of Alabama. A special case is made of Aubrey Williams, who once served on the SRC board and is now president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. It is reported that charges of past Communist affiliation were made against Mr. Williams in 1954. Mr. Williams resigned from SRC's board more than ten years ago, long before these charges were made. However, it should be noted that he categorically and under oath denied the charges made against him in 1954 and his sworn denial still stands unchallenged in the official record. The charge was made by a professional witness, another self-styled ex-Communist whose testimony on other occasions was proved false.

Allen Rankin, columnist for the conservative Montgomery Advertiser, wrote of the hearing at which Mr. Williams was accused: "(Senator)

Eastland admitted to a newsman: 'I don't think either of the Durrs or Williams are Communists.' Yet these people... were accused and insulted and browbeaten."

It should be clear to any thoughtful person that the cynical technique of guilt by association used here in its most far-fetched form to indict the Southern Regional Council can be used at least as damagingly against any honest, patriotic body of citizens.

It is possible, for example, to extend the charges of the Firing Line to "prove" that the Catholic Church is under the influence of Communist sympathizers. Several Catholic clergymen took part at one time in the activities of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. One of the founders of the SRC was then Bishop, now Archbishop Gerald P. O'Hara, one of the leading Catholic dignitaries in the United States. From the very beginning, the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council has included a Catholic clergyman. Among the contributors to SRC have been two Catholic bishops and two archbishops. The president of SRC from 1945 to 1951 was Mr. Paul D. Williams of Richmond, Virginia, a co-founder of the Catholic Committee of the South, a Knight of St. Gregory, and one of the leading laymen of his Church. In 1953, the Catholic Committee of the South conferred its annual award on Dr. George S. Mitchell in recognition of his work as executive director of the Southern Regional Council. It would be interesting to see what the Firing Line would make of this "definite trend of interrelationship."

The same artificial case could, of course, be made against the Methodists, the Presbyterians, and other religious and civic groups that have been heavily represented on the board and in the activities of SRC.

The use of past associations with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare can be carried to even greater lengths. On April 3, 1945, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare staged a dinner in Washington, D. C., honoring Justice Hugo Black. This affair is reported in detail in the Southern Conference publication, The Southern Patriot, special supplement May 1945, and in contemporary newspaper accounts. The toastmaster on this occasion was then Senator, later Vice-President Alben W. Barkley. At the speaker's table was none other than the Honorable James F. Byrnes, who has since crowned his distinguished career with a term as Governor of South Carolina and one of the leading champions of segregation. Among the sponsors of the dinner were Secretary of State Edward Stettinius, Secretary of Defense James Forrestal, President Harry S. Truman, and other distinguished Americans. Senator Barkley congratulated the Southern Conference on the "great work" it was doing.

This affair is mentioned only to demonstrate how the false standard of association applied by the Firing Line and other critics of SRC can be applied to discredit a host of reputable individuals and the organizations on whose board they serve. Clearly, past affiliation or association with the Southern Conference, cannot honestly be used to impeach the integrity of individuals whose careers testify to their character and patriotism. Still less can the presence of such individuals on the board of another organization be honestly used as evidence against the character of that organization.

Finally, it should be noted that nowhere in the charges against the SRC is there the slightest evidence of word or deed that would suggest Communist or subversive tendencies within the organization. The reason, of course, is that no such evidence exists. From the beginning, the

SRC has been squarely opposed to the Communist doctrine and every other totalitarian philosophy. It has worked constructively and responsibly for full enjoyment of legal and human rights by all the people of the South. Those who seek to discredit the patriotism of the Southern Regional Council do so either out of inexcusable ignorance or because they are opposed to the democratic principles for which it stands.

- : -

7/8/57

The Delta Democrat-Times

HODDING CARTER
Editor and Publisher

JOHN T. GIBSON
General Manager

Greenville, Miss., Sunday, August 25, 1957

**Were it left for me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter.**
**—Thomas Jefferson**

# The Editor's Prerogative

ONE of the easiest—and most dishonest — ways to assail someone's character is through the "guilt association" route. One of the easiest — and most dishonest — ways to win an argument is to censor the answers of the person assailed.

A case in point is the recent exchange between the editor of the News and Courier of Charleston, S. C., Thomas Waring, and the Southern Regional Council, of which Harold C. Fleming is executive director and the editor of the Delta Democrat-Times is a director.

Editor Waring fired a broadside at the Southern Regional Council, intimating it was Communist-inspired because "sixteen former and nine present directors of the Southern Regional Council have been affiliated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare," and quoting the American Legion magazine, Firing Line, as a source of information that the Southern Conference was a "defunct Communist front organization," noting that the Southern Regional Council "has received many thousands of dollars from the Fund for the Republic, a Northern foundation that acts as paymaster for integration in the South."

Editor Waring also said, mockingly, that "Mr. Fleming and the Southern Regional Council are moderate only if one believes the NAACP is also moderate. The objectives of the SRC and the NAACP are the same — an end to separate schools in the South."

Mr Fleming replied that on the basis of Waring's kind of argument "the News and Courier can be no more moderate than the Ku Klux Klan, since both have the objective of maintaining a completely segregated school system," but Editor Waring chose to delete this when he printed the letter in his newspaper.

In fact, out of ten paragraphs, the News and Courier only printed four in reply to its own completely unfair, vicious editorial which attempted to link the Southern Regional Council to the defunct and unsavory Southern Conference on Human Welfare.

May we emphasize here that we hold no brief for the Southern Conference, which, like many such organizations, started out with some directors, supporters and members of good intent but fell into bad hands. These men dropped out of the organization when they began to learn of its true motivations.

The News and Courier should have printed Mr. Fleming's letter in toto if it believes in fair play. The paragraphs deleted were cut out with what one can only assume was malicious intent because they were the ones that gave the whole letter meaning.

What remained was an innocuous denial filled with generalities such as "This charge is utterly false and is supported by evidence of the most dishonest sort."

What Editor Waring censored were vital bits of evidence in behalf of the Southern Regional Council:

1. The Fund for the Republic has also supplied money to Southern Presbyterians, Methodists, Episcopalians and Catholics. One of the beneficiaries was the Southern Association of Neiman Fellows and Editor Waring was granted, and accepted, a fellowship under this Fund-financed program. We wonder if his fingers felt as dirty then as his conscience must now.

2. South Carolina Governor James F. Byrnes was a prominent speaker at a dinner staged by that now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare in 1945. ("Is one to believe that Mr. Byrnes is a carrier of the dread disease you ascribe to nine of SRC's 80 board members?" asked Fleming. The question was omitted in the News and Courier).

3. One of the past SRC board members, indicted by the Firing Line was the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, who also served on the board of the Southern Education Reporting Service along with Editor Waring of the News and Courier. Mr. Waring also gets money for that too—from the same Ford Foundation that established the Fund for the Republic. (We hope that in gratitude for what might be called a double-tit situation, Mr. Waring at least is driving a Ford or maybe a Mercury). Mr. Fleming wondered if "this means that the SERS and the worthy editor are tainted by this "definite trend of interrelationship?"

4. Another Southern Regional Council director was the late Dr. Howard W. Odum, the South's most noted sociologist, and one of the chief authorities relied upon by Attorney Robert McC Figg in defending the Clarendon County school authorities who resisted racial integration of their schools in one of the cases involved in the original Supreme Court decision on school integration.

The deleted paragraphs of Mr. Fleming's letter would have made Editor Waring at least as guilty by his associations as he attempted to make Mr. Fleming. As a matter of fact, Editor Waring is guilty only of a very special kind of yellow journalism.

July 25, 1961

Ala Jim

Dear Paul,

Today we bought a house and sold a house. Tomorrow the van picks up our furniture.

Things are moving fast.

Tues. we will hit the office and that the Alabama Council will be making real strides. Your assistance is desired and your friendship is deeply appreciated.

Now for the business at hand. SRC has not sent me the $40 I paid at Fisk.

Keep up the good work.

Sincerely,

Jim

McSimerson.

Ala -
N Jim

July 31, 1961

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

I had planned to be in touch with you long before now, but it has been a busy summer. I wrote Bob Hughes following the Fisk meeting to ask if he would be willing to spend an early week in August helping to orient you in Alabama. Bob has not replied to the letter and I am unable to reach him by telephone. I can only assume that he is away from his last address, probably for a vacation period.

I shall be calling you this week and I hope that we will be in fairly close touch in the weeks to come. I know from experience that it is not easy to settle into a new home and become acclimated to a new position in this field. We are certainly ready to work with you in any way possible.

In assessing the Alabama Council and your future work, let me make the following random observations. The strength of the ACHR is the loyalty of its membership, the confidence of the Negro leadership in the state, and a fairly efficient organisational structure built up by Bob Hughes over the past six years. The weaknesses of the Council are in its small size, approximately 450, the fear of sympathetic white persons of any identification with an organization so clearly in opposition to the prevailing political leadership, the scattered and varying nature of the local groups, the difficulty of raising sufficient financial support in Alabama for such a cause.

The major contributions of the Council during the past six years have been the maintenance of communication between white and Negro citizens sharing the same general points of view. The ACHR has been virtually the only such channel of communication in the state of Alabama. The Council has also been of value in demonstrating support to Negro leadership of an interracial constituency and in occasionally dramatizing to the white people

of Alabama and national public opinion that there is opposition from at least one group including white membership to the massive resisting posture of the state. The Council has been involved in crisis situations, offering its assistance to victims of intimidation. It has been invaluable as a channel for information and interpretation both to SNCC and to the news media of the nation. The previous director of the Council was able to obtain a great deal of basic and inside information and also to stimulate some constructive activity by working not only with members of the Council but with other friends and contacts outside the Council who looked on the Council as a useful and valuable organization even if they did not think it wise to relate themselves formally to it.

I probably embroider the obvious to suggest that it would seem to me that your immediate task falls in three general categories; first, know your own organization and its leadership; second, inform yourself about the current situation in Alabama and probable next developments; third, be thinking of program activities in the fall and winter which will help to achieve the purposes of the Council.

Almost inevitably your first task will be to meet your own constituency. If I were in your shoes, I think I would look forward to visiting with each local or district group at its next meeting and, where this may not be possible, to meet the local leader or leaders of such groups in the next few weeks. I would also attempt, as I traveled about the state, to have individual conferences with each board member, both to establish liaison with them and to gain their thinking as to future activities. You need as quickly as possible to become personally related to the various local groups, so that they will keep in constant touch with you. In traveling about the state I would also urge that you make almost immediate and personal contact with the chief Negro leaders in the state. Their identity will not be difficult to learn. We would be happy to assist in this direction.

You need, of course, to know what the situation is generally in Alabama, both politically and in relation to racial tensions. You need to have specific information on points of particular tension and on areas of probable next developments. You need, of course, to be very familiar with the recent operation of the ACHR, its financial status, its organizational set-up, the nature of recent correspondence. Can you pick up the threads of Bob's work with interracial ministerial groups, student organizations, et cetera?

In terms of program planning, you need to be consulting with the local and district groups as to their plans in hopes that you can help them strengthen and delimit their programs for the coming year. I personally feel that it is not sufficient for a local

group to exist and to meet occasionally, but that some study or action efforts should be in the mill. Is there anything that the state organization as a whole should be contemplating in the way of fact-finding or publication or state-wide workshops, et cetera? Are there current spots of particular crisis or tension, or spots where such crisis is likely to develop this fall? If so, is there any way that the Council or some of its local groups can be relevant to these areas?

Be quite careful about the security of your office and your records. Any correspondence or other material being discarded should be torn up in small pieces before being thrown into the waste basket. All correspondence and other data should be under lock and key each night when you leave the office.

I gather from your recent note that you have purchashed a home in Birmingham. This decision, then, has been made. I hope that you find satisfaction and fulfillment in your work and in your involvement in the affairs of your new community. We are extremely gratified that you are on the job and look forward to working with you in the months and years ahead.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Killing
Director of Field Activities

pMk:mm

Ala.
Jim

August 2, 1961

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

I finally talked with Bob Hughes by phone today. He had not answered my letter because he had hoped to work out some way of complying with our request that he spend a week with you in Alabama. He now reports that this is simply not possible. He will be sailing in early September and has, of course, much to do by way of preparation. He does say, however, that he will be coming to Alabama in late August or early September for a last visit to his parents in Gadsden. He feels quite sure that he can spend a day with you at that time. He will let you know when the date is fixed. I will try to come over on that occasion to sit in on part of your discussions and, primarily, to see Bob one more time.

Your $40.00 for the Fisk Institute is supposed to be reimbursed by the Alabama Council and I have a letter from Father Foley dated June 24 authorizing the expenditure. Write yourself a check and get it back.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR:mm

*Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.*

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

August 9, 1961

Dear Paul,

Have been enjoying the process of getting acquainted with people. I went to Huntsville Monday to see if there was anything that could be done in the case of Julian Hall who was fired by the group coordinating community services. I went primarily because I knew I would have a chance to meet with Rev. Duncan Hunter. He introduced me to a young Methodist minister by the name of Emory Burton. I met Rev. Ezekiel Bell and attended a meeting of young men who are striving to work out community problems in their neighborhood. Bell is quite discouraged that the Negroes in Huntsville show little interest in civil rights or even in bettering themselves in other ways. I was glad to get acquainted with Duncan Hunter.

Last night a young Swedish student came by the office. He has spent two years in this country and tells me that he talked with you in Atlanta. I took him by Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth's house this morning to meet him. While we were there he received a call from a young white girl who had attended several meetings at his church. Her parents were forcing her to leave home. The phone call was interrupted and she called back a little later to say that her father had come home from work and ahd pulled the phone wire out to break connections. She was calling from a drug store. We arranged for her to meet me at the office. She was quite concerned about the fact her father had said that Sgt. Cook of the Police force wanted to talk with her. She reports that Tuesday evening the police came by her house and told her folks that she had been seen getting into a car at Terminal station with two colored men. The police also warned the parents that five cars of Klansmen were following her around town. The father reportedly told the girl, 19years of age, that he didn't care what happened to her but that he was concerned about the family. (They live a block or two from us, in Homewood). She was quite sure that her parents would not let her stay another night. Her clothes were packed ready to be picked up. Shuttlesworth came by the office. We decided that she should stay at the YWCA, call her parents and try to smooth things over. At first I wondered if she should immediately get out of town. She was anxious to do this at first. She knows Margaret Long's daughter and thought she would like to go to Atlanta. It seems best for her to face possible harassement and try to stay in town. She has had plans to go to Highlander for the week end and probably will.

She went to school in New Orleans, was active in CORE and is on bond for disturbing the peace. She wants to stay in the South. She wants to work in the Area of Civil Rights and hopes to continue her college education.

*Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.*

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."



I thought seriously of calling you but then decide the final plan was satisfactory. At first I thought that perhaps I should go with her to meet Sgt. Cook. At this moment I think she is steady enough to meet him alone, if the police make any move to talk with her. Shuttlesworth told her definitely not to mention my name or the organization

I went upstairs to have coffee with Chuck Morgan and told him abt about the case and he wanted to talk with her. He is going to meet her. He is concerned that the Klan might want to beat her. I will put this letter in the mail now and will either write or call you about the developments in this case.

So far I am going to try to stay out of the spotlight.

Letter from Nat Welch states the meeting is at 7:30 P.M. at the Faculty Cottage at Tuskeegee on August 23rd. I am debating whther it would be too far to drive to Birmingham after the meeting.

Sincerely,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson

P.S. The typing may indicate I don't have a secretary now. Mrs. Annette Cox is out sick for two weeks, may be back to work next week.

P.S. Aug 16th -
The letter came back - incomplete address
I've been waiting to add note: Connie Bradford is in Atlanta at last report - I would guess with Margaret Fang - Matching fund drive is coming - deposited $1000 plus this morning - and work is being done to get money in.

Jim

Ala
Jimerson

August 11, 1961

The Rev. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
1224 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Norman:

Belatedly, congratulations and best wishes on becoming director of the Alabama Council. You have a job ahead of you. Despite vicissitudes, however, the Alabama Council has become a tight, sturdy, organization in relation to the difficulties present; perhaps no other state Council has been of greater service.

I enjoyed greatly the lunch we had together some months ago, and look forward to seeing you soon again. Please let me hear from you if I can ever be of assistance.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

*Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.*

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director

Ala-NJ

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

August 14, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I called Paul Anthony today and told him of our budget of $16,000 we had raised $3,600. Actually we have received in cash $3,637.79. We have additional $1180.00 in pledges which is due by February 1, 1962. This means we have cash and pledges totaling $4817.79.

Our records have been out of the office until last Friday and I cannot find the letters stating the conditions on grants from Southern Regional Council. I remember that we can get matching funds for each dollar over $3,000 up to $5400. We have a savings account balance of $2760. We must borrow $1,000 now to cover checks for August 15th and September 1st. Our estimated income from memberships and contributions conservatively will run $200 a month. We hope it will be somewhat more than this. On this basis we will have money to carry us through November 15th. This will mean that according to present trends we will have used up $8,000 emergency fund and all of our checking account by November 15th. This does not include legal defense fund for the hearing scheduled October 8th. We would be due a quarterly grant of $975 on December 1st.

In the over all view then we will be able to keep in operation all fall. According to calculation a couple of weeks ago it looked as if we would have used up all of our checking account and savings account by November 1st. Perhaps the picture is not quite as dark as I painted it to Paul Anthony in our conversation today, but we will need some ideas on how to raise money over and above what SRC is able to grant us.

Hope to see you sonn.

Sincerely,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

Ala.
NJ

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

August 15, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

As of this date, August 15, 1962, the Alabama Council has received the following cash and pledges:

| | |
|---|---|
| Memberships---------- | $ 1216.50 |
| Contributions---------- | 3354.86 |
| Pledges Due During 1962---- | 1240.00 |
| Total Cash and Pledges To Date---------- | $ 5811.36 |

I believe that this covers our matching funds of $2700.00.

When we receive the matching funds from you shortly we will be in a much better financial standing than I had anticipated.

Will be looking forward to receiving word from you as to the date that you will be coming to Birmingham.

Sincerely,

Norman C. Jimerson

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

cc: Nat Welch

413.33
413.33
826.66

413.00
3
1239.00

4571.36
826.66
5,398.02

5811.36
1240.00
4571.36
~~720.00~~
5191.36

1,984.69

4571.36
413.33
4984.69

Ala
NJ


# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director


"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

August 20, '62

Dear Paul,

My sec'y is out sick so read closely and you may be able to read this note.

Today I received word that Huntsville chapter is meeting August 28, so would like to change the date of your visit to exclude the 28th and 29th. Before or after these dates I think my calendar is clear. I do plan to go to Mobile Tuesday, Sept. 14 through Thursday Spet. 6 or I could go Wed. and return Fri. the 7th. The following week I plan to go to Sheffield Tuesday Sept 11th or Wednesday Sept 12 to return on the 14th.

Father Foley reports he has grant in hand to study the disposition of major crimes in the state from '58 to present which will involve studying some ten cities and/or counties He has something like $1,000.00 for this project which hopefully we can get some ~~vount-~~ volunteers to help with and will require some time of mine.

It would all be so simple if Alabama would withdraw from the Union and have foreign ~~adi~~ aid instead of Federal grants. You might work on this.

Cordially,

Jim

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Ala
NJ

August 22, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

How about Thursday, August 30, for a visit to Birmingham?

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul M. Rilling
Director of
Field Activities

Paul,
Excellent
Jim

PR:mm

September 13, 1961

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Mr. Jimerson:

Various "defense" materials we have prepared or had reprinted over the past few years are enclosed. If specific charges not covered in these materials have been brought, or are in the future brought, against SRC, please let us know, for we will be very happy to answer them.

As you will note, the "Analysis of the Attack on SRC in The Firing Line" is an item which calls for considered use. It contains excellent point by point analysis of allegations of the type usually made against us; however, since it was written in answer to a particular attack, it could well serve the purpose of supplementing the type of ammunition used most frequently with "documentation" from The Firing Line.

Please let us know if you need these materials in greater quantity, or if any specific charges are not covered.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Sedretary
Field Services

Enclosures
"An Analysis of the Attack on SRC in The Firing Line"
"Southern Regional Council" - Congressional Record reprint, March 2, 1959
Reprint from Richmond Times-Dispatch "A Race Agency and the Facts"
Board List
"The Southern Regional Council - Its Origin and Aims"

Ala
NJ

September 14, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

As of this date, September 14, 1962, the Alabama Council has received the following cash to be added to the matching funds previously reported to you on August 15, 1962: Contributions --------- $581.00

The correct financial statement on matching funds should now read:

| | |
|---|---|
| Memberships---------- | $ 1216.50 |
| Contributions---------- | 3935.86 |
| Pledges Due During 1962 (2/3 of total pledges of $1240.00)-- | 826.66 |
| TOTAL CASH AND PLEDGES TO DATE | 5979.02 |

I believe that we can now claim all of our matching funds of $2700.00.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Annette Cox
Secretary to Rev. Jimerson

September 15, 1961

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1223, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

If you still want me to come to the Tri-Cities on September 26, the best I can do is a train leaving Memphis at 9:30 A.M. on the 26th and arriving in Tuscumbia at 1:40 P.M.. The only alternative would be to ride the bus most of the night, which I would just as soon not do. Let me know if these arrangements are satisfactory.

Your quarterly report for June, July, and August is due. Where is it?

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

P.S. Did you notice the write-up of William Engel's speech or interview in the Birmingham papers (Post-Herald) September 12th? This seems to be an important breakthrough in the power structure. Wouldn't it be wonderful if Birmingham could develop a concerned committee of businessmen to operate as they did in Dallas.

*Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.*

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

September 18, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Rm. 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your letter of September 15th. After Father Foley was in the office on September 1st I have known that I should be writing you about plans to get together. Father Foley set the date for the Board Meeting on September 30th and I trust that you received a copy of the memorandum sent to the Board members. The Board will meet in Birmingham on September 30th at 10:00 a.m. in the Gaston Building and will go to the home of John Drew, a member of Gaston Insurance Company, for lunch and will reconvene for the afternoon until 2:30 or 3:00 p.m. Perhaps it will be better if you could come to Birmingham near the end of that week instead of trying to meet me in the Tri-Cities on September 26th. From your letter I would guess that even taking the train from Memphis to Tuscumbia would mean that you would loose a long day traveling. Perhaps we could discuss the Tri-Cities area sufficiently without attempting to arrange to have you meet with Mr. Louis Eckl or others in that area. You may want me to rewrite the quarterly report that I am enclosing. I am not sure how Bob wrote his reports since we do not have any copies of his reports in the office.

I had not seen the Post-Herald article of September 12th regarding William Engel's statement but do have it in front of me now. There is a very small and very confidential group of business men in Birmingham that are attempting to develop a group of business men similar to the groups in Atlanta and Dallas. One of the leaders of the Dallas group has written to one of the business men in Birmingham that he will be coming to this city in the next few weeks. Two business people that have told me about this group are unwilling at this point to even tell me which business men are involved. One of the men has asked me to give him names of people that might be interested in working with this group but he has asked me to not even disclose to the ones who seem interested that such a group is actually beginning. I will discuss this with you in more detail when we get together. Any materials that you have concerning the efforts of business people in other cities will be very helpful. Any comments on my report would be appreciated.

Sincerely,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

P.S. We received a letter from Charles A. Goodrum, Service Librarian, Legislative Reference Service, The Library of Congress. He said that one of the Congressmen had requested a statement of the history of the Alabama Council, copies of the materials produced by the Alabama Council and the list of its Board of Directors. Mr. Vann and Mr. Morgan suggested that an attempt be made to find out who was asking for the information and indicate that we would be in the process of assembling the materials that they requested. Mr. Morgan said that he would call friends in Washington to find out who was making the request and what the situation was. I have been unable to get in touch with Mr. Morgan to see if he was able to get any information.

Ala
NJ

September 26, 1961

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Mr. Jimerson:

During the past summer several state councils have assisted Reed Sarratt, Executive Director of the Southern Education Reporting Service, through a cooperative effort to promote Southern School News. SERS provided each state council with copies of an issue of Southern School News sufficient for all persons on the state mailing list. SERS provided mailing envelopes, subscription card, postage-paid return envelope, and took care of the postage for the mailing. The state council carried through the actual mailing, enclosing a covering letter from the director urging subscriptions on the part of his or her membership.

Thus far, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and Florida Councils have cooperated in the promotional effort, and Mr. Sarratt would appreciate it very much if the remaining state councils would be willing to undertake a similar project. Would the ACHR be interested in mailing copies of a future issue - probably October - to its membership? (Paul Rilling, incidentally, has indicated that he thinks Southern School News deserves our help in efforts to expand circulation, and that our members would benefit from receiving the paper. It has been an invaluable source of facts on the school matter, and we have always had a good cooperative relationship with the Southern Education Reporting Service.)

I would appreciate your letting me know if you will be able to assist SERS in their effort, and, if so, the number of copies of the newspaper you will need. I will then make arrangements for Mr. Sarratt to overprint a future issue, and I will forward you a sample covering letter, which you may

want to enclose with your mailing.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

SEA FOAM BOND

September 27, 1961

RHA FR

Check for Norman Jimerson

Please issue a check in the amount of $40.00 to Norman Jimerson (Alabama Council on Human Relations). This is for his tuition at the last Fisk Institute, which we agreed to pay.

AMBOND SEAL

Ala.
NJ

October 10, 1961

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

The enclosed memorandum was issued primarily to enable the Department of Commerce to move against the kind of Ku Klux Klan signs that have "welcomed" visitors in a number of Alabama communities. We have been requested to determine as soon as possible whether such signs are still on the highways and if so exactly where they are located. Such information, which we will send on to the Department of Commerce, will be used as the basis for their instructions to the Division Engineers. I hope that you can check with your contacts here and there and develop this specific information as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm
Enclosure — Additional copies filed under Ala Gen.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of Public Roads
Washington 25, D.C.

C O P Y

August 24, 1961
(August 24, 1962, expiration)

INSTRUCTIONAL MEMORANDUM 21-3-61
26-20

SUBJECT: Use of rights-of-way of Federal-aid highways for non-highway purposes (Encroachments);

This memorandum supplements IM 21-1-61, dated April 13, 1961, and further implements section 1.23 of the Regulations for the Administration of Federal Aid for Highways, relative to the use or occupancy of rights-of-way of Federal-aid highways for nonhighway purposes.

IM 21-1-61 prescribes conditions under which certain types of non-highway use and occupancy, including encroaching signs, may be determined in the public interest, within the meaning of the regulations, and permitted on the highway rights-of-way; and it delegates to Regional Engineers authority to make necessary determinations in individual instances and to redelegate their authority to Division Engineers. Regional and Division Engineers will also be guided in their actions by the policy expressed at part 1, section 1A-3, of the Manual on Uniform Traffic Control Devices for Streets and Highways, issued June 1961.

The authority delegated in IM 21-1-61 does not extend to encroaching signs in the categories described below, which will in no event be considered in the public interest:

(1) Signs located on highway rights-of-way in violation of State or local law.

(2) Signs which serve, promote, or advertise any organization, association, and similar group which is not lawfully constituted under State or local law.

(3) Signs which serve, promote, or advertise activities which are unlawful under Federal, State, or local law.

(4) Signs which serve, promote, or advertise any organization, association, or similar group which the Attorney General of the United States has designated, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, dated April 27, 1953, as "totalitarian, fascist, communist, or subversive, or which has adopted, or shows, a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny other persons their rights under the Constitution of the United States, or which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means."

(more)

Regional and Division Engineers will take prompt action to require removal of encroaching signs in the foregoing categories from the rights-of-way of all highways constructed in whole or in part with Federal funds, irrespective of the date of construction of the highway and without regard to whether Federal funds participated in the costs of the right-of-way of the highway.

(Signed)

Rex M. Whitton
Federal Highway Administrator

ala
NJ

TR

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

FATHER ALBERT S. FOLEY, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
DR. CARL LANDES, Vice President

DR. A. D. GRAY, Vice President
DR. R. D. CROCKETT, Secretary
REV. J. C. WILSON, Treasurer

REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

October 26, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thank you for your letter of October 24th. We are looking forward to having you speak to the Annual Meeting on February 3rd on the subject, "An Ananlysis of Program Activities For State and Local Chapters". I just talked on the phone to Paul and I am sending him this afternoon a letter regarding Klan signs that he had requested information about. Let me repeat that I will be writing a report on the employment at Ford Motor Company in the Tri-Cities area. I have been delayed again but plan to definitely be up there next week.

Paul Anthony did a very fine job in presenting the story of Southern Regional Council to the group at Tuskegee. I was very pleased that we could get better acquainted with him and that he could have at least a short visit in Alabama. You will be interested to know that the situation in Birmingham appears to be moving quite rapidly in opposite dirrections. It is felt by some that Bull Connor hopes to become governor mean rapid deterioration of climate in Birmingham. At the same time there appears to be more and more business people interested in applying here some of the lessons they have learned from the way Atlanta handled the integration of public schools. I am sending to Paul an editorial from the Birmingham News of today which in my opinion is the best editorial since the week following Mother's Day riots. You will be interested to know that I did speak to the Methodist College Youth group at Auburn University last week and will be preaching at the Chapel service at Talladega this Sunday.

Mr. Charles Wittenstein of the American Jewish Committee with his office in Atlanta was in my office yesterday and again today. He will be reporting to Paul about the situation as he finds it in Birmingham. I am sure that he and Paul will keep you informed.

I am having a wonderful time with the Alabama Council.

Sincerely,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

*Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.*

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

November 7, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am sending you a copy of a report that I wrote for Mr. Les Dunbar and my letter to him. Things are moving along about the same in Alabama. I am still thinking my question is valid, "What would you do if you were in Alabama?" I was very pleased with the response from the minister of the largest church in Sheffield who has been very conservative and has blocked a couple of moves the inter-racial ministers group tried to make in facing problems of desegregation. Maybe I am too optimistic but he did appear to appreciate the fact that I looked him up. During the first part of our conversation I was obviously tense but he did relax and near the end of our conversation he said that he hoped that I would be in town some Firday to go to the Kiwanis Meeting with him. He also said that he would like for me to speak to the Kiwanis group about the Alabama Council. While I don't think it would be a good idea for me to speak to a Civic group in Birmingham, I am under the impression that this would be a good idea in the Tri-Cities area. I returned to Birmingham Thursday night, Nov. 2nd.

On Friday, November 3rd, two members of the Vestavia Hills Baptist Church came to the office and in many roundabout ways suggested that everyone would be happier if I withdrew my membership from the church. I discussed this with the minister and he has failed to make any comment about this. I feel the next move is up to him and at the present time I am not planning to leave the church until I find out how many people feel the same way as the two who talked with me.

I would be glad to hear from you any time.

Sincerely,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

*Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.*

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

**CONFIDENTIAL REPORT**

**A Local Human Relations Council Moves Forward In Reducing Discrimination In Employment.**

There is a very active Human Relations Council in the Tri-Cities area of Florence, Sheffield and Tuscumbia in northern Alabama. This group is affiliated with the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

In 1960 the local Council prepared for a program dealing with employment practices in local companies. Several individuals were requested to study separate plans. They were to talk with employees at the companies they were studying to determine the policies and practice on employment. At one of the regular monthly meetings the individuals reported on several companies in the area. There was a special interest in determining if there was apparent discrimination in their employment policies. The group decided to give particular attention to the Ford Motor Company Plant in Sheffield which manufactures dye castings and other parts for Ford Motor Company. Ford was selected for special consideration because Ford Motor Company policies was so good and there was a wide gap between stated company policy and the practices at the local plant.

It was determined that out of 600 employees only two Negroes were employed and they were working as janitors. In October of 1960 two of the representatives from the group made an appointment with the plant manager and the employment manager of the local plant. The company representative said in fact that there was no discrimination and that there were very few Negro applicants. The representatives from the local Council pointed out to the plant representatives that the Negroes were unhappy about the employment policies at the local plant. About this same time a local Negro businessman wrote a letter to the Ford Motor Company in Detroit stating that he used Ford Motor vehicles in his business but that he could no longer use Fords in view of the policy of the local plant. Shortly after this, a representative from the local Ford Plant called him while he was on vacation in Florida and suggested that he visit the local Ford Plant as soon as he returned from vacation. In view of the fact that his letter received immediate attention the local Council decided to encourage other Negroes to express their concern about the apparent discrimination.

Members of the local Human Relations Council visited many Negro churches to accomplish three goals. (1) They wanted information of people who might be prospective applicants for employment at the Ford Motor Company. (2) They wanted to get Negroes to actually apply for work, and, (3) To encourage Negroes to write letters to the Ford Motor Company in Detroit. It was reported by the local Council that between 100 and 200 letters were sent to the Ford Motor Company by Negroes stating that they were not interested in buying Fords unless there was a change in employment policies in the local plant.

In January or February the employment manager called upon one of the members and asked for an interview. Representatives from the Company and Council met to discuss the question of alleged discrimination. Company representatives pointed out that there was no discrimination. He stated that two Negroes were working at the plant. He stated that one of the Negro janitors had put in a bid for a better job but had withdrawn his bid. After this meeting the local Council sent a letter to Henry Ford, III to correct the situation at the local plant in the Tri-Cities area. The appeal was made on the ideals of justice, equality and democratic and Christian principles. They received no reply to their letter and then sent a telegram. They received an answer that there was no discrimination. Shortly, one Negro was upgraded from his job as janitor. In October of 1961, a representative of the Ford Plant in Sheffield discussed the Company policies with the State Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. He informed the Director that since the spring of 1961 four more Negroes have been hired and that some semi-skilled jobs have been opened for Negroes to bid. During the interview he stated that much of the work of the local Plant was of highly skilled labor and pointed out that it was impossible to compare the employment policies of Ford with other plants. The Director asked him if he had any comments about the work of the local Council. The Company spokesman said, "Local Council operates effectively and has achieved good results by negotiation. We have had them out here several times." He suggested that the local Council should make a more concerted effort using the same methods of negotiation.

The local Council deserves recognition for assisting the Company in making some adjustments in their hiring policies. It is understood that the change that was made is to the credit of Ford Motor Company and the employees of the local Plant. The Company representative praised the co-operation of the local Union and stated that they deserved credit in this change. It is interested to note that the colored employees eat with the white employees in the plant cafeteria. There were a few complaints noticed the first day that the Negroes ate in the cafeteria but there were no complaints after this.

Ala

NJ

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

~~J~~ PR

November 7, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Last week I finally went to the Tri-Cities area and spent four days talking with members of the local Council, newspapermen, Negro and white ministers and leaders of the Negro community who are not affiliated with the Council. There is an air of confidence that the local people can adjust quietly to steps that are met in desegregation. Many commented that they believed public schools could be integrated with very little local opposition. The problem of integrating Florence State College or the public schools in Florence and Sheffield would come from State Capitol.

The enclosed report clearly points out the manner in which the local Council operated with some effectiveness in the field of employment. The morning paper, "Birmingham Post-Herald", carries the front page story that an agent of the Civil Rights Division of the U. S. Justice Department was in Birmingham to inquire about the arrest of a Birmingham bus station manager and the waitress for allowing Negroes to eat there. Bull Connor says that if anyone conducting the probe "violates any of our laws we'll put him in Southside jail. Instead of Probing Bull Connor, they'd better be proving the Communists in this country who seem to have more rights than we in the South." He continues to make his statements that even though segregation will be declared unconstitutional he will enforce them as long as the laws are on the books. Two weeks ago I would guess that Birmingham might have one chance out of ten of making a compromise on the ruling that segregation laws affecting the local parks was unconstitutional. For several days the newspapers was editorializing that the parks should be kept open. Now there are no editorials about it and all of the statements made in the past seem to be in favor of closing the parks.

Give my regards to the staff.

Sincerely,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson(Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

cc: Paul Rilling.

*Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.*

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

CONFIDENTIAL REPORT

A Local Human Relations Council Moves Forward In Reducing Discrimination In Employment.

There is a very active Human Relations Council in the Tri-Cities area of Florence, Sheffield and Tuscumbia in northern Alabama. This group is affiliated with the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

In 1960 the local Council prepared for a program dealing with employment practices in local companies. Several individuals were requested to study separate plans. They were to talk with employees at the companies they were studying to determine the policies and practice on employment. At one of the regular monthly meetings the individuals reported on several companies in the area. There was a special interest in determining if there was apparent discrimination in their employment policies. The group decided to give particular attention to the Ford Motor Company Plant in Sheffield which manufactures dye castings and other parts for Ford Motor Company. Ford was selected for special consideration because Ford Motor Company policies was so good and there was a wide gap between stated company policy and the practices at the local plant.

It was determined that out of 600 employees only two Negroes were employed and they were working as janitors. In October of 1960 two of the representatives from the group made an appointment with the plant manager and the employment manager of the local plant. The company representative said in fact that there was no discrimination and that there were very few Negro applicants. The representatives from the local Council pointed out to the plant representatives that the Negroes were unhappy about the employment policies at the local plant. About this same time a local Negro businessman wrote a letter to the Ford Motor Company in Detroit stating that he used Ford Motor vehicles in his business but that he could no longer use Fords in view of the policy of the local plant. Shortly after this, a representative from the local Ford Plant called him while he was on vacation in Florida and suggested that he visit the local Ford Plant as soon as he returned from vacation. In view of the fact that his letter received immediate attention the local Council decided to encourage other Negroes to express their concern about the apparent discrimination.

Members of the local Human Relations Council visited many Negro churches to accomplish three goals. (1) They wanted information of people who might be prospective applicants for employment at the Ford Motor Company. (2) They wanted to get Negroes to actually apply for work, and, (3) To encourage Negroes to write letters to the Ford Motor Company in Detroit. It was reported by the local Council that between 100 and 200 letters were sent to the Ford Motor Company by Negroes stating that they were not interested in buying Fords unless there was a change in employment policies in the local plant.

In January or February the employment manager called upon one of the members and asked for an interview. Representatives from the Company and Council met to discuss the question of alleged discrimination. Company representatives pointed out that there was no discrimination. He stated that two Negroes were working at the plant. He stated that one of the Negro janitors had put in a bid for a better job but had withdrawn his bid. After this meeting the local Council sent a letter to Henry Ford, III to correct the situation at the local plant in the Tri-Cities area. The appeal was made on the ideals of justice, equality and democratic and Christian principles. They received no reply to their letter and then sent a telegram. They received an answer that there was no discrimination. Shortly, one Negro was upgraded from his job as janitor. In October of 1961, a representative of the Ford Plant in Sheffield discussed the Company policies with the State Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. He informed the Director that since the spring of 1961 four more Negroes have been hired and that some semi-skilled jobs have been opened for Negroes to bid. During the interview he stated that much of the work of the local Plant was of highly skilled labor and pointed out that it was impossible to compare the employment policies of Ford with other plants. The Director asked him if he had any comments about the work of the local Council. The Company spokesman said, "Local Council operates effectively and has achieved good results by negotiation. We have had them out here several times." He suggested that the local Council should make a more concerted effort using the same methods of negotiation.

The local Council deserves recognition for assisting the Company in making some adjustments in their hiring policies. It is understood that the change that was made is to the credit of Ford Motor Company and the employees of the local Plant. The Company representative praised the co-operation of the local Union and stated that they deserved credit in this change. It is interested to note that the colored employees eat with the white employees in the plant cafeteria. There were a few complaints noticed the first day that the Negroes ate in the cafeteria but there were no complaints after this.

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

# WESTERN UNION
## TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

SF 1201 (9-60)

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

1120A EST NOV 8 61 AH130

A A WA028 RX GOVT PD

WUX THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC 8 1103A EST

JAMES M DABBS, PRESIDENT SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 FORSYTH ST NORTHWEST ATLA

PLEASE CONVEY MY GREETINGS TO THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL. IN WORKING TO MAKE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY A REALITY IN ALL PARTS OF OUR NATIONAL LIFE, THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL IS ADVANCING THE CAUSE OF ALL AMERICANS. IN PROMOTING GOODWILL AND BETTER UNDERSTANDING AMONG PEOPLE OF ALL RACES, COLORS AND CREEDS, THE COUNCIL IS SERVING NOT ONLY THE SOUTH BUT THE WHOLE COUNTRY. IN SUPPORTING EFFORTS TO SECURE THE FULL CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF ALL OUR PEOPLE, INCLUDING ABOVE ALL THE PRIMARY RIGHT TO VOTE, YOU ARE HELPING TO FULFILL THE PROMISE OF AMERICA.

CORDIALLY

JOHN F KENNEDY

ala
NJ

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

November 8, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I dictated a letter to Mr. William Gausmann in answer to a letter to Mr. Dunbar. On second thought I felt that perhaps you or Les would prefer to draft a letter to him. My letter is enclosed if it will be easier for you to forward it. You may want to give more information about inter-racial meetings in Alabama.

I will inquire about this inter-racial youth group and will forward any information that I am able to discover about it.

After writing you yesterday I talked with the pastor. He suggested that I talk to the chairman of the Board of Deacons. He reported that 15 out of 15 members of the Board would oppose any move to separate me from the church. I speak of this but assure you that this is not disturbing me other than facing it as a question of what is sound strategy. At the present moment I do not know whether I will continue attending the church but recognizing the possibility of harmful repercussions on my effectiveness I would not let a vote be taken if there was a possibility that there would be anything other than a vast margin of the people voting that I not leave the church. I sincerely doubt that it will ever come to a vote.

I still deeply appreciate the fact that you acquainted me with the Alabama Council. I would not pretend that there are not times when I feel a little tense but I am not in any way discouraged and I feel that this is the best job that I have ever had.

Sincerely,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

Encl:

P.S. Thanks for sending me a copy of the letter Joseph Lowery wrote you. I was able to meet all three of the men that he mentioned.

Ala
NJ

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

November 9, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Seems like I am getting in the habit of writing you nearly every day.

I dropped in to see Dr. John Buchanan who is referred to as the "great white father" among Baptist ministers and who describes himself as having as much influence on Bull Conor as anyone in town with one or two exceptions. He had just received in the mail a statement being circularized by Mr. James Head. It is hoped that some 200 businessmen will sign this very mild statement in effect that they will uphold the city fathers in preserving law and order. On my previous visits to Dr. Buchanan he told me that Mr. Hansen of the Birmingham News had a secret meeting in his home of business leaders. Mr. Buchanan had just finished talking on the phone with a man who was at the meeting and Bull Connor had called the man on the phone about the meeting. This man has an amazing spy system and knows everything that is going on that concerns him within a few minutes. Several at that meeting in the private home were interested in going as a group to Bull Connor to demand that he prevent any disorder.

Per Laursen who visited with Paul Anthony in Atlanta, Bob Zellner of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Council and I just went to the Greyhound Bus Station for lunch. I talked with the manager and assured him that he had a lot of moral support. He said that he had just been arrested for the fourth time yesterday by Bull Connor. He says the police are all very nice to him and he just goes over and signs an appearance bond. He seemed to take it all without being upset. He said he was simply "between a rock and a hard place".

I am running out of copies of the mimeographed list of officers and Board of Directors of Southern Regional Council. Also I would like five or ten copies of "Southern Regional Council, Its Aims and Purposes" which is L-Report No. 1, April 27, 1959. Would it be possible to send me 25 or 30 copies of the reprint of the Saturday Evening Post "Are Southern Ministers Failing The South"? I have wondered if this would be good to send to large number of ministers with some basis of selectivity. Also please send me 25 or 30 copies of "This, I Believe" or whatever the title is of the article by the minister who starts out that he is a Southern with the ethical demands of Christianity.

Forwarded except for board lists 11/10/61 MM

Sincerely,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

COPY

November 27, 1961

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Bldg.
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Norman:

I appreciated your letter of November 14 and its accompanying reports, all of which I read with very great interest.

I have not met Mr. Mervyn Sterne, but he is a man of wide interests and, I believe, very much a key figure in Alabama. I talked with Mr. Milton Cummings and found him quite liberal in his views. I think it would do no harm and could be immensely helpful if you could discreetly arrange an interview with him. I know nothing of Von Braun's attitude, but I have great confidence in anything Neil Davis says. Neil is a splendid man.

I have not seen much of Alabama since last June, except for calls in the northern strip on my way to Mississippi and in the Montgomery latitude on my return. I would love to sit down and talk with you about the situation there, and will do so when I get a chance. I can't give you much useful enlightenment short of that, confidential or otherwise.

I may not have told you that I saw three of the men being mentioned for governor as of last June: George Hawkins, Ryan de Graffenreid and Jim Folsom. These three impressed me as very well-meaning on the race issue. The

more serious candidate, Folsom, is, of course, a colorful and somewhat unpredictable individual, but it is my impression that he would behave constructively on this issue in the event of his election.

I would like to receive the statement signed by 189 opposing violence, if you have a spare copy.

I have been out of commission through illness since October 19, but will get back into harness next week. I also have some other places to visit, particularly in South Carolina, but I shall surely be traveling your way sometime during the winter.

I am sorry to hear of the difficulty with your church. It is disheartening, and it seems fantastic from this distance for a man to be censured by a Christian church for his devotion to Christian principles. But I know it is an old story in the Deep South. I believe the Master said, if it comes to you, "Rejoice and be exceeding glad" -- but here I'm getting into your field!

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Benjamin Mays

**BENJAMIN MUSE**
**Box 312**
**Manassas, Virginia**

Dear Paul,

This letter from Jimerson may be of interest to you. Please return in due course, making a thermofax if needed for your files.

The reports mentioned probably came to you.

Best regards.

Ben Muse

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director


"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Ala
NJ

November 14, 1961

Answered 11-27-61

Mr. Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassos, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Enclosed you will find a copy of our "Newsletter" that we recently mailed out and a copy of the report that I wrote concerning the Ford Plant in Sheffield, Alabama, and a copy of the letter that I sent to the Board members.

Things have been happening rather rapidly in Birmingham. On Tuesday, October 24th Judge Grooms declared that the city ordinances maintaining segregation in the parks was unconstitutional. The Birmingham News came out with editorials saying in effect that people in Birmingham must face some hard facts. Editorials pointed out that Birmingham had already suffered economically because of racial troubles. The editorials stated that parks should remain open and printed at the same time articles quoting Bull Connor saying that he was in favor of closing all public facilities in Birmingham. You are also no doubt aware that in incompliance with a ICC ruling the Greyhound Bus Station has been serving Negroes since October 1st. The manager of the restaurant has been arrested at least four times. On Friday, November 10th, the Birmingham News in a front page editorial stated that any further arrests at the bus station would be pilloried in the national press and pleaded that all citizens who agreed with the News that there should be no further arrests contact the city commissioners and make their thoughts known. On Sunday, November 12th, there was a statement published in the Birmingham News opposing violence and carried the names of some 189 men. I will be trying to collect several copies of that statement and will try and remember to send you a copy.

My troubles are beginning gradually. On Friday, November 3rd, two men from the church called on me at the office and pointed out many reasons why I should withdraw my membership from the church. On the previous Sunday while I was out of town the Sunday School Class spent the hour discussing me and the Alabama Council but so far no one has been willing to tell me any statement that was made. On Wednesday, November 8th, the President of the Sunday School Class asked me if he could take my name off the Sunday School Roster. He stated that he believed Hitler had many good ideas and was in complete agreement with Hitler's philosophy of the pure race. The minister has refused to discuss this with me. The chairman of the Board of Deacons stated that 15 out of 15 members of the Board agreed not to ask me to withdraw my membership from the church but they would not say that they wanted me to stay in the church. It looks as if I will be leaving the church very soon; however, this will affect my work only

indirectly if at all. Conceivably there might be repercussions if I was voted out of the church.

After spending four days in Sheffield from October 30th through November 2nd I am of the opinion that schools could be desegregated in that area with out much opposition from people in the locality. I am sure you have been in touch with Mr. Louis Eckl, editor of the Florence Times.

When you are in this area I would be glad to talk with you but I appreciate the fact that you do move about very quietly. You can be sure that I will keep confidential any thing that I hear from you and would not mention to anyone that I had seen you unless I had your prior approval. I have an appointment with Mr. Mervin Sterne today before I go to Tuscaloosa this afternoon. Dr. John Buchanan who is known as "the great white father" among the Baptist ministers tells me that Mr. Sterne will be able to give me better advice than anyone else in Birmingham. Dr. Buchanan feels that he is probably the most influential man in town.

I would be happy to know of your impressions of people that you meet in Ala ama. Mr. Neil Davis of the Lee County Bulletin in Auburn has suggested that I meet Mr. Cummings in Huntsville and Mr. Werner Von Braun. Comments?

Sincerely,

Norman Jimerson

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

Dictated by Rev. Jimerson this date; signed in his absence.

Paul - please return the enclosed clipping. As of now it is our only copy.
Jim
NJ

November 28, 1961

Mr. John J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Drive
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brewbaker:

Mr. Paul Rilling of Southern Regional Council called me last Wednesday. He told me that he had been in contact with you concerning the possibility that you might make a trip to Huntsville and the Tri-Cities area of Sheffield, Florence and Tuscumbia. One of the most influential men in the white community of Florence is actually interested in preliminary moves to desegregate the schools. He is nevertheless very conservative in his thoughts about strategy. He is of the opinion that it might create anxieties within the public school officials if an outsider was to make any approach to them. To help you evaluate his concern you should also know that he advised me not to visit any people in the white community other than persons already members of the local human relations council. Every other person that I talked with suggested that I should talk with community leaders. A white minister and a white lawyer strongly recommended that on my next visit I talk with the city officials.

The people that I talked with in Sheffield and Florence feel that public schools could be desegregated with a very minimum of local opposition. As one person pointed out that the only problem would be the reaction of the state officials from Montgomery.

You have had a great deal of experience in talking with public school officials and are in a better position to decide whether this would be the proper time for you to visit in the Tri-Cities area. I shall be happy to go into more detail about the opinions that I have discovered in my conversations with people in that area. If you are in this area I would be most happy to talk with you or I would be glad to answer to the best of my ability any questions you might pose. If you do decide to visit any area in Alabama and would think it advisable, I would be glad to try to meet you for a private talk. I am of the opinion that Dr. J. Cranford Burns, superintendent of the schools in Mobile, would welcome a visit.

Sincerely,

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

cc: Paul Rilling

ala
NJ

November 28, 1961

Mr. W. W. French
3220 East Briarcliff Road
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. French:

You are to be commended for your interest in the welfare of Birmingham and your willingness to present to the public the statement, "Some Facts To Face", printed in the Birmingham News on Sunday, November 12, 1961.

Because you have expressed a desire for "intense study, understanding, tolerance and good will" in order to find ways to meet Birmingham's racial problems, I bring to your attention our organization. We are pledged to education and research so that people in each community in Alabama will have facts that may be useful to them. We believe each community must develop its own individual solutions.

We offer you our services in this respect. Our organization is able to provide channels of confidential communication to anyone who desires to use our services. Again we would stress that we believe that people who know Birmingham best are the ones who can most effectively deal with tensions caused by recent court decisions.

We believe the events that occur in the next 30 to 90 days in Birmingham may well leave an effect on the future of our city for many years to come.

I would be happy to consult with you on a confidential basis if you feel that I could be of any assistance.

Very truly yours,

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

Ala - NJ

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

December 11, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

It has dawned on me that our quarterly report was probably due as of December 1st. Most of our materials are now kept outside of the office. We will be checking them first thing in the morning and if our quarterly report is due now from our records we will be sending it to you by tomorrow afternoon.

Last Thursday I was at the Annual Meeting of the Provisional Council of Churches of Alabama at Miles College. Dr. Pitts agreed to serve on our pannel for the Annual Meeting and Rev. Welton Gregory of the Board of Christian Education of the Methodist Alabama-West Florida District agreed to serve as moderator. Dr. Gomillion and Nat Welch have also agreed to serve on the pannel. I have not heard from Walter Brown who is active in the Council of the Tri-Cities area but plans are becoming a little bit more definite about our Annual Meeting at Tuskegee Institute February 3rd. Nat Welch said he would like very much to have you attend and speak to the group as well as Mr. Leslie Dunbar. I believe you and I discussed from the beginning the pros and cons of having you as a guest speaker. You know that you are always welcome in Alabama. We are looking forward to entertaining Les Dunbar.

I spent last Friday evening with Father Foley and attended the Annual Meeting of an informal group of sociologists last Saturday at Miles College.

The City Commission of Birmingham has voted to close most of the public facilities of Birmingham. The workers removed most of the boards from the benches in the park in front of City Hall. I attended a meeting of a committee of the Young Mens Business Club last Friday at which time the committee worked out resolutions concerning the lack of wisdom of closing the parks to be presented at their dinner meeting today. Four of us rode over to the park in front of City Hall and discovered that one bench remained intact. Chuck Morgan and others were amused with the sight of two Negroes sitting on the base of a statue honoring soldiers of World War I. Birmingham News yesterday carried another front page editorial urging people to inform the City Commission of their desire to keep the parks open. The paper this morning carried the news that there is at least one group and probably others that are being hastily formed to persuade the City Commission to keep the parks open. It has been suggested to me that a white citizen who lives in Birmingham could file a suit and for the small lawyer's fee of $5,000 keep the parks open. There is still some chance that Birmingham will have some token integration rather

lose the use of its parks, playgrounds, community centers, little league fields, golf courses, municipal auditorium and Legion Field. You have heard that the Barons have decided to leave Birmingham.

Hope you will return my one and only copy of the statement issued by 189 leaders of Birmingham. I will try to send you some clips this week.

Sincerely,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Exedutive Director

NCJ:ac

ala
NJ

December 19, 1961
Dictated December 15

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Jim:

We were not able to generate much media activity about the Birmingham situation. Most of our contacts were involved in Albany. Too, it is always difficult to get reporters and particularly, photographers, concerned in a situation where nothing terribly dramatic is occurring.

Thank you for your quarterly report. The financial report is fine, but the program report doesn't quite cover what we need. This is probably due to my failure to go over it thoroughly with you. Your schedule of activities is impressive and should be a part of future reports. We need in addition, though, the following kinds of information. (1) What is the present climate and state of affairs in Alabama, and what significant developments have occurred during the quarter. We need this kind of information to keep ourselves abreast of what is going on. We refer to these summaries from your reports to give us a continuing picture of Alabama. (2) What did the Council do during the last quarter. This clearly includes your activities. It also should include activities of local Councils, decisions of board or executive committees, statements issued, workshops, etc. In other words, we need to know what is going on, what the Council is doing in its state and local manifestations, what other groups may be doing and planning, etc. If you think it would be helpful I can send you copies of several fairly good quarterly reports that have been done by some of the directors. Or you can see them when you come in next.

Sincerely,

Paul Rilling

Ala - N Jim

December 19, 1961

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

We would very much appreciate your securing some information for us about several military bases in Alabama. Concerning the Gadsden Air Force Base at Gadsden and Maxwell Air Force Base in Montgomery, Alabama, could you find answers to the following questions?

1. Do Negro families live on the base?

2. If there are schools on the base, are they segregated? By this I mean, do Negroes actually attend whether or not the schools are officially open.

3. Are there off-base schools near the base which serve exclusively or overwhelmingly military personnel? If so, are they segregated?

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Ala
N Jim

December 21, 1961

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

Will you please find out whether Herbert Oliver followed through on his projected trip to Washington, etc., and specifically whether he talked to Burke Marshall.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field
Activities

Ala -

N Jim

December 21, 1961

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

We contacted Burke Marshall of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice last week after we received your call and transmitted your concern and some of the information you reported. Mr. Marshall expressed a strong concern about developments in Birmingham and asked if we would keep him regularly posted through the next few weeks. Toward this end, would you be willing not only to continue to call in case of special developments, but also to give me regular weekly written reports on the general climate, your own evaluation of events, and so forth. This will not only be utilized here, but will be sent on to Washington.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director


"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

LD ✓
PR
ala-
NJ

December 27, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

In answer to your letter of December 21st Herb Oliver did talk with Mr. Burke Marshall on October 20, 1961. Herb told me on the phone yesterday that he would be writing you a note concerning this interview. He did say that he had delayed writing you in the hopes that he could come to Atlanta and report on this interview in person.

Your letter of December 19th which was dictated December 15th concerning the quarterly report is appreciated. It is hoped that the enclosed supplemental report will approach the kind of report that you want.

In the past few weeks the City Commissioners have greatly reduced the budget which will curtail operations in all public parks. About 140 park employees have already been laid off and reportedly all parks will be closed as of January 1st. I reported to you by phone that Mayor Hanes had said at a public meeting that integration would come at gunpoint. People who have spoken in favor of keeping the parks open are receiving threatening phone calls during the night. The Chamber of Commerce, Junior Chamber of Commerce, Young Mens Business Club, Jefferson County Board of Mental Health, Birmingham Ministerial Association, Methodist Ministers group have joined individuals in pleading with the City Commissioners to keep the parks open. In the past week there have continued to be letters to the editors concerning the parks. Some are vehemently opposed to keeping the parks open and others are in favor of keep them open. In the past few days there have seemed to be quite a low. It would appear that Birmingham is settling down to accept the fact that the parks will be closed by January 1st by the City Commission instead of waiting for the deadline to desegregate the parks by January 15th.

Last Thursday I spent several hours with the field representative from CORE. De did not reveal any details of his plans but did infer that there would be demonstrations in Birmingham soon. He spent a great deal of time probing me to see if he could trust me. He just called me this morning and will be coming in today to talk with me so evidently he does want to maintain contact with me.

I wibl keep you posted of any further developments.

As you requested I will write again in a wells or less on climate in B'ham

Sincerely,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

ref: letter of yours Dec. 21st re: Burke Marshall — over

This afternoon two men from B'ham Better Business Bureau came by. They want & didn't get names of our directors - I had given them the names of Foley, Pres; Nat Welch, V. Pres; Arthur Gray, V. Pres. & J. C. Wilson - Treas.

He said they had recently had dozens of calls about the Ala. Council "and I don't have to tell you the nature of these calls".

I'm guessing the heat will be on us this spring.

Jim

P. S. - Before the letter was sealed — Herb Oliver called - Wants my help for Workshop at Miles ~~on~~ Mar. 21, 22, 23rd.

Mentioned N's + W's met Dec. 21st to discuss Parks - One person incorrectly stated that the group agreed to postpone full desegregation for 60 (or 90) days from Jan. 15th - alleged purpose to increase support for open parks - motive perhaps to give them time to sell the parks.

CORE - representative has to move his residence - landlady has been threatened by Police. Has to move his office from N. Masonic Bldg. Fire marshall will condemn bldg if he stays.

Ala. - NJ

December 27, 1961

Mr. Nat Welch
342 Hare Avenue
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Nat:

After talking with you yesterday Dave Vann came by the office at a quarter of 5:00 and we talked for about an hour. I told him that I had called you and told you that he had earlier said that we should go ahead on one day and the next day said that we ought to wait a few days. Last night he told me that he had decided that we should not take any note of the slander. I told him of an assistant minister who has been told that he should resign from the Alabama Council . There was an implied threat that one faction of the governing board of the church would seek to have him expelled from his job if he did not resign. Another person was called in by his employer and asked if he was a Communist. The reason for the questioning was his membership in the Alabama Council and the slander directed against it. I have not had any crank phone calls. I had expected that it would only be a matter of weeks when I came in August that I would be under very heavy fire so I can say that I am rather surprised that I have not come under attack other than through the Baptist Church ahat I joined. Last night Dave told me that he felt the best thing I could do would be to "laugh it off". He now feels that with the Chamber of Commerce and other business leaders being attacked as Communists that these radicals are going to take enough rope to hang themselves. On December 8th Father Foley was in Birmingham and it was my impression that he said that we should go ahead and prepare documented study of the charges being made and seek to quietly counter these allegations. Last night he returned my call and stated that he felt the $500 would be only the beginning of the fees that would run from $2,000 to $5,000. He felt that we should get all the information we can without hiring a lawyer. He suggested that instead of a lawyer I find some other person who would be willing to testify in court to accompany me to talk with the minister and those in the church who have been most active in slandering me and the organization. Last night he took the position that we should not do anything unless we are definitely planning on carrying a libel suit into court.

Actually it is a little confusing to me to report to you that either I misunderstood Dave Vann and Father Foley in previous conversations or that they have changed their minds.

It is quite evident that neither of them feel that we should retain Charles Morgan to document and counter this slander. I had felt that if you, Dave Vann

and Father Foley felt very strongly that we should proceed immediately to retain an attorney that we could then commit the Board to an expense of $500 with a report of what had been accomplished by the Board Meeting. I am of the opinion that we should now do nothing until the Board can discuss this at their meeting on February 2nd. When I was talking with you yesterday I felt very strongly that we should retain Morgan. One of the main functions would be that he could accompany me as I talked with some of these people. Primarily my approach would have been that we are interested in any information that they can provide us with supporting their charges that the Alabama Council is a Communist front organization. My opinion is that many of these people would have backed off from their campaign of slander if they knew that we were investigating possibilities of libel.

I deeply appreciate your counsel and will keep you posted. I know I do not need to assure you that I am at all surprised by slander and if anything I am quite surprised that there has not been more. I am trying to think what is good strategy in developing a public image that the Alabama Council is an organization that can be useful to the communities in Alabama in keeping communications open and of interpreting to various factions in the community what other groups are doing and thinking. I trust you and the family are getting ready for a wonderful year ahead.

Sincerely,

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

P.S. I know that you may very likely have some questions from my conversation yesterday for it is difficult to compress the divergent view points in a few words.

Ala
NJ
L&D

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

January 4, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

The morning paper carries a story that Rev. Alfred S. Crishon, President of Non-Partison Voter League, a Mobile Negro political group died Sunday night as the result of being beaten up the previous Friday night by an unidentified Negro.

Last night, January 3rd, Rev. Robert Faga, white pastor of Grace Lutheran Mission, Negro, was beaten by about four white men as he opened the door of the church in Montgomery. Police reported that the minister was bleeding from the mouth and ear when a member of his congregation found him lying semi-conscious at the front door. This is confidential but we have received information that the latest slander sheet about SRC and the Alabama Council was written by lawyers, state legislators and other government officials in Montgomery in order to show the need for an Alabama Un-American Activities Committee. This document makes it very evident the primary motivation for such a bill was to attack the Alabama Council on Human Relations. This bill was not passed in the last legislation. If a special session of the legislation is called this spring to pass legislation on reapportionment it is most likely that a bill to establish an Alabama Un-American Activities Committee will again be made.

The enclosed reports I hope will be helpful. I am confident that they are acurate though they are impressions of individuals who are speaking without any official capacity. The report from Huntsville is from a Negro minister and the report from Montgomery is from a man stationed at the Maxwell Air Force Base who has talked with the Negro man whose family lives on base and with the people who are operating the kindergarten.

Sincerely,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

File - Ala
NJ

LKD has seen this.

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director

PA, also - gave some info. to Claude Sitton - with no source given - Sitton knew most of it.

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

January 5, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

in Ala. Dope File

Dear Paul

I have a feeling that my report indicates that I am more of an alarmist than I really am. The potentialities for trouble do exist. I am certainly not in a position to predict that there will be any outbreak of violence. It is very possible that the Negroes will take relatively little interest in the park situation on January 15th when they are officially either closed or desegregated. I have not had any indications that the Negroes plan any demonstrations at the parks.

Father Foley reports that the fatal beating of Alfred S. Crishon, President of the Non-Partison Voters League, a Mobile Negro political group, was not the result of racial tension. A second murder of similar circumstances occurred the following day but has not been reported in the Birmingham papers.

Hope you have a very good trip. If you find that you're traveling too much you might want to move to Birmingham where you could keep busy without leaving the city limits.

Sincerely,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

P.S. I still feel that the Alabama Council should retain Attorney Charles Morgan, Jr. to assist us in quietly surpressing and discouraging an apparently intensive effort to slander the Alabama Council. David Vann has now taken a position that it is better to simply laugh it off. Father Foley feels that the lawyers would quickly run up a bill for two or three thousand dollars and he sees no urgency in this situation. He did make the statement that if anything was to be done we should carry a libel suit into the courts. I think it would be far better to do nothing than to move into the courts.

SPECIAL REPORT ON BIRMINGHAM JANUARY 5, 1962

Tension in Birmingham is high.

Birmingham Post-Herald this morning has a front page story with pictures of a no tresspassing sign that had been removed from one of the community centers and placed on the lawn of Mayor Art Hanes. Another hand printed sign states "Wake-up Birmingham! You are too young to die!!"

The Grand Jury concluded yesterday three months of investigation. A total of four indictments have been returned by the Jefferson County Grand Jury. Newspaper reports of the Grand Jury's activities has indicated that almost all of their investigation was centered around the Municipal Air Port. The Grand Jury states "that Alabama laws dealing with betrayal of public trust by public officials, conflicts of interest by public officials and violations of public confidence in general are extremely weak". The Grand Jury has been investigating bribery of public officials but states that the official statute is extremely technical and conduct which plainly indicates a bribe to the average citizen is many times not bribery within the meaning of the statute.

There is a move under way to have a public statement signed by nearly a thousand leading citizens of Birmingham to be presented to the City Commissioners next Tuesday and to be published in the Birmingham News in a full page ad at the end of next week. There have been many meetings of small groups of white citizens attempting to find some solution to the problem of the closing of the parks.

At this point we would review the events of the past few weeks. On October 24th Federal Judge H. H. Grooms ruled that section 859 of City Code was unconstitutional and ordered desegregation of the recreational system. City Commission said after January 1st the parks will be closed and "no tresspassing" signs will be put up. The Birmingham News and the Birmingham Post-Herald have taken a strong position that the parks must be kept opened if Birmingham is to make any progress. The City Commissioners have slashed the budget of the Birmingham Park and Recreation Board which is under the supervision of the Mayor. Indications are that money not spent on the parks will be used by Commissioner Wagoner to improve the storm drainage in certain sections of the city. He has been hurt politically by the fact that some areas have this problem. Commissioner Eugene Connor is also increasing his budget for public safety. On December 28th the Park Board did vote to close all parks. By this time the City Commissioners had already posted no tresspassing signs on park buildings including community centers. Mayor Art Hanes made a motion that the parks be posted with no tresspassing signs. In two attempts he failed to get a second. He angrily shouted that they were all a bunch of integrationists. Mrs. J. H. Berry said she resented being called an integrationist. Mayor Art Hanes stormed out of the meeting in a very angry mood. One person who has talked with the Mayor on several occasions has said in the past few days that Mayor Art Hanes is "a nervous wreck". Reports have been made that for many weeks he has had great difficulty in sleeping and indications are that he may be at the point of nervous collapse. It seems to be apparent that he is completely under the domination of the other two commissioners. It is also to be recalled that at a public meeting early in December Mayor Art Hanes made the statement that integration will come at gunpoint. He has repeatedly charged that the Communists and integrationists are trying to run Birmingham.

At the same time that business leaders are frantically searching for some constructive approach to keep the parks open it is apparent that most of them are

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

working in spite of feelings of great frustration and the general inability to find any way to keep the parks open.

One man who has been extremely active in these groups states that there is some thought that the issue of desegregation of public schools will openly confront the City within a few months and this is going to be an issue before next September.

Negro leaders on December 18th presented a public statement to the commissioners and the press that they would meet with white people to work out a constructive approach to work out the park situation. City Commissioners bluntly stated that they would meet with Negroes only to discuss complete degregation. During the week of January 1st business leaders did meet with Negroes leaders in an unpublicized session. There has been wide spread discontent in the Negro community stating that they were being sold down the river by their leaders simply because they offered to meet with white people. Many of the Negro leaders had received crank phone calls condemning them for their statement.

At the Emancipation Day Celebration, January 1st, at the 16th Street Batist Church in Birmingham, one Negro leader who had signed the statement said that Negroes must not back up one inch. He strongly criticized business men. The Director of the Alabama Council interpreted his remarks to be condeming white business leaders. The Negro leader interpreted his remarks to be condeming the Negro business leaders who had made the statement with him. The atmosphere at the meeting was militant and agressive but there were no real inflammatory statements made. At that meeting on January 1st all leaders of civic, school, and church groups were urged to attend the mass meeting to be held tonight, January 5th. It has been learned that this is a meeting called by Mr. A. G. Gaston so that the Negro leaders who meet with white leaders could report on that meeting and find out what the Negro community wanted them to do in the future. Emory Jackson, Editor of the Birmingham World, gives the impression that many Negroes are going to the meeting to find out whether they can trust any of the Negro leaders who are speaking up for open parks. There is apparently a great deal of resentment against many of the prominent business leaders "who have been unwilling to go to jail and who have never shown any interest in improving the lot of the Negro".

Reports have come from Miles College for the past several weeks that the students are becoming extremely anxious to take direct action in Birmingham in the form of sit-in demonstrations or boycotts of stores. Field Secretary for CORE has been in Birmingham for several weeks and is very possible that any time now there will be an overt demonstration in Birmingham. On January 3rd and 4th the field secretary for CORE has organized and carried out sit-in demonstrations in Huntsville. Field Secretary of CORE has reported that as of last week he had finally rented an office in the Negro Masonic Building and within a few days he was told verbally that he must move his office out of the building because a representative of the City had told the landlord that the building would be declared unsafe if CORE had an office in the building. It is believed that this was the fire marshall that had talked to the landlord. Last week Field Secretary for CORE was trying to find a place to rent a room in Birmingham. His landlady had been told by her employer that she would be fired if she continued to rent a room to him.

A report yesterday indicates that there is a mounting unrest in the Negro

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

community. Statements have been heard in the Negro community that if there is any trouble "we will get a few Klansman next time". Mr. Benjamin Muse pointed out yesterday that it is quite important to know if there is wide-spread purchases of guns in the Negro community because only a few could touch off a large scale riot.

A few weeks ago a person who has been compiling a list of names, addresses and phone numbers of people who are speaking up for open parks stated that those people had better watch out. She reported that recently the Klan members have taken their robes out of the closet and are carrying them with them in their cars at all times ready for action on a moments notice.

It is extremely difficult to document a vague but persistent feeling that large schal riots could easily break out at anytime. Mr. Benjamin Muse states that the impressions of the Alabama Council on Human Relations are shared at least to a degree by Dr. Lucius Pitts of Miles College, Dr. Henry King Stanford, President of Birmingham Southern College and Attorney Charles Morgan, Jr.

THIS REPORT SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN TO MEAN THAT RIOTS WILL TAKE PLACE. It is significant to note that many white people who have been silent are now speaking out.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations is now regarded by some of the white leaders as an organization that may be helpful in reducing race tensions. There is a possibility that the image of the Alabama Council is slightly improving over the past when it has been held in contempt as a group of crackpots and radicals by moderates in power structure. It was learned on January 3rd that a mimeographed document of 20 to 30 pages attacking Souther Regional Council and the Alabama Council was written by attornies in Birmingham, members of the State Legislature and the St ate Attorney General in order to support a bill in the state legislature last fall to establish an Alabama Un-American Activities Committee. This bill never came to a vote in the excitement of reapportionment.

It will be important to find out what happens at the Negro meeting tonight at the Methodist AME Zion Church of Negro community leaders. It will also be important to see what develops with the statement to be made by the white business leaders as they approach the City Commissioners on Tuesday, January 9th.

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# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director


"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

alw NJ LDV JM PQ

January 15, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

On Monday, January 8th, I went to the Tri-Cities area to attend their monthly meeting. The major subject of discussion was the fact that the TV show sponsored by the Golden Flake Potatochip Company was cancelled. I believe I had written earlier that a Negro mother had called up early in October to see if her child could be on the early morning children's program. She was told on the phone that her Negro child would be admitted. When the daughter arrived at the station she was told she could not be in the program. The Negro community was greatly upset and some of the groups were discussing campaigns to reduce sale of Golden Flake Potato Chips. Representatives from the local council had talked with the TV Station and the advertising firm representing the sponsors. Each group put all of the blame on the other group. Things rocked along for awhile and now this show has been cancelled and there is serious discussion in the Negro community of a "campaign to educate Negroes and whites not to buy Golden Flake Potato Chips". The local council would like to see the Alabama Council spread the word around the state that the Golden Flake people have failed to take positive constructive action. You will also know that shortly after this incident on October 31st white and Negro children appeared together on the local TV Halloween program without any complaints being made by the white community.

I got a bus out of Cullman on Tuesday since the bus was about two hours late because of snow. I had plenty of time to go to the bus station restaurant. The door from the waiting room to the restaurant was completely covered by a four foot by ten foot plyboard. I had to take an outside door from the waiting room to go a few feet outdoors and then enter the restaurant from the parking area. As I sat drinking a cup of coffee I saw a crudely printed sign over the door to the restaurant which said "To keep from serving Negroes we had to close this door". As I got out my notebook and started writing a rather elderly waitress said to me, "Are you writing down my sign?". I responded, "Yes, I think it is a very interesting sign." A few minutes later she said, "You're a reporter - that sign's not for publicity." She added something about it being just for the information of the local people. A few minutes later she said, "That sign's not for national publicity. If you cause me any trouble I'll shoot you." She was smiling as she said this but I felt like saying, "Your smiling does not cover up the fact that you would like to express your hostility over on me if I disagreed with you and your sign."

Mr. Paul Rilling
Atlanta 3, Georgia - 2
January 15, 1962

I skipped the meeting in Tuscaloosa Tuesday night because of snow but did go to Mobile Wednesday. I was greatly disturbed to find that the monthly meeting of the Mobile Council on Human Relations met as a joint meeting with Jesuit seminar and other Spring Hill College students without a single member of the council being present except Father Foley and myself. I got this feeling that a great deal of work is going to have to be done to build up the Mobile Council. It was very definite that the weather was a deterient to the attendance.

I finally met John McConnell on Thursday and had a long talk with him. I also had a long talk with him Saturday noon. He said he would consider the possibility of taking an active part in the local council. I am certain that he will give some time to advise any who seek his advice on improving the Mobile Council. He referred me to several top echelon people. The only one I was able to meet was Mr. Austill Pharr, president of First National Bank and Deacon of the First Baptist Church. I had a long talk with Mayor George McNally who appears to be moderately interested in maintaining contact with the Negro leaders. About 35 ministers attended the inter-faith clergy fellowship meeting. McNally on Thursday, January 11th, had told this group he was interested in appointing a bi-racial committee if he could get the approval of the other two commissioners. I spent about twenty minutes in Trimmier's office. He was bitter about the Negro bloc vote and complained that after he had gone to the Negroes and told them about their excessive record they still voted a bloc vote against him. He apparently did not consider that his rabid racist campaign in the run-off should have encouraged the block vote.

At the Mobile bus terminal building last night Rev. John W. B. Thompson (white), pastor of the Church of the Good Shepherd (Negro Episcopal) showed me a sign on the outside of the cafe which read "Privately owned restaurant - operated under the laws of the State of Alabama - ICC and other laws do not apply".

Thank you very much for the memorandum on the "Anonymous Attack on SRC". Tell Marge that I appreciate her cover letter of January 9th and all of her good work.

Enclosed is a copy of the public statement made last week by citizens of Birmingham. Because of the weather the secretary was not in the office until Thursday and on Thursday afternoon she was only able to get two copies of the News. Ben Muse had asked me to get five copies for him. If it is not too much trouble to run off five copies for him I would appreciate it. I will be trying to get some copies for friends who might still have the paper around.

MM
Chas has it

Being copied
MM - 1/24/62

saw Tom Cochrane - who is running for State legislature

Sincerely,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

Encl:

*Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.*

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director

Alex
NJ

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

January 16, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am planning to be at the Staff Meeting of State Councils on Thursday and Friday, February 15th and 16th.

Possibilities For Agenda

1. Successful Approaches to increase membership

2. How to capitalize on latest developments

3. Goals of State Offices

Sincerely,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

Ala
NJ

January 22, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

Thank you for your letter of January 15. I was interested to hear about your visit to Mobile. If McNally is really interested in appointing a biracial committee, it should be an accomplished fact. He would already have a majority with Joe Langon's vote. You are probably familiar with the fact that several years ago Langon appointed such a mayor's committee. It lapsed when Langon rotated out of office because he could get the support of neither of his two colleagues.

We will run off the copies of the Birmingham statement for Ben Muse.

If I can be of any help over there, let me know and I'll come. I think we should get together fairly soon at any rate.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Atlanta
NJ

February 5, 1962

Mr. James Moss
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear James:

Rev. C. C. Brown, a Negro pastor in Selma, reported that signs, "colored and white", were up two weeks ago. However, he reports that all signs are down now and there is no interference. Rev. George Hrbek, white minister in Selma, reported that he knew of no signs up in Selma and that he had checked on several towns. He had difficulty in getting information on other towns but the ones he did get information on had no signs up.

I am looking forward to seeing you at the Staff Meeting February 15th. With best regards, I am.

Sincerely yours,

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

cc: Paul Rilling

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director


"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Ala
NJ

February 5, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

We had our Annual Meeting Saturday, February 3rd. Mr. Dunbar did a real good job for us. He gave an analysis of the picture of the South today and an interpretation of past events. I was sorry that I did not have more time to spend with him. I briefly said hello to him and that was about the sum of our contact. I hope that he did get a chance to talk with some of our officers and board members. I am looking forward to being at SRC on February 15th. I will be writing Mr. Dunbar but you can tell him that we did appreciate very much the fact that he could visit with us and that I feel that he did a very fine job for us.

The Board discussed slander and after considerable discussion decided to hire Charles Morgan, Jr. as an attorney to discover all that he could about slander that is going on about the Council.

I wanted to get a letter to you in the mail today because two or three people have reported that Southern Regional Council was slandered on Radio Station WSFM of Birmingham in an editorial report from the owner of the station. It did state on the air that there were two communists in SRC. He suggested that the people stay tuned to the station and he would have further editorials for them. Morgan and a host of others made plans and spent considerable energy trying to get two FM receivers with tape recorders so they could record his editorials. Rev. Hobart said he called him and wanted to know where he got his information. He did not indicate he was upset about the editorials but tried to pump him for information. Rev. Hobart said others told him they were going to call the Station about the reports. He did not make any more comments yesterday afternoon as he had promised to do. I just talked with Morgan and he states that the owner has approached him to set up a $400 a month contact with an individual for the use of classical music that he broadcasts on his FM station. Morgan said he would either have the fellow make a retraction or he would lose a good contact. I asked him if he told the station but got no real answer to this.

Dr. Lucius Pitts told me briefly over the phone Friday that they had an excellent meeting with the small group of students and a small group of business men and that they have immediately scheduled another meeting to be held this week.

Mr. Paul Rilling
Atlanta 3, Georgia - 2
February 5, 1962

I just received the booklet, "The Unequal Badge", and a copy of the "Albany" report. I am curious to know if you were able to find a copy of "Religious Bodies And The Supreme Court Decision" which was a "Special Report" and send to Bishop Edgar A. Love, The Methodist Church, 828 North Carrollton Avenue, Baltimore 17, Maryland?

Sincerely,

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

Ala NJ

February 6, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim;

Les brought back an enthusiastic report on your annual meeting. I'm glad that your first meeting was a good one and that he was able to participate.

We did send a copy of "Religious Bodies and the Supreme Court Decisions" to Bishop Love. We have no more copies.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field
Activities

PR:mm

Ala NJ

February 9, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

Please send us a copy of the tape so that we can check it for possible liable action.

I cannot conveniently come to Birmingham until Monday, February 19, or Saturday, February 17. If you consider time extremely important, I could make it Wednesday, the 14th.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of
Field Activities

PR:mm

Ala NJ

February 22, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker, our public school consultant, indicates that he will be visiting school superintendents in Birmingham and Mobile in April. We would appreciate it if you could send me any background information relating to the school situation in these cities which would help Brewbaker in his conferences.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Ala

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1224 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director

March 5, 1962

Mr. James Moss
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Moss:

Two reports from Mobile and one report from Florence, Alabama, on TV blackouts are enclosed.

I cannot interpret discrepancies between the two reports from Mobile. It will be another week before I go to Mobile at which time I will check on this.

I'm sorry I didn't have this report to you by March 1st.

Sincerely,

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

Encls:

Florence, Ala - WOWL
764-7771

1. NBC-TV "White Paper No. 2 - Sit-Ins" December 20, 1960, concerning Nashville Sit-Ins.

Name of Station WOWL-TV, Florence, Ala.

Channel No. 15

Yes ✓ No

2. NBC-TV "Atlanta - 1961", September 1, 1961.

Name of Station WOWL-TV, Florence, Ala

Channel No. 15

Yes No ✓

3. ABC-TV "Walk In My Shoes", September 19, 1961

Name of Station WOWL-TV Florence, Ala.

Channel No. 15

Yes No ✓

1. NBC-TV "White Paper No. 2 - Sit-Ins" December 20, 1960, concerning Nashville Sit-Ins.

Name of Station WALA-TV

Channel No. 10

Yes ✓ No _____

2. NBC-TV "Atlanta - 1961", September 1, 1961.

Name of Station WALA-TV

Channel No. 10

Yes ✓ No _____

3. ABC-TV "Walk In My Shoes", September 19, 1961

Name of Station WEAR-TV

Channel No. 3

Yes ✓ No _____

Mabuto

1. NBC-TV "White Paper No. 2 - Sit-Ins" December 20, 1960, concerning Nashville Sit-Ins.

Name of Station WALA TV, MOBILE ALA

Channel No. 10

Yes _____ No ✓

2. NBC-TV "Atlanta - 1961", September 1, 1961.

Name of Station WALA TV MOBILE ALABAMA

Channel No. _____

Yes _____ No ✓

3. ABC-TV "Walk In My Shoes", September 19, 1961

Name of Station WALA-TV, Mobile, Ala ~~WMBM-TV, Jacksonville, Fla.~~

Channel No. 10

Yes ✓ No _____

Z A S Doley 81

B'ham

NBC White Paper
TV Ala

Neither WAPI
shown

R ? Right ed. letter

Program mgr did
not know of an in Ala
H did -
some 25 did not

---

ABC Walk in Mi Shos

Blacked o in B'ham
WBRC - TV.

Did show it 2 2 or 3
privat groups

Blv it was blacked o
in Sheffield, Mobile, +

Ala
NJ-

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1224 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director

March 9, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Rev. Jimerson asked me to write you concerning our quarterly grant from SRC. He was wondering if it would be possible for SRC to mail our check in time for us to receive it by Thursday, which is the date we write our checks for expenses. As of this date, we do not have enough funds in the checking account to cover expenses. Rev. Wilson, our Treasurer, does not want to draw any money from our emergency fund at the present time if at all possible, and with the cash on hand in the checking account and the grant from SRC, if received by Thursday, will keep us from going into the emergency fund. We mailed our quarterly report to SRC yesterday.

Sincerely,

Annette

(Mrs.) Annette Cox
Secretary to Rev. Jimerson

Ala - NJ

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1224 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director

March 13, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am on my way to Mobile. I received in the mail this morning a letter from Burke Marshall setting an appointment for Tuesday, March 27th and a letter from Burl Bernhard setting an appointment for Monday, March 26th. I probably will be hearing from Harold Fleming this week. I will be returning to Birmingham from Mobile on Friday.

Our finances are a little low. I was slow in getting in our report. I do hope that SRC will be able to send in our quarterly check soon.

Sincerely,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

Dictated by Rev. Jimerson March 12th; signed in his absence.

Paul, we received our check from SRC this morning and appreciate it very much. Rev. Jimerson also received a letter from Harold Fleming today.

Annette

Ala
NJ

March 14, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1204, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim,

We think the letter is excellent. Keep us informed on developments. If he is easily available by phone, it might be wise for you to consult before sending it with Ben Muse, who, as you know, has done some contact work in Birmingham and might have a useful insight or two.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Ala. NJ

March 20, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

Would appreciate your thinking on this. You will know who Mr. Williams is. I don't. I believe you have talked in terms of doing some school study under the auspices of the Alabama Council. What do you think of the possibilities?

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm
Enclosure

Ala - NJ

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

March 22, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

The idea in the enclosed letter sounds terrific. I wanted to talk to Dr. Pitts about it before I wrote you but I forgot to mention it to him last night. I will be glad to proceed on any suggestions you have. I think this would be very important. I am particularly interested because it concerns Birmingham and I feel that there ought to be a concentration of effort in Birmingham.

A Selective Buying Campaign is getting under way in Birmingham. It is catching on better than some had hoped. There is still a 50-50 chance that there will be pickets in downtown Birmingham which most likely will procude violence.

There is a real hush hush meeting tonight of less than a dozen ladies to discuss a project to keep the schools open with the lady from Atlanta that spearheaded the movement in HOPE. I can't remember how you spell her name.

Bob is in the office and is getting a little insight into the Magic City. I am going to be leaving for Washington Sunday and will be back next Saturday, March 31st. Keep up the good work.

Cordially,

Jem
ac

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

Ala
NJ

March 26, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

My suggestion on the school survey would be that the Alabama Council commission some white person to conduct it. Check out the idea with Pitts, who was behind the study "Georgia's Divided Education" here. We might be able to assist if you carry through with this.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

CONFIDENTIAL

From Norman Jimerson

(Copies have gone to Mrs. Marshall, Sitton)

PA ✓
JM ✓
Return to PR
Ala
NJ

BIRMINGHAM, APRIL 5, 1962

A Selective Buying Campaign is entering its third week in Birmingham. Students from Miles College have been interested in talking direct action since October and finally have evolved a carefully worked out program of encouraging Negroes to patronize the stores that do not discriminate against Negroes. During the last two Sundays in March the students of Miles have distributed on each Sunday 1500 copies of a mimeographed statement encouraging Negroes to spend their money wisely. During the last week of March the newspaper carried a statement from an unidentified store owner in downtown Birmingham that the Selective Buying Campaign was definitely hurting business. A Negro spokesman estimates that this campaign is 80 to 85% effective. Incidents have been reported of Negroes making purchases in stores only to be met on the sidewalk by a group of Negroes who insisted that they return their purchases and ask for a refund. Incidents have been reported in the past few days that one Negro lady purchased a $15 dollar hat and this was destroyed on the sidewalk by a group of Negroes. It is reported that a policeman standing nearby did not intervene as she hit some of them over the head with her umbrella. There are stories going around of other cases in which there have been groups of Negroes on the street interferring with the Negroes who are shopping in downtown area but at this point there is no sign of any outbreak of real violence. On Wednesday, April 4th, Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth and Rev. Phifer were with a group of Negroes. A police officer asked the group to move along and the others in the group did move but Rev. Shuttlesworth and Rev. Phifer refused to move. They were arrested for obstructing sidewalk and they are in court this morning, Thursday, April 5th. TV news story stated that Shuttlesworth told the policeman that he was observing the effects of the Selective Buyers Campaign but he was not involved in it. One store owner said that the downtown merchants had no ill will towards the Negroes in their Selective Buying Campaign although it is definitely hurting their sales volume. He is of the opinion that there could be satisfactory compromise worked out with many advances in reducing discrimination if it was not for the adamant position of City Hall.

On Sunday, April 1st, Rev. Hobart of the Unitarian Church in Mountain Brook preached a sermon in which he said it was inconceivable that people would allow prejudice to close the public schools. The Birmingham News published this story on the following day with a picture of the minister and two column headlines. A meeting was held on Tuesday evening in the Unitarian Church of 60 to 70 people interested in finding some way to keep the public schools open. The religious editor of the Birmingham News, Mr. Claude Keathley, leaked this story to the newspaper and on Wednesday there was a front page story giving several names of people involved. One of the ladies whose name was mentioned in the newspaper article was called and asked if she was a member of the Alabama Council. The publicity was not asked for and may mean that the effort may be killed. But at the same time it is possible that the publicity will be helpful to the general cause and may not hurt this group too much. There has been a couple of meetings of women interested in keeping the public schools open. These have not received any publicity and at this moment it is expected that these quiet little groups will continue to meet and not be in this group that was organized on Tuesday night. It is to be noted that this group decided that they will meet next Tuesday night and invite Attorney Charles Morgan, Jr. to speak on the legal aspects of school suits and the possibilities of legal manevours to keep schools open.

On Tuesday, April 3rd, the City Commissioners voted to cut off the city's contribution to surplus food program. Birmingham News reported on Tuesday, April 3rd, that Mayor Hanes had suggested that no action be taken until further study could be made of this program but when Commissioner Connor moved that it be cut off immediately in retaliation of the Negro's Selective Buying Campaign the three City Commissioners voted unanimously to discontinue Birmingham's Contribution to this surplus food program. Immediate offers of assistance came from people in Washington, D. C., New York City and other parts of the country.

On Wednesday, April 4th, a group of Birmingham Negroes went to court to eliminate discrimination by the County Registrars/ On Tuesday, March 27th, Mr. Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General stated that he was going to have a check made of the situation in Birmingham and would have a report on what kind of treatment the Negroes received as they went to register on the 27th and 28th. He expected this report to be completed by Thursday, March 29th. There has been no indication as to what was reported to him.

Political pot is boiling in Alabama. Negroes have been accepted as candidates for the Democratic Committee of Jefferson County, and they will be running under a white supremacy emblem with the white rooster with the words "white supremacy for the right". On April 14th there will be a hearing by a three judge federal court panel on a motion to force a state-wide legislative race in the Democratic Primary. The campaign committee of Jefferson County Democratic Committee voted on Tuesday, April 3rd, to join the federal court suit seeking to reapportion the Alabama Legislature. David Vann, chairman of the campaign committee, is quoted in the paper as saying, "We believe the obvious answer to the reapportionment problem lies in a June special session of the Alabama Legislature". He adds also this very interesting statement. "The reapportionment problem in Alabama is not really a problem of urban voters against rural voters. The Alabama Constitution fully safeguards the interest of the people in the small counties by guaranteeing each county a representative of its own. With this guarantee the small counties will always have a majority of the legislature under any constitutional reapportionment. However, the Black Belt Counties have an unfair advantage. They now dominant all counties large and small." This quote should make it obvious that it is very difficult to know what a person is saying when he speaks in Alabama, particularly in the field of politics.

On Thursday, April 5th, Birmingham Post Herald carries a front page article stating that Rep. Walter Emmet Perry spoke in Alexander City on Wednesday to the effect that there should be a special session of the Alabama Legislature to set up machinery for "close the schools vs. desegregate the schools" elections. Mr. Perry is quoted that he expects a federal court desegregation order in at least one Alabama School system before next fall. He brings a little realism into the picture when he states that Judge Wrights' decision in New Orleans is more handwriting on the wall and "any facilities, school or otherwise, which is supported in any amount by tax money is going to be ordered integrated when appropriate suit is brought". He also stated "those persons unwilling to face this hardest of choices could more usefully spend their time trying to amend the U. S. Constitution than by empty deploring" and added that he had communicated his opinion to the Governor.

Reports are coming in all the time that Negroes are being refused service in the main restaurant at the airport. One Negro reported that his party was invited to make use of a table in a back room which he refused.

The Black Muslims are in Birmingham. James Sikes was seen at meetings of Negroes and present at a meeting at Miles College some two weeks ago. Occasional word comes that the Muslims are growing group but there has been no confirmation of the extent of their posilitizing efforts. The story still persists that at least 300 Negroes belonging to veteran organizations are buying weapons and ammunition. Unfortunately only one white person attacked would be sufficient mass of retaliation with anticipated large number of Negroes being killed in their homes.

The latest word on the Negroes efforts to support those stores that eliminate discrimination is an editorial in the Birmingham Post Herald of April 5th which states that "the Negroes directed a boycott against certain downtown stores and those participated in it might find that they are being shortsighted indeed. Refusal of the City Commission to continue support of the surplus food distribution program hurts only the needy but it could be only the beginning." Further states "carried out to the ultimate could result in the building of another Berlin Wall between the races

and strident demands for tough reprisals including the loss of jobs". In this connection it is reported that Woolworths and Newberry's have already fired some of their Negro help and a white segregationist reported on April 4th that a neighborhood group was organizing efforts to visit gas stations and other businesses to demand that they fire all Negroes working for them.

Ala
NJ

April 11, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim;

I will be coming to Birmingham Wednesday, April 25, for one day, unless you think more is indicated. I will plan to catch the early plane as previously.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

ala - NJ

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

April 12, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I will be looking forward to seeing you here in Birmingham Wednesday, April 25th, and will meet you at the airport. - 8:29 Am

Sincerely,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

Carl + Anne Braden with SCEF, plus SNCC, SCLC + Shuttlesworth's group are having a workshop "How To Integrate the South" at the Gaston Bldg here, Fri night + Sat. Hope we don't have some bad news.

Ala - NJ

April 19, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

I understand that Secretary Luther Hodges will be coming to Birmingham in early May to address the Committee of 100. I assume that this is a segregated group and that the meeting will probably be held in a public hotel. You may remember that the Administration has a policy against high officials speaking to segregated meetings and that Secretary McNamara's speech to such a group here several months ago created some furor and embarrassment to the Administration. We understand that this incident resulted in a tightening of policy concerning such appearances.

It seems to us that it is wise to keep the pressure on the Administration and I would accordingly suggest that you contact the obvious Negro organizations in Birmingham in hopes that they might write letters to Secretary Hodges protesting his scheduled appearance before a segregated group in a segregated hotel, with copies to the White House. It would undoubtedly be taken quite seriously in Washington if such protests were received from several Negro leadership groups in Birmingham and perhaps subsequently from the Council on Human Relations. Let me know what develops on this as soon as possible via letter or untapped telephone.

Is Mrs. Louise Branscomb of 944 S. 19th St., Birmingham, known to you? She has asked for open schools materials through Mrs. Tilly here.

See you Wednesday.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:jl

Ala
NJ

April 23, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

Thank you for your recent quarterly report. In the future, try and give us two copies if possible.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Ala
NJ

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

May 15, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thank you very much for your letter of May 10th concerning subscriptions for The Journal pf Intergroup Relations. At this point I feel swamped as we all do most of the time. I hope to make some effort in getting subscriptions for this NAIRO publication.

Sincerely,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

Dictated by Rev. Jimerson this date; signed in his absence.

Ala-NJ

March 21, 1962

Mr. Arthur Weibel
Tennessee Coal and Iron Division U. S. Steel Corp.
Fairfield, Alabama

Dear Mr. Weibel:

Thank you for our meeting and conversation of Wednesday, March 7, 1962.

With respect to the Tennessee Coal and Iron Division of United States Steel Corporation, you will recall asking me if I had any suggestions as to the role you might play in assisting in peaceful solutions of the problems of racial tension in our City and State.

The following suggestions are submitted to you:

I. Establish and announce a Corporate Policy

a. Savoring the preservation of public school and recreational systems as essential to the economic stability of the area.

b. Supporting law and order and peaceful compliance with decisions of the courts, State or Federal.

II. An explanation and dissemination of the corporation's policies to and with the following:

a. Officers and employees of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Division, including attorneys and others collaterally associated.

b. Officers and members of the United Steel Workers of America locals in the Birmingham District.

c. Each steel fabricator and other customers of Tennessee Coal and Iron Division.

d. Each bank with which the Tennessee Coal and Iron Division does business.

e. The mass media.

f. Other major industrial and business groups doing business in Alabama, including, but not limited to, Chambers of Commerce and the Associated Industries of Alabama.

Mr. Arthur Weibel
Fairfield, Alabama - 2
March 21, 1962

I am confident such action by you, as indicated above, would have an enormously beneficial effect upon the whole situation in Birmingham.

I appreciate the courtesy which you have shown me in this connection in discussing at length the situation in Birmingham and assure you of my interest in and understanding of your situation. Please feel free to call upon me at any time that I may be of any assistance to you.

Cordially yours,

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

cc: Southern Regional Council

**Memo** from **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

PR

neither Ben nor I know anything to do with this unless we had a good contact. I think an attempt to get this to Pittsburgh would be unwise

NJ

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

May 24, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I just received your memorandum of May 21st regarding a summer conference. Since we are expecting an addition to the family in July I feel it would be most inconsiderate of me to spend a week away from home at the time that we are expecting.

I think that it would be excellent if the group could get together. I have been very much interested in it. I believe I was one of the ones most anxious to have a summer meeting. I trust that you will have an excellent trip this summer.

I still haven't heard from Dr. Pitts about the possibilities of a research project on education in Birmingham. My schedule is changed and I will probably have talked with you by phone before this letter is typed. I will be in Philadelphia until Sunday and I will be going to New York and returning by way of Washington.

We had an excellent Board Meeting last Saturday. I wish you could have been there to see us operate.

Cordially,

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

NJ

June 13, 1962

Mr. Charles Clark
President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Clark:

Thank you for an excellent job at our Workshop on Employment Opportunities at Miles College on June 8th and 9th. Your contributions contributed greatly to the success of the Workshop. We are deeply grateful to you for your willingness to come to Birmingham on a week-end. At times the racial situation in Alabama looks almost hopeless but then we are reminded that there are very competent and dedicated people like you who are laboring incessantly and making important contributions to the end that race relations will improve.

I will be sending out a summary of the Workshop to those who participated and also to selected members of our local councils. We will hope that many of those who attended the workshop will return to their communities and increase their efforts in promoting job opportunities.

Thank you very much for your help in our Workshop at Miles.

Cordially,

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

cc: John Feild

Paul Rilling

NJ

June 22, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

I am enclosing a copy of some recent publicity which is not particularly helpful. You might want to write those responsible if you take exception.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

NJ

June 25, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

Could you send us about a dozen or so of the "Let's Work Together" brochures and six or seven of the summaries of the Workshop on Equal Employment Opportunity, for our files and use in answering information requests.

Also, if you have not already done so, and if you have them available, Paul thinks it would be a good idea for you to send a copy of the Workshop summary to each of the state Councils.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director


"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

June 26, 1962

Mrs. Marge Manderson
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Manderson:

The enclosed statement shows the expenses incurred for our Workshop at Miles College on June 8th and 9th. Paul told me that Southern Regional Council would be reimbursing us for these expenses.

Under separate cover you will be receiving several summaries of the Workshop on Equal Employment Opportunity and fifteen or so of our brochures. Also will be enclosed a couple of copies of a memo that I wrote about the Alabama Council and sent North to help us raise funds.

Drop note

Cordially,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

Encls:

July 5, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Mr. Jimerson:

I'm sorry to have to bother you with this, but could you send us a copy of a letter sent to other state Councils seeking funds for the Alabama Council? Probably this is the memo sent North in a fund raising effort mentioned in your June 26 letter to me; however, this memo, workshop summaries, and brochures which you indicated were coming under separate cover have not yet reached us, probably due to a delay in the mails. At any rate, Les has received some sort of inquiry about the letter to the state councils, and wants to acquaint himself with it.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director


"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Ala - NJ

July 16, 1962

RECEIVED JUL 17 1962

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am sorry that you have not received a copy of the letter that I sent to other State Councils. We cannot find in the office the copy that we had made for you and we are enclosing two copies of it in this letter. I received a letter from Harry Jones in which he states that he was going to take my request for help to his Board Meeting in August. This surprised me greatly and I could not remember appealing to other states for anything other than their moral support. As I re-read the letter I note that I did say that they should support the Alabama Council as well as themselves. This was said in jest and I realize I must be more careful in my attempts at humor.

Please be assured that we not only will not ask Councils for any assistance but also we will try never to be in competition in soliciting any funds from individuals or organizations.

I have just finished a weeks vacation which I spent doing odd jobs around the house. We are expecting our fifth child at the end of this month and will probably not be going any place this summer.

I trust that you are having a good summer and will be able to have a good vacation.

Sincerely,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

Encl: 2

COPY

July 3, 1962

TO STATE DIRECTORS:

On June 8th and 9th Dr. Vivian Henderson of Fisk University conducted a Workshop on Equal Employment Opportunities for us at Miles College in Birmingham. After the Workshop was over he suggested that we send out a summary of the Workshop to all of those who participated in the Workshop. He gave me a summary that he had written for a similiar Workshop in Tennessee, assured me that everything in it had been covered at our Workshop so we removed the name Tennessee and inserted Alabama and sent out summaries without much effort. Paul Rilling has suggested I send these summaries to each of you. Mrs. Kay Jones of Tennessee will be interested to know that the work she is doing in her area is being "duplicated" in Alabama. We invited everyone in the Council to attend and we did have some Council members from Huntsville, 95 miles north, and from Montgomery about 95 miles south of us. There was no one from Mobile which is 240 miles south. Mr. Charles Clark of the President's Committee did an excellent job in supplementing the work that Dr. Vivian Henderson did at the Workshop.

Enclosed are a couple of copies of our new brochure. Alabama being what it is, we held up distribution of the brochure until after the Annual Conference of our President so that he would not have to leave his present church. Putting the names of the officers is a big step forward in Alabama. At a recent Board Meeting I was authorized to give the names of the Board of Directors in court if I was asked who they were. Each Board member was notified and we only had four resign from the Board.

Probably all of you are aware of the fact that on April 8th and 9th there were sit-ins in Talladega. I went to Talladega on the 11th and talked with the owners of the drugstores where there had been sit-ins, Dr. Gray, President of Talladega College, and attended a meeting of the students. Demonstrations continued and on April 26th I again w ent to Talladega. Again I talked with the owners of the drug stores, a couple of white ministers and attended a meeting of the Talladega Ministerial Association. This was one of the most fascinating meetings I have ever attended. They were gathered together to adopt a statement prepared by a committee condemning the students and all involved in any kind of demonstration. Four days before on Easter Sunday Negroes had kneel-ins at four of the local churches. The Episcopal Church seated them. In one Methodist Church police entered the church in the middle of the Easter Service and dragged out two Negroes. Each of the four policemen must have felt that he was kind of in the way of the other three. I am sure that all of you have heard some very memorable statements. One I shall not forget soon was the statement made by a Southern Baptist preacher at the Ministerial Association in defense of his motion to force Dr. MacNair, white minister, Dean of the Chapel at Talladega College, out of their group. He said, "The Klan is strong in our area. The Klan is strong in our churches and for the glory of the Kingdom of God we must be careful what we do." Emotions were at such a fevered pitch they talked for a full half hour as to whether I would be allowed to speak at the meeting or not. For once in my life I was so busy listening I didn't much care whether I spoke or not. On April 28th the State Attorney issued an injunction against the students of Talladega College and named the President, the Dean of the Chapel and others and included my name in the injunction. On June 18th I was in court

with Counsel. The state asked that the temporary injunction remain in force until October 8th when there would be a hearing as to whether the injunction would be made permanent. We have already spent $2,200 in legal fees and if we are unable to get a separate hearing we may have to pay legal fees throughout the hearings next October. A representative from the State Attorney General's office says he has three weeks of evidence to present. At $250 a day for legal fees this seems like an awful lot of evidence, especially when almost all of it will be irrelevant to the Alabama Council.

A Negro leader asked me to go see Mayor Hanes on two occasions and I have seen him on two occasions. He told me that if equalities are ever accepted in our country democracy will be completely destroyed and he feels personally that democracy is best operated when there are six or seven classes of people.

I think each one of you should not only raise your own budgets but also raise some money for the Alabama Council. Of the $11,000 we are to raise within the state we have been able to raise about $4,000 and in addition to this there are legal fees. Then I keep telling myself that Councils don't go out of business because of lack of financial support, or do they?

I wish each of you the very best. I hope each of you will be sure that we are on your mailing list. I know that each one of you are performing an extremely important work in an imaginative and helpful way.

Cordially,

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

P.S. I've surpassed Bob Hughesqin the notable field of fund raising. He once traveled north to raise money and earned his expenses. I attended the American Baptist Convention in Philadelphia and went on to New York and raised $30.00. This was slightly short of my expenses. I hope that each of you will have available "Information Kit", "The Equal Job Opportunity Program" available from the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, Washington 25, D. C. We distributed 50 of these at the Workshop which depleted our supply and have just received about a dozen more from John Feild.

7/17/62

This is the first page to one of the copies I mailed you yesterday from Mr. Jimerson.

MM

Annette Cox

Ala. Council On Human Relations

COPY

July 3, 1962

TO STATE DIRECTORS:

On June 8th and 9th Dr. Vivian Henderson of Fisk University conducted a Workshop on Equal Employment Opportunities for us at Miles College in Birmingham. After the Workshop was over he suggested that we send out a summary of the Workshop to all of those who participated in the Workshop. He gave me a summary that he had written for a similiar Workshop in Tennessee, assured me that everything in it had been covered at our Workshop so we removed the name Tennessee and inserted Alabama and sent out summaries without much effort. Paul Rilling has suggested I send these summaries to each of you. Mrs. Kay Jones of Tennessee will be interested to know that the work she is doing in her area is being "duplicated" in Alabama. We invited everyone in the Council to attend and we did have some Council members from Huntsville, 95 miles north, and from Montgomery about 95 miles south of us. There was no one from Mobile which is 240 miles south. Mr. Charles Clark of the President's Committee did an excellent job in supplementing the work that Dr. Vivian Henderson did at the Workshop.

Enclosed are a couple of copies of our new brochure. Alabama being what it is, we held up distribution of the brochure until after the Annual Conference of our President so that he would not have to leave his present church. Putting the names of the officers is a big step forward in Alabama. At a recent Board Meeting I was authorized to give the names of the Board of Directors in court if I was asked who they were. Each Board member was notified and we only had four resign from the Board.

Probably all of you are aware of the fact that on April 8th and 9th there were sit-ins in Talladega. I went to Talladega on the 11th and talked with the owners of the drugstores where there had been sit-ins, Dr. Gray, President of Talladega College, and attended a meeting of the students. Demonstrations continued and on April 26th I again w ent to Talladega. Again I talked with the owners of the drug stores, a couple of white ministers and attended a meeting of the Talladega Ministerial Association. This was one of the most fascinating meetings I have ever attended. They were gathered together to adopt a statement prepared by a committee condemning the students and all involved in any kind of demonstration. Four days before on Easter Sunday Negroes had kneel-ins at four of the local churches. The Episcopal Church seated them. In one Methodist Church police entered the church in the middle of the Easter Service and dragged out two Negroes. Each of the four policemen must have felt that he was kind of in the way of the other three. I am sure that all of you have heard some very memorable statements. One I shall not forget soon was the statement made by a Southern Baptist preacher at the Ministerial Association in defense of his motion to force Dr. MacNair, white minister, Dean of the Chapel at Talladega College, out of their group. He said, "The Klan is strong in our area. The Klan is strong in our churches and for the glory of the Kingdom of God we must be careful what we do." Emotions were at such a fevered pitch they talked for a full half hour as to whether I would be allowed to speak at the meeting or not. For once in my life I was so busy listening I didn't much care whether I spoke or not. On April 28th the State Attorney issued an injunction against the students of Talladega College and named the President, the Dean of the Chapel and others and included my name in the injunction. On June 18th I was in court

*Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.*

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director

Ala
NJ

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

August 15, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am interested in trying to get all quarterly reports due on the same date each quarter. It appears to me that the fiscal year of Southern Regional Council begins December 1st. The Alabama Council on Human Relations' fiscal year begins February 1st and the income tax year begins on January 1st. If our quarterly reports to SRC could coincide with the income tax report of January 1st we could begin our fiscal year on April 1st. If I sound confused it is only because I am. Do you have any suggestions to offer?

Nat Welch, our finance chairman, spent most of the day in the office going over our finances. He felt that we should have all memberships begin at a certain date in the year. I have felt for some time that we would be better off to change over to this system. I remember discussing this with you but there was no strong feeling on your part at that time that one system was better than another. Now that Virginia and perhaps one other state have abandoned the staggered memberships dates do you have any suggestions?

Let me paraphrase the Birmingham slogan, "It's nice to have you in the United States.

Sincerely,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

cc: Nat Welch

Ala NJ

August 15, 1962

Cond.

Mr. Noramn Jimerson
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

I can come to Birmingham Tuesday, August 28, if it would be convenient to you. (?)

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of
Field Activities

PR:mn

Ala
NJ

August 16, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

According to past custom we can give you credit for only 2/3 of unpaid pledges. Two-thirds of $1,240.00 is $826.66. We can credit you with a total raised of $5,398.02, which means that you can claim $2,398.02 in matching funds at any time. This is still a few hundred dollars short of the maximum possibility. We can only figure the pledges once, so you might do better to wait a little longer so as to increase the changes of claiming your full amount.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Ala NJ LWD ✓

Please return to MM

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

August 17, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

The Negro theatres in Birmingham are the Carver, Famous, 8th Avenue Theatre and the Carver Drive in. to LWD

I will be looking forward to seeing you on August 28th.

MM

Please send me 15 copies of the booklet, "Can We Afford To Close Our Public Schools" (traffic light on cover).

I received your letter on matching funds and will send it in when complete. According to a letter of August 14th from Marge we have until September 1st to match $2400 and until October 1st to match an additional $300.00. I hope we will have it all in two weeks.

Sincerely,

Jim -

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

Sent pop a gasket -
Rec'd some $230 since writing Jim -

Ala
NJ

August 22, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1124 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

As a new director you may not be aware of our requirement that each state Council have a professional audit of their books once each year. According to our records, the Alabama Council did file an audit with us for the year 1960, but not as yet for the year 1961. I need to have an audit in hand or indications from you that one is in progress in time for our Executive Committee meeting September 20.

If you have sent in an audit for 1961 and we have misplaced it, please let me know and I'll run it down here.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Paul - Was good to see you Sat.
Today rec'd your card from Italy - (July 26)

Aug 17.

Jim

Ala
NJ

September 17, 1962

Mrs. Marvin Burnette
1143 D Hof Circle
Redstone Arsenal
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Burnette:

The following letter is what I would like to send to Secretary of Defense. I will not include any information about your husband being told by his superiors to withdraw from the school situation unless I have his approval. I do not see how he could be involved in any difficulty if this information is reported. I do believe that if he has not already reported this that he might very well consider doing it now.

I would like to have the letter returned with an okay on it or keep the letter and send me a note at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

P.S. I would like to be informed of the date of the hearing as soon as it is set. Please be assured that we will be glad to render any assistance possible. If you feel that you would like to talk with me I could come to Huntsville.

✓ CC - Paul R.

C. for Paul Kelling

September 17, 1962

Sample letter to be approved before being sent.

The Honorable Robert S. McNamara
Secretary of Defense
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. McNamara:

The following information may be familiar to you but is sent to be sure that you do have this information:

July 10th - Newspapers announced that lunch counters in seven Huntsville stores were desegregated on Monday, July 9th.

August 16th - Huntsville Schools held pre-registration sessions. Mrs. Burnette, wife of Sgt. Marvin Burnette (Negro) took her daughter to enroll in fourth grade at Madison Pike Elementary School (white). She was given application blanks to fill out and return. White mothers were not. Madison Pike School is bounded on three sides by U. S. Government property on land given to Huntsville by U. S. Government for school site.

August 30th - Letter from school board to Mrs. Burnette stated her daughter was transferred to Carver School (Negro). Carver School is in a different school district, five miles further from Burnette's residence at Redstone Arsenal and Mrs. Burnette's daughter would have to get a bus at 7:30 a.m. for Carver School or at 8:00 a.m. for Madison Pike School.

September 4th - Mrs. Burnette took her daughter to white school to enroll daughter. School principal referred her to school superintendent who told her there would be a school board hearing on her application. This hearing is to be held within 30 days.

September 5th - (Confidential Privileged Information that at least three or four people know but probably could be traced to Sgt. Burnette.) Sgt. Burnette was called in by his superiors and told him that it would be wise for him not to try to enter his daughter in the fourth grade class in a white school because they feared his daughter would be harmed and durther added that the Army should not be involved in local politics or put in an embarrasing position.

September 6th - Dr. Richard Christian, School Superintendant of Huntsville, tells a member of the local council on human relations that the school board will not do anything to admit the child as long as the state laws set up two separate school systems.

It is reported that the "Huntsville Times" stated that the Huntsville School Board is receiving $300,000 for servicemen in the impacted area and a total of one million dollars school aid for servicemen and federal employees.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations is a bi-racial group doing research and education in the field of race relations and is attempting to open up lines of communications between the races. The enclosed brochure will give further information about our organization. Please feel free to call upon us if we can be of any assistance.

Sincerely,

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

cc: Asst. Attorney General
Burke Marshall

Mr. Gerhard A. Gessell
President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces
701 Union Trust Building
Washington 5, D.C.

Ala NJ

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. NORMAN C. JIMERSOM, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

September 27, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

This is a list that covers a little over half of the counties. Will follow up on the rest. Mr. Patten says Wiley Blanton had been sent over with this list in the April meeting.

Wednesday night a Negro from Chicago was arrested about 8:00 p.m. for jaywalking near S.C.L.C.'s meeting. Rev. A. D. King, Martin's brother, attempted to explain the man was from out of town and was arrested. Attorney Billingsley quickly got him out on $50 bond. The hearing is to be October 5th. This produced tough talk at the meeting.

Sincerely,

Jimac

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

Ala NJ

October 2, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

It has been suggested to me that the Rev. Mr. Mitchell might be interested in getting into full time human relations work. Could you feel him out on this in terms of the Florida possibility?

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

ala NJ


# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. NORMAN C. JIMERSOM, Executive Director


"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

October 3, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I received your letter this morning and I had lunch with Lou Mitchell this noon and no doubt he will be writing you this afternoon.

This efficient and rapid attention to the matter is, I know, expected.

To be a little more serious I can say that I hope Morgan is successful in the next couple of days in a final attempt to get my name off the injunction in Talladega before Monday. Wouldn't it be ironic if he was successful and I was disappointed. You can be sure that I would gladly forego the opportunities of telling people in court some of the things that they should have known long ago.

Dr. Pitts reports that the senior citizens of Birmingham are "getting with it".

On September 27 I attended the hearing of the city superintendant and school board of Huntsville at which time they met to hear Mrs. Burnette give reasons why she should make application for her daughter to attend Madison Pike School. Prior to the meeting I talked with the school superintendant, explained to him the role of the Alabama Council as an educational organization gave him a booklet by Brewbaker with whom he had talked and the booklet, "Can We Afford To Close Our Schools". I told him that Mrs. Burnette had asked me to be present as her spiritual advisor because I was a minister and because of my position she knew that I would be understanding of her problems. I told him that I was not a party to the case but that since she had requested that I be present I would like to attend the hearing if it met with his approval. He discussed this with the Board as they met to prepare for the hearing and he invited me to attend. I had the uneasy feeling that I might be erring in wavering from a very fine line of my proper role in the situation. The hearing was relatively brief. Mrs. Burnette reminded the Board that they had previously stated that those who attended a school outside of his own district would not receive any credit and then asked them why they had assigned her child outside of their school district. The school board said that they would give an answer to her petition within 20 days. Since the hearing I have had no news from Huntsville.

Mr. Paul Rilling
Atlanta 3, Georgia - 2
October 3, 1962

Returning to Lou Mitchell I would say that he would be a "natural" with the job.

Sincerely,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

Ala NS

October 9, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
1224 Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Jim:

Henry Cabirac, of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, would appreciate the names of some well motivated Catholics of either race in Birmingham. Please provide me with same by return mail.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

*Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.*

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. NORMAN C. JIMERSOM, Executive Director

ala
NJ

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

October 16, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is a copy of the letter that I received from the Department of the Army in regards to Huntsville and a copy of my reply. It is interesting to note that he says there is no evidence that the Burnettes have ever asked for assistance in regard to the enrollment of their daughter when Mrs. Burnette informs me that she has written the Secretary of the Army and others asking for help or at least informing them of what the situation is which would imply a request for help. It is also interesting to read the wording that military authorities did not advise Sergeant Burnette that assistants would not be available if such were requested but did not state that there would be assistants if such request was made. I am sure they are aware of the problem and are working at it although I would not want to say that I was confident that they were doing all that they could.

Enclosed are clippings from papers concerning the court proceedings in Talladega. According to the clippings you will read that court was recessed after four days and will resume on October 22nd. Some ways this is a little more interesting than a three-ring circus. Morgan said to me during the trial on the second day it would be interesting to be in court where lawyers acted like lawyers and a judge acted like a judge. Most of the testimony the first day by the police chief was inadmissable in court under normal circumstances. It is interesting to note that he perjured himself when he testified that he didn't even know of Attorney General MacDonald Gallion's running for governor last spring. State attorneys stated afterwards that what he had meant was that he knew that MacDonald Gallion was running about third or fourth and didn't figure that he was running to win. So far in court the police chief stated that he saw me talking to state police officers after a parade had been broken up and one of the druggists testified that I did talk with him about a bi-racial committee. He stated in his testimony that he agreed with me that this would help to reduce tensions. He further stated that he had told me that he would be willing to serve Negroes if the other druggists in town would do likewise, but that it would mean that he would have to go out of business if he was the only one to do it. He testified that I was sympathetic to his problem. Morgan says that we are doing as well as can be expected which doesn't necessarily mean that we are doing very well. Alabama justice is an amusing thing to behold.

Contributions are coming in much better now. We have received about $1,000 in contributions and memberships since October 1st in addition to the regular quarterly grant from SRC. We have now paid Morgan a total of $4900 and are paid up to date. However, court begins next Monday at $250 a day

and may continue for four weeks and we are now at the point where it is difficult to decide whether we can spare any more money for legal defense and be assured that if contributions fall off a little that we will have enough to maintain current operating expenses.

We badly need more money and should raise $5,000. Morgan is doing a good job and I don't think that we are necessarily over paying him but I would like to be able to assure him that he will be paid in the near future. I know that you will be doing all that you can to help us figure out finances.

You stated that you would write up a draft of request for money from foundations for special projects such as calling upon top status people, calling upon ministers, distributing in mass mailings materials for ministers such as the little booklet, "I Believe", and also reprints of the Saturday Evening Post's article, "Are Southern Ministers Failing The South?"

We are now in the process of preparing a special brochure to raise money which is describing the legal situation in Talladega and we may consider the possibility of putting an ad in some noted newspapers.

I hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

Encl:

SB LDV
MG

October 19, 1962

Mr. Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Marshall:

I appreciate very much your dilligent work in the broad work of Civil Rights and commend you for your excellent work in Mississippi and thank you for your continued concern about the situation in Alabama.

A copy is enclosed of a letter that I am writing to John Feild, President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. I bring this to your attention with the thought that you may have some suggestions which would increase the effectiveness of our efforts to cooperate with all who are interested in the area of employment. As I invite you to offer suggestions let me also say that I will not expect an answer unless you do have suggestions.

Wednesday noon Radio Station WAPI reported that Bull Connor admitted that he had an informer at the meeting held the night before by the Birmingham Council on Human Relations. He misquoted me and others. His purpose was to link the Council with those who are interested in changing form of city government which is to be voted on at the elections on November 6th. I had a premonition that this might be the occasion that he would use information about me and the Council that he has been so carefully preparing during the past year. He also had a Jewish informer at the Jewish meeting this week and had made some public statements about that meeting. No doubt, Attorney Charles Morgan, Jr., has already informed you about this, but he has had at least one threatening phone call since he filed two suits challenging segregation as it relates to justice in Alabama this week. He deserves credit for the efforts over and above the call of duty that he is making in behalf of many people who are finding it difficult to find someone to champion their civil rights.

State Attorney General MacDonald Gallion asked a district court in Talladega to make the temporary injunction against students, Dr. Arthur Gray and others including me permanent. Hearings began October 8th and after four days in court was recessed until next Monday, October 22nd. The state says that it considers this an extremely important case and are preparing to spend many weeks in court.

There is a growing interest in the Negro community to re-vitalize the Selective Buyers Campaign during the Christmas Shopping Season. The Senior Citizens Committee is a group of the top white industralists and businessmen who are still meeting and there have been several meetings of a sub-committee

of this group. A white lawyer and a Negro lawyer have conferred on the possibility of a test suit attacking local city segregation ordinances but nothing definite has been evolved as yet to the best of my knowledge.

I extend my personal thanks to you for all of your good works.

Cordially,

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

October 19, 1962

Mr. John Feild
President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear John:

The Alabama Council on Human Relations is interested in sponsoring or working with others who would sponsor workshops on employment in Alabama. These workshops would cover the broad spectrum of equal employment opportunities and would place major emphasis on ways in which individuals and voluntary organizations can cooperate with the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. It has been suggested that we might be able to involve members of the Civil Rights Commission of the United Steelworkers of America.

We would like to have a workshop on the 1st week-end in December, beginning on the evening of December 1st with meetings to continue throughout the day on December 2nd. The Board of the Alabama Council on Human Relations requested that I invite you personally to participate in a workshop. We are fairly flexible on dates and would be able to plan the workshop any time after November 9th and 10th.

The local council in Huntsville is planning a workshop on November 9th and 10th and if at all possible would like to have a representative from your Commission participate. We are also planning a workshop in Mobile this fall or early spring.

Mr. Charles Clark and Dr. Vivian Henderson of Fisk University conducted an excellent workshop in Birmingham on June 8th and 9th. We would plan that these other workshops would follow pretty much the same pattern. The purpose of repeat performance in Birmingham would be to make such a workshop available to those who have become interested in employment problems as a result of the workshop held in June as well as making it available to others who would not know about the workshop or who were unable to attend. We welcome any suggestions. Please suggest a date if December 1st and 2nd are not convenient. Please advise if you will be able to have anyone participate in the workshop in Huntsville November 9th and 10th.

Cordially,

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

LDV
MB

OCT 11 1962

The Reverend Norman C. Zimerman
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Reverend Zimerman:

This is in response to your correspondence of 24 September 1962 to the Secretary of Defense concerning segregation of public schools in Huntsville, Alabama. Your letter was referred to this office for reply.

The pupil placement of dependent children residing on the military reservation at Redstone Arsenal, Huntsville, Alabama is the responsibility of the local public school officials. The procedure is accomplished under local laws without reference to or control by the military authorities at Redstone Arsenal. At the present time 816 dependent children residing on the military reservation attend off-post segregated schools. Mrs. Burnette's daughter has not been enrolled in any school pending a final decision on an appeal to the Board of Education. This decision is slated to be handed down on 17 October 1962.

An investigation into the facts surrounding this case reveals that, subsequent to Mrs. Burnette informing the Redstone Arsenal School Officer that she wished to register her daughter in the Madison Pike School, the Commandant, Ordnance Guided Missile School, at Redstone Arsenal, caused Sergeant Burnette to be counselled on the total aspects of the entire problem. Sergeant Burnette was furnished factual information concerning local school board procedures; was informed that the matter of his daughter's enrollment was a personal matter between his family and the school officials of Huntsville; was told that the local command was prevented from intercedding with the operation of local law, and also told of the possible voluntary integration plans in the area. There is no evidence that Sergeant or Mrs. Burnette have ever asked for assistance in regard to the enrollment of their daughter, however military authorities did not advise Sergeant Burnette that assistance would not be available if such were requested.

As you know, the Department of the Army does not condone segregation in any situation affecting its personnel. It has effectively

eliminated segregation from all activities under its control including on-post schools. At the present time the Department of the Army is cooperating with the Department of Health, Education & Welfare in a plan involving a survey of school children whose parents reside on military installations as a factor in changing the present off-post school pattern.

Your interest in this matter is appreciated.

Sincerely,

(sgd) Roy K. Davenport

Roy K. Davenport
Special Assistant for Personnel

C O P Y

Mr. Roy K. Davenport
Special Assistant for Personnel
Department of the Army
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Davenport:

Thank you very much for your letter of October 11th. I am grateful for your report that an investigation revealed that the Commandant, Ordnance Guided Missile School, Redstone Arsenal caused Sergeant Burnette to be counselled on the total aspects of the entire problem. In your report you make no mention of the fact that Sergeant Burnette was advised that he should not continue to make any attempt to enroll his daughter into a formerly all-white school which is on land formerly owned by the United States Government and brought with federal assistance. It is reported to me that Sergeant Burnette was advised not to enroll his daughter in school because it would be an embarrasment to the Army and also he was cautioned that his child might be hurt. If this report is true, I am confident that the Commandant did not instruct the one giving this counsel to try to dissuade Sergeant Burnette from enrolling his daughter at Madison Pike School.

As a former Army officer, I personally am gratified to know that the Department of the Army does not condone segregation in any situation affecting its personnel. It is also realistic to recognize that there must be continuing efforts to be sure that the official policy of non-discrimination is carried out in the lower echelons of command.

I do appreciate very much your letter and appreciate the fact that you took the time to write me in detail about this matter.

Sincerely,

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

SB✓ - you probably will want to copy these for Research file

PR - suggest you send copies to Ben Ma.

Done

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. NORMAN C. JIMERSOM, Executive Director


"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Ala US

October 25, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am playing hookey from court today. Morgan is representing me. A police officer is testifying today. He has never met me and probably will not mention my name.

I hear Wiley Blanton is arriving in town this afternoon and I hope that he gives me a call. From all I can figure out Attorney Orzell Billingsley is the one who has kept voter registration alive in Birmingham and there have been many wild and reckless character assassinations going on in regards to people connected with voting but this par for Birmingham.

Court will be recessed next week and I want to get busy on fund raising for legal defense. At this point I think our finances for operating expenses are in pretty fair shape which means they are a lot better than I had anticipated. We do not have money to pay Morgan. Nat Welch told me that he had received a letter from you in which you had referred to the possibility for some money for legal defense funds. This is tremendous now. Nat is going to call Morgan Saturday to discuss fees and method of payment.

Nat suggested that we ask you to help us in getting out a brochure for the legal defense fund and perhaps having it printed in Atlanta under your guidance. We want a good professional job providing it can be done with a fair and reasonable price. Talladega situation is dismal. Judge states the trial may run two or three months. The state is wasting all the time that it can waste. The same incidents have been described in great detail many times already and there have only been seven witnesses in seven days with the state planning to call about 60 people.

The situation in Birmingham is difficult to access. It looks as if the Senior Citizens Committee is still meeting. I was told that they had a good meeting Monday but it is also reported that since efforts have already been made by the Miles students to develop Selective Buyers Campaign that many of the Senior Citizens are taking the attitude that you can't trust or work with Negroes and their decision to take further steps is no longer unanimous. At this point it appears that the white community would raise money for legal fees and court costs if the Negroes would make a test case on city ordinances on segregation of rest rooms, etc. It is still uncertain whether the Negroes will accept this. Now they are saying that the store owners ought to be arrested and fight their own case. At this point it looks as

if the Negroes are going to miss a good bat if they do not take advantage of this offer. I probably will call you tomorrow afternoon or Monday about the brochure. I am still waiting for Morgan to revise what he wrote a week ago. He has filed two historic cas s which he is charging that white man's justice Alabama style precludes the possibility of a Negro getting justice. He is enumerating a long list of law enforcement and court procedures that point up in great detail the discriminations a Negro faces from the cradle to the grave and states at one point in his brief that the only thing that is not segregated is the electric chair and that is because there is only one. These provide real interesting reading and I will try and get a copy to send you although I am sure you have a pretty good idea as to what he has filed.

When are you coming to Birmingham? Keep up the good work.

Cordially,

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

Ala NJ

October 26, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

I believe I neglected to send you a copy of a recent letter from us to Nat Welch wherein we told Nat that we do have $2,000 available from a special contingency fund to assist with legal defense. You probably have received the word from Nat.

I talked with Powers McCloud by telephone Wednesday and suggested that he call on Berl Bernhard in Washington, as well as others you had suggested.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Ala NJ

October 29, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

Several weeks ago we asked you for quick action on furnishing some names of Catholic contacts in Birmingham. Your action has been about as quick as mine usually is. Please??

As to the drafting of the foundation proposal, I will get it to you eventually, like probably this week, but you must be more patient than I am.

We would willing to help you develop the brochure for the legal defense fund, although I would perhaps question the wisdom of such a brochure. It seems to me that a tactful letter of solicitation would be more effective and look less commercial for use in Alabama at any rate. If you insist on a brochure we will try to get a suggested draft in the mail by Friday. Ditto on the foundation request.

I enjoyed the Jeffersonian discussion of your October 16th meeting. May I strongly urge that the Birmingham Council follow a policy of closed meetings, except where the format and subject matter are strictly tailored for a public meeting. No one can avoid leaks from time to time, but I see no need to admit any persons to regular meetings not known to or vouched for by members.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Ala
NJ

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. NORMAN C. JIMERSOM, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

October 30, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am interested in your advice on the possibility of mass mailing of selective pieces of literature to various selected groups of people in Alabama. I would like to send a copy of Dr. Haywood Hill's "This I Believe" to all preachers or at least to many of them. Perhaps it would be wise to select in advance some copies of the "New South" and give it wide distribution in Alabama. In order to carry on a big project it would be necessary to write up the project and get a grant for it. We discussed the possibility that you would write up a project or two and present to various foundations such as calling upon white business leaders, newspapers, radio and T.V. people, etc. I understood you to say that you would be working on this.

Last night I was informed that the Talladega trial has been postponed until February 8th. This can only work to our advantage. Soon there should be a ruling from the Supreme Court on sit-ins including the case from Birmingham. Secondly, there will be a new State Attorney General who has already spoken out publicly in favor of law and order and hopefully is a more reasonable man than Attorney General MacDonald Gallion.

Hoping to hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

Jim Jr

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

cc: Powers McLeod

Ala-NJ

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. NORMAN C. JIMERSOM, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

October 30, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Please forgive me for a lack of "quick action" on furnishing names of Catholic contacts in Birmingham. Rev. Edward L. Foster, 3160 Highland Drive, Birmingham, is doing missionary work among Negroes. Last summer I had an appointment with him but he was unable to meet me at that time and I did talk with a priest who was working with him for the summer. They have had their problems of police harrassment because they have integrated groups in some of the worst sections in the Birmingham area. Father Phillips and I have had a couple of informal talks but I have not really followed through on this to determine his interest in the Council or the nurture of this interest. I will try to see both he and Father Foster tomorrow. Father Phillip Schaeffer's address is Holy Family Church, 1910 - 19th Street, Ensley, Birmingham 8, Alabama.

I am going to show your letter about the "Jeffersonian" to the local officers who are all hepped up on maintaining a posture of open meetings with the public invited. Wish me luck on this project of convincing them of the soundness of your position which is also mine.

Sincerely,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

Ala NJ

October 31, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

Thank you for the Birmingham names. If your Birmingham group wants to maintain an open meeting policy, then it would seem to me to be common sense to discuss only those matters which can become public knowledge and save the discussion of confidential strategy matters for other times and places, perhaps board meetings.

Good luck.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Ala
NJ

November 2, 1962

Mrs. Barbara Patterson
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Patterson:

Your letter of October 31st and your contribution as a membership in the Alabama Council on Human Relations is more deeply appreciated than you can realize. Your moral and financial support inspire me to continue to do all that I can to serve the South amidst all of the frustrations and tensions that confront us in the Alabama Council. I am indeed grateful for the opportunity of carrying out the program and policies of our group. The moral support of many fine people strengthens us to carry out our tasks.

You are to be commended for the contribution that you are making through your position with the Southern Regional Council. Each person on the staff of your organization feel very keen pride in his or her efforts to further the work of the Southern Regional Council. It is important for you and you cohort to keep in mind a great contribution that each of you is making in a great humanitarian effort. You are truly on a front line in the struggle for decency and human dignity.

Cordially,

Jim ac

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

cc: Mr. Leslie Dunbar

Mr. Paul Rilling

Ala
NJ

November 14, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

We are enclosing a contribution for the expanding program activities of the Alabama Council.

It is understood that this contribution is subject to the usual limitations concerning tax exempt activities.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm
Enclosure

ala
NJ

November 14, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

Be sure and send us a copy of the final foundation proposal as submitted.

Unless I hear otherwise, we are expecting you here Monday, November 26.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of
Field Activities

Ala NJ

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. NORMAN C. JIMERSOM, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

November 15, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Both of your letters of November 14th are here on the desk before me. Rev. Jimerson is out of town this week in North Carolina attending the National Sharecroppers Fund Convention. He left Monday afternoon and will arrive back in Birmingham probably Friday night or Saturday morning.

Thanks so much for the check for $2,000. I am sure Rev. Jimerson will write you concerning this next week.

Please excuse the delay in forwarding you a copy of the Proposed Leadership Project. He has told me time and time again to send you a copy of everything of this nature and I goofed again. The same letter was sent to Max Hahn of the Field Foundation in New York. We have not heard from Mr. Eagle but we did receive a letter from Mr. Hahn this morning. The letter consists of the following paragraph.

"I am acknowledging the application of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc. before I have had the opportunity to analyze it. I may have questions when the analysis is completed. In this event you will hear from me again. Sincerely, Max Hahn"

If there is anything I can help you with, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Annette

(Mrs.) Annette Cox
Secretary to Rev. Jimerson

P.S. We will certainly miss you when you leave SRC for your new job. Is there no way we can persuade you to stay on? I am wishing for you and your wife the best of luck.

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. NORMAN C. JIMERSOM, Executive Director


ala
NJ

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

November 19, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

As of now I am still planning to come to Atlanta on Monday, November 26th. I am interested in going to NAIRO meeting next week in Washington. I think the conference was probably worthwhile that was held at Bricks, North Carolina.

Birmingham is still in a state of flux. Most people assume that Birmingham will be able to make some significant changes under a Mayor-Council Form of Government which was approved on November 6th by the electorate I understand that there are a lot of behind the scenes discussions trying to encourage high caliber men to run for the office of mayor and the city council.

There are indications that efforts are being made to launch an all out Selective Buying Campaign in Birmingham. Some of the efforts have already started. There are little indications that it has been effective in discouraging Negroes from coming to town. It still seems very difficult to understand what can be accomplished by squeezing the merchants at this time because the merchants have demonstrated good faith in trying to take down signs. I am told that Blach's Department Store refused to put the signs back up even after the city officials were getting after store owners to replace signs that had been taken down.

I still hate to think that you are not going to be at SRC because of what you have done for the South in your present office. However, I am happy for you that you are able to make a shift and I am sure that problems have not all been solved in Washington, D.C., and certainly that city can benefit greatly from your services.

Looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

Ala - NJ

December 17, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

The Southern Interagency Conference next meets in Atlanta on January 3-4. The program committee has asked that we get you over expense-wise to report on the present situation in Alabama and what may be expected there in the near future. We think it's a good idea. The meeting begins on the 3rd at 2:00 P.M. and runs through lunch on the 4th. Can you make it?

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Ala
NJ

December 18, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

This will acknowledge receipt of your quarterly report. I hope you can make the meeting on January 3-4 and that we can discuss it at that time.

In the meantime, I hope things remain relatively quiet, "by Alabama standards."

Best to you and family for the season.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

December 18, 1962

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

This is to acknowledge receipt of the sum of $6,000 to the Alabama Council on Human Relations to enable us to distribute constructive materials on desegregation to business, civic, political and religious leaders throughout the state.

We are happy to accept this grant according to the terms covered by the resolution as given in your letter of December 17, 1962. We will make periodic reports to the Field Foundation of progress on this specific project and a periodic financial report of disbursements made in connection with this project.

We expect that this project will accomplish much good. It will be difficult to evaluate the total impact but we would certainly expect there will be some tangible results that we can spell out.

Please express our appreciation for this grant to the board members of the Field Foundation. Your interest in promoting peaceful desegregation in Alabama is of great encouragement to us. We appreciate the support The Field Foundation has given the Alabama Council on Human Relations through Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

*Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.*

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

December 18, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am interested in attending the Southern Inter-Agency Conference in Atlanta on January 3rd and 4th. I will have a prepared report on the present situation in Alabama and what various people consider among the possibilities of events in the near future.

I know which road is paved with good intention but I think the road is a little smoother for all when at least there are good intentions and so I do want you to know that I have fully intended to write you a letter of congratulatuions as soon as I received the message from Dr. Dunbar that you had been appointed to the position of Director of Field Activities. I am really delighted that you have been given this responsibility and I know that we will continue and develop a very fine working relationship. I also realize that I was negligent in not sending you an invitation to the Board Meeting which was held last Saturday, December 15th, at Tuskegee Institute, To be sure that this omission does not happen again I am hereby inviting you to attend the Board Meeting at Tuskegee Institute on February 1st at 4:00 p.m. and to attend the Annual Meeting on February 2nd, also at Tuskegee. Dr. Ralph Bunche has agreed to be our main speaker. Initial plans have been discussed since September 15th and again at the meeting of the Board on December 15th and within the next two weeks there will be a committee meeting at Tuskegee to make final plans for our annual meeting.

We know that we will be competing with others' dates for your time and your attention but we want you to know that you are always welcome here and we trust that you will always feel free to offer suggestions and critiques of our program.

Cordially,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

cc: Powers McLeod
Dr. Leslie Dunbar

*Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.*

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director

Ala
NJ

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

December 17, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The Board of Directors of the Alabama Council on Human Relations at its quarterly meeting on December 15th at Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

> "We extend our congratulations to Mr. Paul Anthony upon his new assignment with Southern Regional Council as the Director of Field Activities. We commend the Southern Regional Council upon the appointment of Mr. Anthony. His appointment as Director of Field Activities is an appropriate recognition of the excellent work that he has been doing for the Southern Regional Council. We know that because of his long association with Southern Regional Council he brings to his new position a wealth of experience that will enable him to give us wise leadership as we carry out the aims and program of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. We look forward to a closer working relationship with Mr. Anthony. We will co-operate with Mr. Anthony in every way possible and we will always have the welcome mat out for him at our annual meetings, board meetings, district meetings and on any other occasion that he is able to visit in our state.

Paul, I have personally enjoyed knowing you and appreciate very much your friendship, your encouragement and your wise counsel on a few occasions we have had to be together.

Cordially,

Norman C. Jimerson

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

cc: Dr. Leslie Dunbar
James M. Dabbs, President of Southern Regional Council
Powers McLeod, President of Alabama Council on Human Relations

Ala
NJ

December 21, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

I am deeply grateful for the sentiments in your letter of the 18th and for the resolution by the board. Thank you for both.

I couldn't have made the December 15th meeting but accept the February 1 and 2 invitation with pleasure.

See you on January 3rd.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

MM
Ala
AJ

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. NORMAN C. JIMERSOM, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

January 4, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This is to acknowledge receipt of our quarterly grant from SRC in the amount of $975.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Annette

(Mrs.) Annette Cox
Secretary to Rev. Jimerson

ac

*Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.*

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

January 11, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am looking forward to seeing you next Thursday morning and will meet you at the airport as planned.

Rev. Powers McLeod told me that Mr. Dunbar had arranged for an alternate speaker at our Annual Meeting in the event that Dr. Ralph Bunche cannot attend. I believe the name given is Dr. Harry Richardson at the Theological Institute. I wish you would check out that name and send me his address.

Also, I hope you will bring with you copies of materials most likely to be useful to us in our mass mailing project. Wednesday I went to Mobile and talked with Mr. Charles Witmar who has a public relations company. He is preparing a rough draft for a brochure and I talked with him about the possibilities of having him assist us in writing and reviewing newsletters. I was surprised and puzzled by the information that Mayor McNally had blasted the Council as the only group of agitators in Mobile and he had had the police checking. The person who was in the group said that he not only attacked the Council but also made personal references to Father Foley and stated that efforts were being made to persuade the President of the Springhill College to remove Father Foley from the faculty. This was at a small reception in Mobile for Governor John Patterson.

I was also very much interested to learn that a lt. Colonel in the Army Reserve who works at Brookley Air Force Base is slated to become Commander of the State Militia. This may mean that George Wallace is seriously attempting to organize a state militia.

Cordially,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
FLORENCE B. IRVING, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Atlanta 3, Ga.

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date Jan. 23, 1963

To: PA, LWD, SB

From: MA

Subject: Jimerson, Alabama Council

When Jimerson called station to station (collect) this morning, there was no one available to talk with him so Luesta gave him to me. I suggested to the operator that there was no one to talk with him and could he call back tomorrow, but she said she could not relay that message on a station to station call. So I took the call.

This is what he had on his mind: he will be in Atlanta next Monday and Tuesday (28 & 29) and he wants to talk with LWD, PA, and SB re mass mailing to select groups, to "spell it out in some detail" he said.

He wants the following:

1. our lists of people in Alabama on all our various mailing lists

2. specific pieces of literature you three would suggest for the mailing (he has some, given by PA last week). Of these (and any others suggested) he would like your opinions on which would be best for his purposes. He wants 3 or 4 copies of each to take to his board meeting next Friday for a decision on their part.

3. he wants us to contact for him: Wittenstein, Finger at ADL, and Coleman at Nat'l Urban League, and Georgia Council re materials to mail. Whatever they suggest, he wants (and will pay for while here) 3 or 4 copies each. I think he plans to see each of them while here but wanted to alert them to his coming and let them be considering literature suggestions.

To: Paul Anthony

MM

February 26, 1963

TO: Southern Regional Council
Rpm 201, 5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FROM: Norman C. Jimerson

RE: Address of Rev. Powers McLeod, Chairman
Alabama Council on Human Relations

Some of the mail that comes from Southern Regional Council to Rev. Powers McLeod in Alabama is addressed to the State Office at Room 1224, Comer Building, Birmingham 3, Alabama. His mailing address is: Box 1290 Auburn, Alabama. Please address all mail to him at his Auburn address.

Jim

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. NORMAN C. JIMERSOM, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

May 13, 1963

Mrs. Marge Manderson
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mrs. Manderson,

We have just changed secretaries and are starting to get organized again. Could you help by checking to see when we sent in our last list of subscriptions for New South so that we could send in the names we've gotten in the meantime and bring our list up to date.

Thank-you very much--appreciate your help,

Sincerely,

Mike Morden

Mike Morden, Assistant for
Norman C. Jimerson

Through 12/31/62.
~~Beginning with Jan.~~
One. May 14, 1963

NJ

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. NORMAN C. JIMERSOM, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

June 14, 1963

Done - 6/27 - MM

Mrs. Marge Manderson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Marge,

Please send me the addresses of the Executive Committee of Southern Regional Council. I would like to put them on our mailing list for Newsletters.

Sincerely,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ/mw

NJ

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. NORMAN C. JIMERSOM, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

June 18, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

ATTENTION: Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

Dear Mr. Rilling:

I am Myrtice Woods, secretary to Rev. Norman C. Jimerson. I have been employed with the Alabama Council on Human Relations since May 1, 1963. I am enjoying my work, and it has been a real pleasure to work with the Council. The work affords many opportunities, and is truly fascinating.

There will be held at Fisk University June 24 - July 6, 1963 the Twentieth Annual Institute of Race Relations. I would like very much to attend this Institute. Rev. Jimerson has informed me that the Southern Regional Council might give me a scholarship to attend this Institute. If there is any possibility of me getting this scholarship, I certainly would appreciate it. I do feel that this Institute will be of great value to me in my work, and help me to be an asset to the Council.

Rev. Jimerson just told me today of the possibility of SRC giving me the scholarship. The Institute begins Monday, so any immediate attention that you can give this matter will be appreciated.

Thank you very much.

Very truly yours,

Myrtice Woods

(Mrs.) Myrtice Woods, Secretary
to Rev. Norman C. Jimerson

Telephoned.

mw

NJ

July 17, 1963

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
1224 City Federal Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Jim:

Thanks for the copies of the newsletters. They're good. But, for an unsolicited opinion, I think they could be much better. The mimeographing is less than first quality at times. More important, you aren't getting your $50 worth. The contents definitely show the work of a "professional"--but the money they should be better.

While I'm criticizing--your proposal for an assistant director needs to be lengthened, and the proposed budget cut.

That's all I can think of to criticize for the moment. But, considering the vacation, you can take it.

Thanks for all the good hospitality. Best to the family when you see them.

Sincerely,

Paul Atnhony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

NJ

October 9, 1963

BC PA

Please send Norman Jimerson, label attached, the following materials in the quantities designated below.

| | |
|---|---|
| 100 copies | The Unequal Badge |
| 50 copies | Racial Violence and Law Enforcement |
| 35 copies | Vivian Henderson Report |

Thanks.

NJ


# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 101 TWENTY-ONE TWENTY-ONE BUILDING, CORNER 8th AVENUE NORTH AND 22nd STREET
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA - 35203
PHONE 252-2722
Rev. NORMAN C. JIMERSON, Executive Director


"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA"

November 18, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul,

The enclosed sheet are my expenses to Atlanta last week.

I certainly appreciate very much the opportunity to talk with you, and I am indeed grateful for your generous hospitality.

You are doing a tremendous job.

Cordially,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ/mh

MM: Have check sent from Contingency funds - VJ to do check! Done MM
I want to enclose note when ready

Ala - N Jimerson


# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 101 TWENTY-ONE TWENTY-ONE BUILDING, CORNER 8th AVENUE NORTH AND 22nd STREET
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA - 35203
PHONE 252-2722
Rev. NORMAN C. JIMERSON, Executive Director


"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA"

November 27, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul,

It was good to see you at NAIRO.

Mr. Clancey Lake, chief of the news bureau at WAPI-TV, gave an excellent editorial condemning the action of those students in public schools in Birmingham that cheered when informed of the death of President John F. Kennedy. He said unless we make an effort to attack bigotry and hatred that the students evidently learned at home, we should call for the pallbearers of Birmingham. I mentioned this in the event I forget to send you a copy of the editorial. This afternoon Clancey Lake told me that he would send me a copy, and I am considering distributing it as a Newsletter.

I will keep in close touch with you in the next couple weeks as I prepare a financial statement of the project grant from the Field Foundation.

Keep up the good work.

Cordially,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ/mh

EATON'S
PARCHMENT
LINEN
USA
BERKSHIRE
RAG 25% COTTON FIBER

NJ

December 30, 1963

Mr. Arthur H. Rosenfeld
160 Southampton Road
Berkeley 7, California

Dear Mr. Rosenfeld:

Mrs. David Cronheim called me Friday to tell me that she had received a contribution for the Alabama Council on Human Relations from you.

We deeply appreciate your generous contribution of $100 to furthering the work of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. Our program is to encourage communications between the races, to encourage business, religious, and political leaders to take constructive action to eliminate tension caused by discrimination and injustice, to give aid and comfort to the victims of injustice and to provide objective information about events in Alabama.

We know that you will have the personal satisfaction of supporting efforts to provide equal opportunities for all people in the State of Alabama.

Cordially,

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ/mh

cc: Mrs. David Cronheim

Blind Copy

Ala - NJ


# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 101 TWENTY-ONE TWENTY-ONE BUILDING, CORNER 8th AVENUE NORTH AND 22nd STREET
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA - 35203
PHONE 252-2722
Rev. NORMAN C. JIMERSON, Executive Director


"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA"

January 9, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Last night at the Executive Committee Meeting of the Birmingham Council I got the idea that we ought to make an effort at our Annual Meeting to stir up interest in voting. What do you think about asking Mr. Wiley Branton, or someone in staff to come and speak to us about VEP.

Do this

Also I realize that I am awful late in planning for materials for those attending the Annual Meeting. We expect approximately 200 people. Would you be able to suggest one, two, or maybe three propaganda pieces that should be distributed to every person attending. Also, I would hope that you would suggest two or three things that ought to be available that we might order a quantity of 50. Drop me a line on any ideas you have for us.

Cordially,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ/mh

200
Charlotte L - Report
Direct Action Report.
~~This is what we found~~

Sent - 1/22/64

50 -
This I Believe
Macon New South
This Is What We Found -

Ala - N.J.
MM

February 4, 1964

Governor Edmund Brown
Mr. Charles Taft, Co-Chairmen
America's Conscience Fund
1313 29th Street, North West
Washington, D. C. 20007

Dear Sirs:

The Alabama Council on Human Relations gratefully acknowledges receipt of a check for $3000. It will enable us to continue our work of promoting understanding, goodwill, and mutual respect among various groups in our state.

We shall continue our efforts to promote the general welfare of all people in the State of Alabama, as we work to promote equal opportunities for all of the citizens of this state. We shall continue our efforts to replace emotions with reason, intolerance with brotherhood, and fear with mutual respect.

Each person who has worked to establish America's Conscience Fund deserves real credit for dispelling the loneliness that is sometimes felt by many people who are working in the area civil rights. Providing very important financial assistance is an effective means of expressing the conscience of Americans who are troubled by the presence of bigotry and intolerance.

Your contributions comes at a time when we needed money to stay in existence. Your check is indeed very helpful to us, and we shall continue our efforts with renewed determination.

Cordially,

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ/mh

cc: Mr. Drew Pearson
Commissioner John Duncan
Rev. Powers McLeod - President of the Alabama Council

ACHR FINANCIAL DATA

6,800
1800
8,600

| | 1963 Budget | Actual | 1964 Budget |
|---|---|---|---|
| Exec. Dir. Salary | $6200 | $6200 | $6800 |
| Housing allowance | 1800 | 1800 | 1800 |
| Secretary | 3600 | 3600 | 3800 |
| Social security | 316 | 869 | 890 |
| Rent | 784 | 934 | 990 |
| Office supplies | 500 | 1126 | 1200 |
| Telephone | 800 | 1183 | 1200 |
| New South | 750 | 450 | 600 |
| Miscellaneous | 1250 | 4882 | 2000 |
| Travel | 2400 | 1901 | 2200 |
| | $18,600 | $22,945* | $20,680 |

*These figures are approximations and are not completely correct.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Budget | | $20,680 | |
| SRC | | 6,000 | |
| ACHR to raise | | | $14,680 |
| On hand | | 690 | |
| 40 contributions | ($100) | 4,000 | |
| 50 " | ( 60) | 3,000 | |
| 33 " | ( 30) | 990 | |
| 1,000 Members | (* 6) | 6,000 | |
| | | | $14,680 |

*Single membership $5.00, student membership $3.00, family $8.00 - This is an average figure.

Paul
Thanks for coming over. Am sorry I did not get to spend more time with you. You might keep Rev. Moseley in mind for a more active role in SRC, possibly reputing his speech in New South and as a speaker for other state councils.
Nat

Ala - N.J.


# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 101 TWENTY-ONE TWENTY-ONE BUILDING, CORNER 8th AVENUE NORTH AND 22nd STREET
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA - 35203
PHONE 252-2722
Rev. NORMAN C. JIMERSON, Executive Director


"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA"

February 5, 1964

Howard W.

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, North West
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Dr. Pitts agreed you were right on dates. We will make it the 21st and 22nd.

What is Rogerson's first name....with the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights?

What do you think of the brochure?

What do you think of statement to Clayman....can you suggest things to omit or how to summarize a paragraph with a sentence?

Thanks for everything,

Jim

Ala - NJ

February 11, 1964

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 101 - 2121 Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Jim:

Shall be at your office early afternoon of the 21st.

Rogerson is Howard W.

The brochure is good. Though the word "Christian" should be changed to include all faiths.

Congratulations on the contribution from the Conscience Fund. What's the story behind this?

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Ala - N. Jim.


# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

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BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA - 35203
PHONE 252-2722
**Rev. NORMAN C. JIMERSON, Executive Director**


"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA"

May 28, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, North West
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I was glad to have a chance to talk with you last night while I had a layover at the airport.

I am writing ~~again~~ to express my own deep appreciation for the many fine things that you are doing throughout the South to create better race relations. I do want you to know that no problem becomes too great when you have friends like you giving moral support. I hope soon that you will come to Birmingham and have dinner with Melva and me.

Cordially,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ/mh

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 101 TWENTY-ONE TWENTY-ONE BUILDING, CORNER 8th AVENUE NORTH AND 22nd STREET
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA - 35203
PHONE 252-2722
Rev. NORMAN C. JIMERSON, Executive Director


"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA"

July 31, 1964

To: Board of Directors

From: Norman C. Jimerson

Re: Transition

Please accept my resignation as Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations effective September 15th, in order that I may accept a position at Kalamazoo College as Director of the Career-Service Program in Kalamazoo, Michigan.

It has been a real honor and privilege for me to work with each of you on the Board, and the members of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. I am deeply indebted to each member and contributor to the Alabama Council on Human Relations for making it possible for me to work full time in the area of race relations in the State of Alabama.

I will be furthered honored if there are ways in which I can assist the Council in the future. Each of you deserves real credit for helping the Council make tremendous contributions to many individuals, communities and the State of Alabama, and our nation. Your reward for now is only the satisfaction you have that you are putting forth money, time, and energy to reach our goals.

The Council needs money. There are many untapped sources of funds within the state. Individuals in the white community and individuals as well as churches, professional organizations, civic and fraternal groups in the Negro community will contribute if approached with a positive program carefully interpreted. I really don't know why so few members have pledged $5 a month, but perhaps that will change.

Dr. Pitts, our President, is discussing with some of the officers the best procedure in selecting a successor. I recommend the Council seriously consider moving the state office to Huntsville with alternate possibilities of Auburn and other cities to be considered. Secondly I will recommend that the officers work closely with SRC in finding my successor and seeking grants from Foundations. The big job will be to get new members and a dedicated membership can only offer suggestions which individual members will use if the job is done.

You will be kept informed of further developments. Please send your ideas and suggestions to Dr. L. H. Pitts, President, Miles College, Birmingham.

Ala. - NJ


# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 101 TWENTY-ONE TWENTY-ONE BUILDING, CORNER 8th AVENUE NORTH AND 22nd STREET
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA - 35203
PHONE 252-2722
**Rev. NORMAN C. JIMERSON, Executive Director**


"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA"

August 6, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I throughly enjoyed getting better acquainted with Ed Stanfield. Everyone we talked with seemed to respond to Ed favorably. I would hope that the Board could decide before August 31st, but I do not see at the moment how they could possible do this. However, I will be talking with Dr. Pitts about the possibility of a Board Meeting in August. At this point, I feel as if I need some vacation even if it interferes with the Board Meeting.

Ed and I traveled 265 miles. You are to be commended for your wisdom to recognize the fact that SRC should pay the expenses for your research man to travel over Alabama.

I am leaving Friday night or Saturday for Melva's folks. The address is: J. D. Brooks, 3350 - 37th Street Extension, Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania. After Monday I will be at Elwyn Brown c/o Umbrecht, Saulsbury Avenue, Dewey Beach, Rehobeth, Delware; and will return after Wednesday, August 19th, to Beaver Falls, and then return to Birmingham.

Cordially,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ/mh

August 6, 1964

To: Committee For Racial Justice Now
United Church of Christ
Room 93, 289 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

From: Alabama Council on Human Relations
101 2121 Building
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

The Alabama Council on Human Relations is the only state wide organization promoting civil rights through negotiations, establishing local bi-racial chapters of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, and assisting in the establishment of voluntary and official bi-racial committees. The Alabama Council on Human Relations is the only organization providing information and assistance to the bi-racial committees that have already been established. The Alabama Council on Human Relations employs an Executive Director who is the only person working full time in inter-group relations work in the State of Alabama. The Council is the only organization providing materials to special groups and also mailing general materials and a Newsletter to a mailing list of 3100, including almost al of the bank presidents, radio and TV stations, and managers of companies employing over 100 people.

The Executive Director should spend more time traveling across the state of Alabama visiting community leaders and others interested in race relations. If funds were available he could render much assistance to bi-racial groups and Negro and white leaders.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations hereby requests a grant of $3,000 from the United Church of Christ to enable the Director to do traveling which can not be done, because funds are not available for traveling expenses. This grant will provide funds for phone calls, transportation, lodging, and meals. Southern Regional Council, The Board of Directors of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, officers

Committee For Racial Justice Now
United Church of Christ

August 6, 1964

of the eight local chapters, as well as businessmen, and other community leaders affirm that the Alabama Council on Human Relations has made a very significant contribution to the effectiveness of bi-racial committees because of contact with many community leaders. If funds are provided for the Director to travel more extensively than our modest traveling budget allows, he will be able to assist community leaders and will also be able to involve local people in the communities that he visits to effectively work with leaders in their community.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations has contributed significantly to compliance with the Civil Rights Bill, peaceful desegregation of schools, and bringing Negro and white leaders into face to face relations to resolve local problems on a local level.

Respectfully submitted,

Norman C. Jimerson

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director
For The Board Of Directors Of The
Alabama Council on Human Relations

NCJ/mh

Enclosures

cc: Dr. H. Long, Rev. H. Long, Dr. L. H. Pitts, Southern Regional Council

Ala
NJ

SPECIAL REPORT TO SRC

MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE IN MONTGOMERY

1. One Negro family lives on the base at Maxwell Air Force Base in Montgomery.

2. There is a kindergarten on the base operated by the officers wives club. In September an attempt was made to register a Negro child in the kindergarten. A civilian from Montgomery told the family there was no opening. The following day or within two days the president of the officers wives club who was not on base when this happened learned that the Negro child had been refused admittance. The civilian employee was fired, the Negro parents were contacted and told that their child could enroll. The women operating the kindergarten also wrote a letter to the parents that they were holding an opening for the child and stated that the child would be welcomed in the kindergarten. The Negro man decided not to send his child to the kindergarten because he was afraid other children would make mean remarks to his child. The person making this report said he talked with the Negro man and assured him the ladies operating the kindergarten would do everything possible to make sure the child had a happy experience.

3. There is a school next to the Maxwell Air Force Base which serves overwhelmingly children of military personnel. This school is segregated. The land that the school is built on is fenced off from the rest of the base but projects into the Base. It is reported that this land was given to the city in order to avoid having an integrated school. This school serves whites only. Out of several thousand military personnel at this Air Force Base it is significant to note that only one Negro family lives on Base. The rest of the Negro personnel is living off-base.

SPECIAL REPORT

HUNTSVILLE REDSTONE ARSENAL

1. Negro families do live on the base.

2. There are no schools on the base.

3. There are off-base schools near the base built off government property which are built to serve military personnel. They are segregated.

File Ala - N5

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

C O N F I D E N T I A L

**MEMORANDUM**

TO: Norman Jimerson, Alabama Council on Human Relations

FROM: SRC Staff

RE: Anonymous attack on SRC (unsigned pamphlet, "Communism, Negroes, and Integration")

There follows a section by section commentary on this attack.

I. Introduction

1. As a general introduction to the subject of "Communist infiltration" and this type of attack see the attached editorial from the (Greenville, Mississippi) Delta-Democrat Times of August 25, 1957.

2. The FBI, the Justice Department, and other federal agencies keep a very close watch on the activities of Communist individuals and groups and those suspected of subversive activities. At no time has the SRC been listed by the FBI, on the U.S. Attorney General's list of subversive organizations, or on the similar list issued by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

(Source: U.S. Department of Justice, "Organizations Designated Under Executive Order #10450" and House Un-American Activities Committee "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, Re-issued.")

3. It is a well known fact that the Communist party in the United States has been active in seeking support of Negro citizens. As no less an authority than J. Edgar Hoover has repeatedly testified, it is a fine commentary on the good sense and deep patriotism of this group of Americans that the Communists have failed so completely in this effort.

(Source: Masters of Deceit, J. Edgar Hoover; Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1958.)

4. The pamphlet "Communism, Negroes, and Integration" gives the impression of substantial documentation. Yet it is interesting that no individual or organization is identified as author or sponsor. It is a highly questionable procedure to accept at face value any document for which its author(s) will not accept public responsibility. Particularly, when such a document raises serious questions as to the loyalty of established citizens and organizations.

By contrast, this memo is being prepared by the staff of SRC for use by you and your friends who do not have the information herein readily available. It is not done to dignify the irresponsible charges made by a person or persons who would refuse to associate themselves with their serious charges.

This memo is interested exclusively in SRC and SRC board and staff. We do not subscribe to the methods and charges in the "report" and do not presume to speak in defense of, or to place guilt on, any other organizations or individuals mentioned.

Section II - U.S. House of Representatives, Subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

1. This section of the "report" does not refer to SRC. However, it is of interest that this hearing was held in Atlanta, site of the offices of the SRC, and that no member of the board or staff of SRC was called to testify.

There is in the SRC files a letter from Congressman Francis E. Walter which states "...The Southern Regional Council has not been cited as subversive or un-American by this Committee nor by the Attorney General."

(Source: Letter, Congressman Walter to George S. Mitchell, copy attached)

Section III - Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

1. As the "report" states, the SCHW was formed--in a spirit of great hope and promise--in 1938. Not until 1944--some 6 years later--was any question seriously raised about the organization. During that time a number of outstanding and loyal Americans were a part of it. To question their motives or loyalty is absurd. For a further interpretation, see the attached editorial from The Atlanta Constitution of May 12, 1953.

2. This section of the report refers to a November 1938 meeting of the SCHW in Birmingham. Mrs. Roosevelt did speak and the President of the United States did send a letter to the meeting. This in itself should give an indication of the nature of that meeting.

Thereafter--and as an excellent example of the methods of this "report"--the unknown author(s) begin to choose only those facts which fit the purpose at hand.

Since serious charges are being made, under the guise of fact, would not it have been more fair to list all the major participants of this meeting?

From the same source as that listed in the "report" we learn that among those people conveniently omitted as having participated in the November 20-23, 1938 meeting of the SCHW, are the following:

Judge Louise O. Charlton - General Chairman (Judge, Birmingham, Ala., U.S. Commissioner and Member of State Democratic Executive Committee.)

Mrs. William Hughes Tarpley - Vice Chairman, Publicity Committee (President, Jefferson County [Ala.] League of Women Voters)

W. Cooper Green - Chairman, Finance Committee (Postmaster, Birmingham, Ala.)

The Hon. Luther Patrick - Chairman, Sponsorship and Participation Committee (Congressman, Birmingham, Ala.)

The Hon. John H. Bankhead - Honorary Chairman, Farm Tenancy Section (U.S. Senator, Democrat, Alabama)

John Temple Graves, II - Co-chairman, Race Relations Section (The late Mr. Graves is most widely known as a writer and newspaper columnist in Birmingham, Ala.)

The Hon. Bibb Graves - Chairman, Freight Rate Differentials (At that time Mr. Graves was Governor of Alabama.)

The Hon. Hugo L. Black - recipient of award (Justice, U.S. Supreme Court)

(Source: Report of Proceedings of the SCHW, Birmingham, Alabama, November 20-23, 1938)

3. As late as 1945 (March 24) at a Washington meeting of the SCHW there appeared as speakers or at the speakers table the Vice President of the United States, a number of Senators, Congressmen, and members of the Cabinet, and no less a "suspect" person that the Hon. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina.

Section IV - Southern Conference Education Fund.

No mention of SRC.

Section V - The Southern Regional Council.

1. The description of SRC history and functions are largely correct; having been taken in good part from SRC reports.

2. The National Americanism Committee of the American Legion did attack SRC in its publication The Firing Line of May 15, 1957. The attack, like the "report"--except that its authors took responsibility for it--was erroneous and misleading. SRC promptly issued a detailed reply. Copy attached.

Some members of the American Legion were and are in opposition to this sort of attack. For instance, in 1958, the American Legion of Minnesota appointed a new Subversive Activities Committee composed of a member of the state Selective Service Commission, the Sheriff of Hennepin County, and the chief of police of St. Paul. This committee issued a report, published in the Legion's official journal without dissent, which said in part:

> ...your Committee refuses to be a part of unsupported attack on individuals or organizations. We feel that

such practices are unfair, undemocratic and in effect, subversive in themselves because they are contrary to America's fundamental precept of innocence until guilt has been proved under due process of law.

The American Legion, nationally and in Minnesota, has sacrificed some of its prestige and esteem by its zeal in declaring things to be un-American. All too often we have adopted the technique of the dictators when the machinery of democracy would have better served the cause.

3. The SRC does not have available records of the proceedings of the Florida Legislative Investigating Committee--1959 and 1961. However, no member of the board or staff was called to testify and no records of SRC activities were requested. Under these circumstances, it is most unlikely that any serious investigation of SRC could have been conducted.

4. Prior to his association with SRC, Dr. George S. Mitchell was employed by the C.I.O.. Earlier Dr. Mitchell, a respected economist, was employed by Columbia University and the U.S. Government. Dr. Mitchell was a Rhodes Scholar and the first recipient of the annual award of the Catholic Committee of the South.

5. The Southern Regional Council does issue a monthly magazine, New South. Stetson Kennedy did write an article for New South in January, 1946. At that time Stetson Kennedy had written for a number of national publications and had at least two books published by reputable houses. Mr. Kennedy's article on voting in the South is on file for anyone who wishes to read it. A factual analysis of the contributors to the magazine would reveal a distinguished group of Southerners.

6. The SRC has received no support from the Fund for the Republic since 1958. However, all references to this support are accurate---though not complete---and the Council is most grateful to the Board of the Fund for this support. Anyone interested in this aspect of the "Report" might find it of interest to read the full report of the Fund. These reports are public and readily available. They show, for instance, that practically every major religious body in the U.S. received aid from the Fund for the Republic, including the Southern Baptists.

7. The Rev. Robert Hughes was the director of the Alabama Council through 1960. Mr. Hughes is now a Methodist missionary in Africa.

8. Frederick B. Routh, formerly Assistant Director of SRC, was at a meeting at Highlander Folk School in 1957. During that year, Mr. Routh probably attended thirty or more conferences and meetings. None of his other appearances proved that Mr. Routh--or SRC--was Baptist, Catholic, Democrat, Republican, or Rotarian, yet he appeared before groups in each category during 1957. His valuable

services to his country in military and civilian life need no documentation here. Mr. Routh is currently Executive Director of the Michigan FEPC, an official state agency.

9. This section of the "report" ends with a list of persons connected with SRC. Following is a list of these individuals, date of service on the SRC Board, and an identification of them.

Albert W. Dent - 1944-present. President, Dillard University, New Orleans, La. (See Who's Who, current edition.)

Rufus E. Clement - 1944-present. President, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga. (See Who's Who, current edition.)

(Note: current Chairman of the Executive Committee of SRC is Mr. John Wheeler, President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N.C.)

Marion A. Wright - 1944-present. Attorney, retired. Former president, University of South Carolina Alumni Association and University of South Carolina Law Alumni Association.

Horace M. Bond - 1944-45. Dean, School of Education, Atlanta University.

Dr. Charlotte H. Brown - 1944-53. Current employment unknown.

Louis E. Burnham - 1945-49. Current employment unknown.

Clark Foreman - 1944-49. At present, Director, Emergency Civil Liberties Union.

Charles S. Johnson (Deceased) - 1944-56. President, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn. (See Who's Who, 1956.)

Benjamin E. Mays - 1944-present. President, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga. (See Who's Who, current.)

F. D. Patterson - 1944-53. Former President, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. Currently Director, Phelps-Stokes Fund. (See Who's Who, current.)

Mrs. M. E. Tilly - 1944-46. Currently SRC Director of Women's Work. Formerly Director, Methodist Women's Division of Christian Service. By appointment of President Truman, member of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

Rufus B. Atwood - 1945-58. President, Kentucky State College. (See Who's Who, current.)

John M. Ellison - 1948-54. Chancellor, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.

H. C. Trenholm - 1954-present. President, Alabama State College, Montgomery. (See Who's Who, current.)

Miss Josephine Wilkins - 1944-present. Past president, Georgia League of Women Voters.

E. C. Peters (Deceased) - 1956-59. Methodist missionary and President of Paine College, Augusta, Ga. (See Who's Who, 1957.)

C. G. Gomillion - 1953-present. Dean, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. (See Who's Who, current.)

Paul R. Christopher - 1949-present. Regional Director, AFL-CIO, Knoxville, Tenn.

Aubrey Williams - 1945-50. Publisher, Southern Farm and Home, Montgomery, Ala.

Since the founding of SRC in 1944 it is of interest that out of approximately 300 distinguished Southerners who have served on the board this "report" felt that it could comment on only 19. And, those 19 are discussed without any reference to dates of service.

Section VI - Directors of SRC.

Most of the individuals listed in this section have been referred to in Section V.

Among those not mentioned are:

Leslie W. Dunbar. Mr. Dunbar is Executive Director of SRC. He spoke at Miles College on May 9, 1961, though the account of that meeting is otherwise incorrect. It is of interest that the "report" can find no further comment to make about Mr. Dunbar.

The Rev. C. H. Oliver. Mr. Oliver is prominently associated with the Alabama Council on Human Relations although he is not and has never been "Chairman."

The members (Board of Directors) of the Southern Regional Council are loyal and dedicated Americans. By contrast to unsupported and irresponsible charges it seems appropriate to conclude this section with the full text of a telegram from President John F. Kennedy, sent on the occasion of SRC's annual meeting in 1961.

> The White House Washington DC
> James M. Dabbs, President Southern Regional Council
> 5 Forsyth St Northwest Atlanta
>
> Please convey my greetings to the participants in the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council. In working to make equal opportunity a reality in all parts of our national life, the Southern Regional Council is advancing the cause of all Americans. In promoting good will and better understanding among people of all races, colors and creeds, the Council is serving not only the South but the whole country. In supporting efforts to secure the full constitutional rights of all

our people, including above all the primary right to vote, you are helping to fulfill the promise of America.

Cordially,
John F. Kennedy

(True copy attached.)

Section VII - Alabama Council on Human Relations.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations (ACHR) is fully capable of defending itself. However, it may be of value to stress the following:

1. The ACHR is not "The Alabama Organ of the SRC." The SRC does give financial assistance to the ACHR but the Alabama Council is completely autonomous with its own directors, staff, and members. Some years ago SRC determined, when helping these state councils become established, that all should be completely independent. This was done with the thought that not only could Southerners best solve their own problems--but that responsible citizens of each state and community could best assess their own needs; the region being an area of great contrast in which no single program or policy could be appropriate for all.

2. Mr. Hughes was jailed in Bessemer, Alabama. His confinement was the result of his refusal to cooperate with the methods of the grand jury. The "report" does not mention the fact that the Rev. Mr. Hughes was later released and that no charges were or have been brought against him or the ACHR. His appearance was as a witness called in a suit against the New York Times and did not legally concern itself with the ACHR or its membership.

3. Koinonia Farms is not--so far as we know--listed by any of the organizations concerned with subversive activity. Mr. Conrad Browne's comment on being "Communist" should have been reproduced without benefit of dots and dashes. It might lead to better evaluation.

4. We are not familar with Claude Williams of Helena, Alabama though we note that he is said only to be a member and none of the long section devoted to him indicates any influence Mr. Williams has on the ACHR programs or policy.

5. The ACHR is a tax exempt organization. This means of course, that the Internal Revenue Service has carefully surveyed its operations and methods and ruled accordingly.

6. The Rev. Norman C. Jimerson is the current director of ACHR. He is a Baptist Minister. He was formerly employed as Chaplain of Hopewell Prison, Virginia. If these are the most serious charges that can be brought against the Rev. Mr. Jimerson, then he must indeed be "as clean as a hounds tooth."

Conclusion:

SRC has not been happy about preparing this memo, for to do so gives a dignity to the anonymous "report" which it does not deserve. However, we have done so in the interest of our friends and supporters in Alabama.

As a final thought we would like to agree with the concluding sentence of the report: "There seems to be little excuse for any reasonably well-informed citizen to continue to associate with these organizations unless said association is knowingly intended."

We wholeheartedly agree.

We have been organized as dedicated and concerned Southerners; dedicated to the belief that the region's problems can be solved by the best of its people and deeply concerned with the enormity and seriousness of the racial problems of the region. An association with these organizations should be in full awareness of and dedication to these ideals. Such is the right--and indeed the duty--of concerned and responsible members of a democratic society.

In October of 1961 Mr. J. Edgar Hoover concluded a report prepared for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee with these observations:

> Unfortunately there are those who make the very mistake the Communists are so careful to avoid. These individuals concentrate on the negative rather than on the positive. They are merely against communism without being for any positive measures to eliminate the social, political, and economic frictions which the Communists are so adroit at exploiting.
>
> These persons would do well to recall a recent lesson from history. Both Hitler and Mussolini were against communism. However, it was by what they stood for, not against, that history judged them.

Ala - NJ

SPECIAL REPORT TO SRC

HUNTSVILLE REDSTONE ARSENAL

1. Negro families do live on the base.

2. There are no schools on the base.

3. There are off-base schools near the base built off government property which are built to serve military personnel. They are segregated.

SPECIAL REPORT TO SRC

MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE IN MONTHOMERY

1. One Negro family lives on the base at Maxwell Air Force Base in Montgomery.

2. There is a kindergarten on the base operated by the officers Wives Club. In September an attempt was made to register a Negro child in the kindergarten. A civilian from Montgomery told the family there was no opening. The following day or within two days the president of the Officers Wives Club who was not on base when this happened learned that the Negro child had been refused admittance. The civilian employee was fired, the Negro parents were contacted and told that their child could enroll. The women operating the kindergarten also wrote a letter to the parents that they were holding an opening for the child and stated thatthe child would be welcomed in the kindergarten. The Negro man decided not to send his child to the kindergarten because he was afraid other children would make mean remarks to his child. The person making this report said he talked with the Negro man and assured him the ladies operating the kindergarten would do everything possible to make sure the child had a happy experience.

3. There is a school next to the Maxwell Air Force Base which serves overwhelmingly children of military personnel. This school is segregated. The land that the school is built on is fenced off from the rest of the base but projects into the Base. It is reported that this land was given to the city in order to avoid having an integrated school. This school serves whites only. Out of several thousand military personnel at this Air Force Base it is significant to note that only one Negro family lives on Base. The rest of the Negro personnel is living off-base.

Ala Cncl -

A Proposed Leadership Project of the
Alabama Council on Human Relations

The varying response of southern states to the desegregation requirements of federal court decisions has ranged from the dignified adjustments of Virginia and Georgia to the raucous and destructive responses of Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi. The most important single factor in determining the response of a southern state or community seems to be the posture of civic, economic, and political leadership. Where leadership decides upon peaceful adjustment in order to prevent violence and upheaval, this process is accepted. Where leadership is vacillating or obstructive, chaos is probable.

Since the Supreme Court decision of 1954, there has been little or no constructive dialogue concerning desegregation pressures within the state of Alabama. Political and economic leadership has been generally silent or militantly resistant. With a few exceptions, the press has trumpeted the massive resistance line. There has been virtually no preparation of leadership or of the public to adjust to the inevitable. The Governor Elect of Alabama has praised Governor Barnett's actions in the Oxford, Mississippi case and promised in his turn to go to jail if necessary to prevent desegregation in Alabama.

The time of decision is approaching. Applications are pending to the University of Alabama by Negro students for the second semester of the current school year. Litigation may well bring a federal district court decision ordering school desegregation in Birmingham by September of 1963. How will Alabama respond?

During the past twelve months, for the first time since the 1954 decision, there have been some few signs of an awakening on the part of some leadership elements. Lunch counters were desegregated last summer in Mobile and Huntsville. The Birmingham News and other Alabama papers were critical of the last ditch tactics of Governor Barnett recently; leading Birmingham businessmen have been involved in an effort to resolve Negro pressures without major demonstrations.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations feels it important that a major effort be instituted to inform business and civic leadership of the state of pending litigation and of the decisions that will face the state in the near future. Some materials are available and others can be developed which will illustrate the constructive experiences of other southern states, the economic stake in maintaining order and stability, the terrible costs of violence. This information is not reaching the leaders of the state of Alabama through normal state and local channels. A way must be found to reach such leadership through special channels. We propose the procedure of direct mailing as practical, if limited in impact.

The Alabama Council requests assistance in the amount of $6,000 during the year of 1963 for the purpose of purchasing, developing, printing, and mailing a variety of constructive materials on these matters to a limited number of business, civic, religious, and political leaders throughout the state of Alabama. Where possible, these materials would carry the imprint of respected organizations or would be reprinted from accepted magazines. They need

not always, although they would on some occasions, bear the imprint of the Alabama Council.

It is our belief that some effort must be made in the short time remaining to reach the leadership of the state and to encourage the process of re-examination of defiance, which is beginning. We believe that the stakes are high and that an investment here would be disproportionately beneficial to the entire Deep South. The course of Alabama will inevitably interact on future decisions in Mississippi and South Carolina.

We have prepared no specific budget, feeling that flexibility is important and that the breakdown of costs will depend on how many materials must be prepared and how many can be purchased in their present form. We anticipate that some $1,200 would be expended on postage alone; the bulk of the remainder would be expended on purchase, printing or reprinting, and occasionally the preparation of materials, with a smaller portion expended on secretarial help and overhead costs to the Alabama Council. In at least some cases, materials can be obtained without cost, from other interested organizations. We believe that quite a bit can be done with this modest amount of funds.

Ala - N.J. File -

Friday April 24th.

Dear Staige,

Please look this over. We hope to print this - maybe cheaply at Miles College.

Does this need to be edited & cut down for general distribution — to the uncommitted.

Call me Mon or Tuesday — if you have time to look at this.

Cordially Jim

Norman C. Jimerson
101-2121 Bldg.
B'ham 3, Ala.

205
AL 22722

THE STAKES ARE HIGH

As you can readily see, I am a man without a country. Up North I am a Southerner. Down South I am a Damned Yankee. But thank God I still have the accent.

I want to begin by saying that I am much more humble than usual to be in your presence. I honor you. I would not have thought of turning down any invitation to speak to the Alabama Council on Human Relations because I know, at least at a distance, some of the things through which you have gone, and I salute you as warm friends in the great crisis through which our civilization is passing.

Lou Mitchell was given to us by the city of Birmingham. An Episcopal clergyman, he is now the Executive Director of the Florida Council on Human Relations. Some of the people in Birmingham gave him to us reluctantly; others, very cheerfully. We received him gladly.

I have been invited to Birmingham only two times in my entire life. The first time I came here I was invited by the United Steel Workers of America before the famous 1954 decision. We met as an integrated group here in this city. Judge Homer Brown, a distinguished Negro lawyer from Pittsburgh and my dear, dear friend, came with me. In order to keep from recognizing segregation, we drove from Pittsburgh to Cincinnati and came in here on a night train and spent the day in an integrated meeting at the union headquarters. I missed the opportunity of immortality.

We had been arguing coming down here. I said to him, "Judge Brown, do you think it is justified for a person to violate a law that is inhumane and contrary to the basic interest of people?" He said, "I do not. We can always go through the legal process". I argued back and forth, "Suppose you applied that to Hitler's Germany, What would you do? Just knuckle under?" Well, that night as we left Birmingham on the night train a bright idea hit me. I said, "Homer, what did you say about violating the laws of the land?" He said, "Yes sir, I would conform

absolutely and change them by due process". I said, "The heck you would! You have been violating the laws of the State of Alabama all day by eating with me". He turned a little pale. He hadn't thought about it.

Now, frankly, I am a little disturbed about people in the field of human relations. My wife came back the other day from the annual meeting of the Florida Council on Human Relations that met in Tampa. They had a dinner in one of the leading downtown hotels in Tampa with 240 people present, and about half of them Negro. Everything was sweetness and light. They discussed all they wanted to discuss. They had no opposition whatever. I became immediately disturbed about this movement, as to what is going to happen to it. I decided to come to Birmingham to see what is happening to you, because I know when you take the pressure off the souls of people they degenerate. And I wanted to find out if you also are so free of problems and if it is so rosy and nice here in Birmingham that your souls need some kind of stimulation.

Now when Nat Welch called me up, I of course said immediately that I would come. I would not have thought of turning you down because Father Foley, a number of years ago, got out a letter that was really a tear-jerker. He was telling me about all of you people going to jail and that you couldn't get bonds, and I don't know what all. The letter went to Pittsburgh and was forwarded to me in Daytona Beach. I got up in the pulpit the next Sunday morning and said, "This Jesuit priest is going to get a contribution from this preacher. I hope some people will join me". Only two did. We sent Father Foley a little contribution for this organization. I immediately got a letter back, and lo and behold, it was signed by my fellow-townsman, Nat Welch. I was so proud of him I didn't know what to do. I didn't know our church had ever turned out such a guy, and I was grateful indeed.

Seriously, I want to say that I congratulate you on what you have done but more especially on what you have been.

I think it would be more interesting today if I tried to explain what I was, until the time there came a great change in my life. You may understand what I was like: prejudiced, complacent in my feeling of superiority, totally unaware of the awful cruelty of the mores in the society of which I was a part. None of these questions really basically and fundamentally entered my mind in those early days. The way of life was completely accepted.

My Mother had a stroke of paralysis when I was four. I was sent out on a farm to live with my Aunt. Now this was a real farm. We were nine miles from the railroad and twenty-five miles from Selma. I shall always be grateful to that Aunt. She was truly a great woman with a steel nerve, with insights quite unusual. Most of the people are rather vague in my mind, but not this woman -- a woman with a tremendous outlook upon life, and a deep and abiding passion for human beings.

Across the field, through the cotton patch and the corn field, in the piney woods there was a log cabin and in that log cabin lived William Day. William Day was a Negro living also with an aunt and uncle -- Steve and Nerve. He was my closest playmate -- bright, alert, keen. My cousin had a stroke at the time we were about twelve years of age. We tried to run these two farms. I knew William well and loved him. When he finished grade school, there was no place for him to go. There was no high school for Negroes. I went to Selma, twenty-five miles away, then to Wake Forest College, and finally to the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky.

I went home and was walking down Broad Street in Selma one day when a great big two-fisted Negro said, "Lord, Mr. Lilburn, don't you know me?" If you had thrust a dagger in my soul, you could not have hurt me worse. He was my playmate. That bright mind had been blasted by a burning sun in a cotton field. I knew that he had been cheated out of the right to the pursuit of happiness, of the contribution that every child of God ought to make.

William Day didn't know it, but he played a major role in the transition

from what I had been to what I knew I must become. Incidentally, I understand that William is down here in Bessemer somewhere. I am going to try to find him one of these days. I have visited with his father, but I haven't seen William since the early days. But lingering in my mind is the personality of that bright boy that I knew intimately who had been robbed of life.

I went to Wake Forest because it was a great school. The professors were not afraid to face realistically the teachings of Jesus without apology. Dr. William Louis Poteat, the eminent biologist, was there. I went there primarily to straighten him out on evolution. When I joined his Bible class, I found out that he was teaching from the original Greek. I had brains enough to know that straightening him out on evolution was going to be difficult -- more difficult than I had expected. I found out that here was a man who was unafraid to consider the great historical Jesus. I wasn't at Wake Forest very long before I made a decision that I was going to leave the ministry or change my thinking. I could not continue as I had been and stand in the pulpit of Christ. This was cleancut. I knew then that I could not represent Jesus Christ unless I took a moral stand on the question of race. It was not easy. I sweat blood during the long hours of the night trying to say, "Will you leave the ministry? Or will you stay in it and speak for Christ?"

Well, William Day and Jesus had done something to me!

I want to share with you, hurriedly, my philosophy of life because none of these causes can be upheld in the face of the kind of brutality that you face without a philosophy.

THE RELIGIOUS BASIS FOR BROTHERHOOD IS BELIEF IN ONE GOD. Now I don't want you to misunderstand me -- the whole race will never believe in one God. The characteristics of God will differ from man to man. I mean that if I believe in a God that is represented by the revelation of Christ, that belief imposes upon me the inevitable conviction that all men are the children of God. This is because

of my belief, not because of theirs. A man may be an atheist, he may be a libertine, he may be a gangster; but if I believe in the God and Father of Jesus Christ, for me he is a CHILD OF THE LIVING GOD. I cannot avoid that. All men are His children no matter what their attitude is. By creation He is their Father. You can never disown a son. He may be far away, he may err, he may fall far short, but he is a child of God.

There is a delightful story that is told about Abraham. Late one afternoon, Abraham was sitting outside of his tent when he saw a stranger coming. Characteristic of the Jews across the ages, Abraham invited the man to come in and remain for the evening meal. It wasn't long before they were reclining about the table and, according to this ancient story, Abraham noticed that the man did not bow down to the God of Israel and give thanks. He was a fire-worshipper. Abraham immediately ordered him out of the tent and to be on his way. That night, we are told, Abraham had a dream and in that dream God said to him, "Abraham, why did you send the old man on his way? I have put up with him all these years. Could you not put up with him for one night?"

This is the essence of the inclusive love of God. Any religion, particularly Christianity, that tries to use the very principles of brotherhood as the means of ostracising some people will turn religion into idolatry and blasphemy.

It was Harry Emerson Fosdick, during the First World War, who told the story of a boy who was mortally wounded on the front line. A Roman Catholic priest went to his rescue and lifted his head to try to give him water. The boy opened his eyes, recognized the Catholic priest and said, "Father, I do not belong to your church"/ The priest said, "No, my son, but you do belong to my God."

Now it doesn't matter, it seems to me, who you are, what your background is, what you think, the kind of life you live; if I believe in Jesus, and in the God he revealed, you are a child of God, whether you know it or not.

The second conviction I have is that THE SCIENTIFIC BASIS OF BROTHERHOOD IS

THE BELIEF IN ONE RACE.

Now I wasn't always taught that. I was taught, and it is easy to teach a child this, that there were five races and that I was on the top of the pile. It doesn't take any argument about that; you love to hear that kind of stuff. I believed it.

Then I wandered gradually north. At the University of Wisconsin I was getting acquainted with men like Edward Allsworth Ross who had been put out of Stanford University by Mrs. Stanford because he was too progressive and too liberal for her. He came to Wisconsin and established one of the greatest departments of sociology in the world. Then I became acquainted with Ralph Linton in anthropology. He was a brilliant man who died a few years ago while at Yale University. When I got to reading such men as Hooten of Harvard, and Herskovitz of Northwestern, and George Peter Murdock of Yale, I made a discovery. They didn't seem to understand what I had been taught. These eminent men in the field of science didn't seem to know that there were scientific reasons why I was superior to my fellow men by virtue of the accident of birth. They didn't know anything about that. I spent three days at Penn State University with George Peter Murdock and other eminent men in sociology, anthropology and psychology, and I pressed them on this point. These men did not know anything about the superiority, based on scientific findings, of any race, intellectually or otherwise.

I went down to Chicago to take some high school young people, as was our custom, to see the city, to show them the slums, to introduce them to labor headquarters, to let them see Hull House and some museums and whatever else they could see. One day we were in the Hall of Man (by the way, created by a great woman, Malvina Hoffman). Malvina Hoffman had picked from all the representatives of mankind three persons that she felt would represent the entire human race!

I was beginning to understand that scientifically we belong to one race. It occurred to me that the Bible had told us that twenty centuries ago and the people

who taught me the Bible had said that it is the pure, unadulterated Word of God. Then I learned that they didn't really believe it, if it challenged the mores and the customs of their society!

Yes, the scientific belief in one race has been well established. There are deviations. Start here and go south and the color will deepen as the sun grows hotter. There are variations, but not basic to character, to culture, to insight.

Incidentally, I don't want to take too much time on this, but I was always taught that if a Negro was very bright, it was due to the white blood he had. Do you know, it is a surprising thing to me that a race could take advantage of another race and then brag like that about the debauchery.

At the University of Wisconsin there was a young man named Preston Valiens, from Texas -- a Negro Catholic. Can you image that he was so brilliant that I hoped, times without number, that I couldn't be called on following him? I think he is still on the faculty at Fisk University. He is an authority on race relations, a man with a profound insight on all of these matters of culture and conflict. Some of our magazines have written up Preston Valiens because he is an authority in this field. I knew that people could develop and grow. I knew that the boundary line was lack of opportunities, not lack of ability.

The third thing I want to suggest is that in the development of my philosophy I determined that there is a POLITICAL BASIS FOR BROTHERHOOD, and that is THE BELIEF IN ONE WORLD. Wendell Wilkie played up that term, but it has been painfully brought home to us in these latter days. It is strange to me that the far right and the far left meet, because both of them are totalitarian and both of them are dogmatic and bigoted. They are not essentially separated. They both rule out the liberal philosophy of life. They both deny rights to those with whom they differ.

A long time ago it dawned upon me that we cannot survive as a nation alone. The very structure and purpose of the national state is to protect us. The state can no longer do that! There is no national state in the world that can give a vestige of protection today from atomic bombs. Any man with brains knows that. Any army man knows that. We stand or fall as one world. The political basis for brotherhood is the belief in one world. That is the reason why I believe in the United Nations. That is the reason I believe in the conference table. That is the reason I think that we cannot be isolationists. All this business about "state's rights" has been a pretext for discrimination since the Civil War ended state sovereignty. If any of you has any doubt about it, I want to say that I am first, last and always an American. I am not a citizen of Florida primarily, or Wisconsin, or Alabama. I am an American first and always, but above that I belong to humanity. I belong to the entire race. The principles upon which we operate should be universal.

~~The Bible says, "For God so loved the WORLD". "The field is the WORLD". "God shows no partiality", for of one he has made the entire race. That is what the Bible said twenty centuries ago. It is still far, far ahead of us.~~

~~I believe that the basis of our political outlook is the belief in one world.~~

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF BROTHERHOOD IS THE BELIEF IN ONE OPPORTUNITY.

Some people talk about the difference between the North and the South. There is a difference and I want to tell you what it is. I lived in the North approximately thirty years, and thirty years in the South. There is one basic, fundamental, underlying difference and it applies to every segment of the North; namely, that under the law a Negro can get a fair deal. And that is not true in many sections of the South. That is a major thing -- under law, he can get a fair deal in almost every segment of the North. I know of no place in the North where Negroes are denied the right to vote. Now if you will give me EQUALITY UNDER LAW and the RIGHT TO VOTE unhindered and unintimidated, I will have the two forces that will

bring about changes leading to justice. That constitutes a major difference. I hate to see you pit sin in one place against sin in another. I am against sin, whether it is in the North or in the South. And I don't think sin ought to be used to justify sin, as it so often is. We are for justice -- North and South. But I am sure that Negroes have more justice and more opportunities in the North. I hate to say that, but it is certainly true.

Suppose we were going to have a race. We call up the runners and put them on the line. You say, "Jimmy Jones, your father is a poor farmer -- ten paces to the rear; John Brown, ten paces to the front -- your father is a wealthy banker"; and we line them up according to class structure. And then you fire the gun. No one can win the race with any enthusiasm except the guy who is farthest back. It is no fun for anybody else to win it.

So far as I am concerned, I want to have a dead level of equality when the gun is fired so that we can run alike for the goal. It seems to me that the decent men, the upright men, the men who are not necessarily Christian but just fair, would want to stand on the line with every other man. Should this not be true in the field of economic opportunity? That is, if a man can do a job, he will get the job. That is my understanding of fairness. That is the very least a Christian can give.

I want to raise a question about what are the stakes today. The stakes are high. Here they are as I see them.

First of all, THE LEADERSHIP OF THE FREE WORLD IS AT STAKE. Now don't underestimate it; the leadership of the free world is at stake, and maybe on this issue of racial discrimination.

I was interviewing Dr. J. Irwin Miller, President of the National Council of Churches, one of the brilliant business men and laymen of this country. He is the president of the Cummings Engine Company of Columbus, Indiana, and is on the Board of AT&T. He is on the board of many outstanding international corporations. He

~~is a dedicated Christian. By the way, he reads his Greek New Testament for devotions. Now isn't that nice to have a business man like that in this country? He says that the question of racial justice may be the determining force of what the future of humanity may be in the next century. I think that is the truth.~~ The leadership of the free world is at stake because we will not be respected unless we give expression to elemental justice. Now this Civil Rights Bill before Congress doesn't bring about Christianity. That bill won't bring about justice. I am for it, but I want to tell you it falls far short. No bill can bring about these things, but this bill certainly will not. It falls far short of elemental legal justice, even if we get it all as it is now written. But I can tell you this: if we don't move out in the direction of justice, the confidence of the darker races of the earth will be lost and forfeited. And who will take the leadership? It will be either Communist China or the Soviet Union. You must look this squarely in the face -- the leadership of the free world is at stake!

Another thing that I think is at stake is OUR CONSTITUTION and OUR FORM OF GOVERNMENT. When the Supreme Court of the United States interprets this Constitution, it is the law of the land. Now individuals never have been given the opportunity of interpreting the Constitution; it is done by the courts of law. We will either be generating chaos or we will follow the courts of law.

Our government is at stake. This is a valuable government. I think it has taken the lead for freedom of man above most of the governments of the world. It is a precious thing. The Constitution and the Bill of Rights are things that are valuable not only to my generation but to untold generations that are unborn. The Constitution of the United States is at stake. It doesn't matter a snap, in this regard, if it is a Democratic President of a Republican President, if he has taken the oath of office, he has got to fulfill his oath by enforcing the Constitution. If he doesn't, this country will degenerate into chaos and fail.

Can anyone read the letter that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. wrote from the jail here in Birmingham to outstanding ministers in this city and think he can answer that letter on the basis of Christianity? Is there anybody here who thinks for a minute that he can answer those arguments? I cannot. I thank God I am not one of the ministers to whom that letter was addressed. I would hate to go down in history as having received that letter. It is absolutely unanswerable from the standpoint of the New Testament, either in tenderness, or insight, or profound thought, or ethical values.

One of my men was visiting at a naval base. He is a great man, a great layman, who happened to be at one time the Chairman of the Board of Deacons at Riverside Church in New York. He has an international reputation with the YMCA. He went to a Methodist Church which had the week before turned down Negroes at the door with the minister's consent. When he came home he said that the Navy enforces integration. Segregated places had been made "out of bounds". I said to him, "I'll bet that if you go back in six months and listen to that minister's preaching, you can tell the difference in his soul. I guarantee his acquiescence will do something to him". He said, "Six months? Why it had done something to him by that Sunday morning". It had affected what he was saying.

A lot of people are talking about their jobs. Well, I'll tell you right now that there is something more precious than a job, and that is the right to speak one's mind honestly and sincerely. Surrender that right and you surrender your soul.

There is one final thing at stake as I see it. That is ONE'S OWN MORAL AND SPIRIT CONDITION, ONE'S OWN INTEGRITY.

I got a letter from Birmingham just last week from a dear person who said, "I know that you are right, I know that you are right". He was speaking about this race problem. He said it out of a heart that is torn, out of a background of

mores that are exacting a toll that is unbelievable -- to know something is right and not be able to say so or to speak up for it. God pity a minister that values the job more than his soul, than his cause. After all, you have to make peace with God.

I have never had a person, North, South, East or West, who came up to me and say, "Now listen, Pastor. This is not Christian". Not a one. They come up and say, "This is going to ruin our church".

A rabbi once told a story of the five races of mankind climbing a mountain from every direction. They climbed higher and higher until at last they stood on that wind-swept peak, and in order to avoid being blown over the precipice into the abyss below they had to hold hands.

We stand at the peak. Now don't underestimate it. What is at stake is the very future and freedom of mankind, nothing less than that, because high integrity is involved and it cannot wait. I never was so proud in my life of Lyndon Johnson as I was when the security tried to get him to go in an armoured car as the procession for President Kennedy went from the Capitol to the Church. They were going to have ninety-three representatives of the nations of the world walking, and our president riding in a car that was protected from bullets. Mr. Johnson was reported to have said, "I had rather give my life than be afraid to give it". And he walked. I would have been ashamed had it been otherwise. We can't protect the life of the president from bullets, that is impossible. But we can create the kind of America with more sanity and more understanding and more love and more justice that will keep men from wanting to fire bullets.

I met a little lady in Philadelphia at the National Council of Churches meeting recently, who was from Jackson, Mississippi. She was sitting in a hotel with a friend of my wife's, a Negro woman. They were eating together. I thought

that this was quite interesting. And so we went over and got to talking and found out that this precious little woman from Jackson was fighting a heroic battle. I could see and feel the deep, permeating sincerity of the woman. At the National Council's President's luncheon, we sat together. I said to her, "Aren't you afraid of having your home bombed? Aren't you afraid of what people will do to you?" The woman, with deep modest, said, "A Christian can't ask questions like that".

My friends, it is a great day in which to live. I want to congratulate you on the opportunities that you have for holding high the banner of freedom!

Dr. Lilburn B. Moseley
Birmingham, Alabama

(Pastor, Seabreeze Union Church
Daytona Beach, Florida)

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
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REV. THOMAS THRASHER, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
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REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director


"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

September 23, 1960

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Rev. Hughes is out of the office at the present on vacation. As soon as he returns to the office, which should be the 27th, I will bring your letter to his attention.

Sincerely,

Annette Cox

(Mrs.) Annette Cox
Sec. to Rev. Hughes

ac

September 21, 1960

Rev. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Everyone here spent some anxious moments for you during the recent trouble you had with the Grand Jury. And so I am amiss in not writing you sooner especially since this letter is to ask a favor.

We are, of course, interested in letting everyone know about your experiences and I wondered if you would consent to write us a brief article concerning freedom of conscience as it relates to your experience. I would of course give you any aid in this that you might need. We think it would be most effective to have this story told in a first person account.

Mr. McGill was considering a column on this but I don't know what has happened as yet.

Let me know what you think of the idea and if you would be able to fit it into your very busy schedule.

With very best wishes to you, Dot and family.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

July 12, 1961

Mr. C. Herbert Oliver
857 Hillman Drive
Bessemer, Alabama

Dear Mr. Oliver:

I am answering your letter to Mr. Dunbar, and sending you the copies of the current NEW SOUTH plus other materials which might help you in your seminar on human relations.

Thanks so much for the compliments on the latest issue of NEW SOUTH.

We are passing on your P.S. to Paul Riling with the good word about the Chamber of Commerce.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Margaret Long
Director of Information

M:lec

MV - pls handle; you may want to get advice from MA

PR - note

LD

857 Hillmont Dr.
Bessemer, Ala.

July 7, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Dunbar,

I notice that you received a copy of the letter of June 8 from Dr. Pitts in which he proposed a joint Conference-Seminar on human relations to be held at Miles College on July 27-28.

Presently I am preparing a bibliography, much of which is taken from S.R.C.publications. I am also preparing some material to be used in the event I may be called upon to make a talk. I would appreciate whatever material you may be able to send, material which will be usable in a seminar on human relations. This would be for my use.

I would also like to be able to distribute some of your publications to those attending the seminar, particularly, copies of the current NEW SOUTH. The article on the Alexandria Council is very good. We appreciate your inclusion of our statement from the Birmingham Council.

Rev. Foley has been contacted about the seminar, but he has indicated that he will be away for the summer.

Respectfully yours,

C. Herbert Oliver

C. Herbert Oliver

P.S. I received word from Theotis Crymes today that the V.A. has acted in his behalf and will give him the allowance for disabled veterans. It is to be retroactive. This is very good news for the I.C.C.
Also the president of the B'ham. Chamber of Commerce wrote the B'ham. Council a nice letter in response to our offer of assistance. We hope this is a prelude to better relations.

July 18, 1961

Mr. C. Herbert Oliver
857 Hillman Drive
Bessemer, Alabama

Dear Mr. Oliver:

We are happy to send you one hundred copies of our report on The Freedom Ride.

Please let us know if we can help you any further.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Margaret Long
Director of Information

ML:lec

July 17, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Long,

Thank you for the materials which you sent. I'm sure they will be of use at the seminar on human relations at Miles College. I could make good use of 100 copies of your Special Report on Freedom Rides. If that is not asking too much, I would appreciate having that amount. Both the seminar and the Birmingham Council meet next week, and it would be good to have copies on hand to distribute to the interested. Thank you kindly.

Sincerely yours,

C. Herbert Oliver

C. Herbert Oliver

# BIRMINGHAM PARENTS ASK END OF SEGREGATION IN SCHOOLS

Atla. World 8/23/57

## Petition Asks Admission On Non-Segregated Basis

Educ. - Ala.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. (INS) — The first formal move for integration of Alabama Public Schools was made Thursday.

Petitions were filed in Birmingham to admit thirteen Negro children to the schools nearest their homes in September, on a non-segregated basis.

The petitions were filed in a registered letter to Jefferson county school superintendent, Dr. L. Frazer Banks, and included the signatures of 18 Negro parents.

One of the principle signers of the petition was the Rev. F. L. Shuttesworth, who with his wife requested his two daughters be admitted to an all-white high school.

**APPEAL CASE**

Shuttlesworth is the alleged leader of a recent Negro integration march on Birmingham buses. A case is currently in appeal by 21 Negroes involved in the incident who were convicted of violating segregation laws.

Birmingham city officials said Thursday move came as a complete surprise. Most were certain the action would only "stir up trouble."

Police commissioner, Robert E. Lindbergh, a member of the school board said:

"The move is ill conceived. It can't add anything to good race relations. I can't conceive of the idea that our schools will be integrated. We would have to resist any such move in every legal and peaceful way at our command."

Eugene Connor, who defeated Lindbergh in a primary election and will take the commissioner's post in November, said flatly:

"We are not going to have integrated schools in Birmingham Alabama."

"If it means abolishing our schools that will be done." The prospective commissioner said:

"If shuttlesworth would tend to his preaching and stop trying to stir up trouble among the races, it would do his race a lot more good."

Mayor J. W. Morgan of Birmingham said his opinion was that the move was not [illegible]

"We have built and [illegible] Morgan said, [illegible] citizens in education, recreation and other civic enterprise. I am certain nothing good can come of this movement. To the contrary, the fruit therefore will be discord."

Sept. 9, 1957

## PATTERSON PROMISES AID IN RACIAL ISSUES

BIRMINGHAM, Sept. 9 (AP) — Alabama Atty. Gen. John Patterson today promised authorities at Birmingham and Bessemer legal support against Negro attempts to break down racial barriers.

Two Negro men have filed suit asking a U.S. district court order declaring Bessemer's park segregation law unconstitutional. Negroes also made an attempt to enroll at the all-white Phillips High School in adjoining Birmingham today.

The Phillips incident occurred while Patterson was conferring with city officials in Bessemer.

At Birmingham, Patterson met with Dr. Frazer Banks, city superintendent of education, and T. R. Broom, president of the Birmingham board of education.

Patterson said the Bessemer park suit is the first attack in Alabama on segregation in parks. "This situation may well affect the whole state," he added.

# HE'LL TRY AGAIN

Chat Times

## Shuttlesworth Is Knocked Down Repeatedly in Bid Against Race Barrier

9/10/57

## THREE MEN ARRESTED

Ed-Bham

## Petition to Integrate Is Pending, but There Had Been No Registration

BIRMINGHAM, Sept. 9 (AP) —A Negro minister was beaten today in an outbreak of mob violence set off by his attempt to enter Negro students at all-white Phillips High School.

The Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, 35, was knocked down several times and threatened with death by members of a white group which had gathered outside the downtown school.

Shuttlesworth's daughter, Ruby Fredericka, 12, suffered a bruised ankle when a car door was slammed against it.

Three white men were arrested by police who battled a dozen or more men until the minister was able to break away and escape.

Two hours after the incident, a car containing four Negro men drove past the block-square Phillips building and threw rocks into a window. No one was hurt. The Negroes escaped.

### Ordered Off Grounds

Police Commissioner Robert E. Lindbergh ordered Birmingham police to prevent persons "who have no lawful reason to be at the schools" from entering school grounds. This would include Negroes who have not been registered.

Shuttlesworth said, after Lindbergh's order, that he would try to enroll the Negroes at Phillips again tomorrow, "whether they kill us or not."

Police also said the all-white Woodlawn High School, in the eastern section, had been notified by telegram that an attempt to enroll Negroes would be made tomorrow.

### Petition Pending

A petition to register eight Negroes at three city schools, including Phillips, is pending. Today's was the first physical effort by Negroes this year to enter Alabama schools. Several Negroes tried unsuccessfully to enroll at a Montgomery elementary in 1956.

Last year at the University of Alabama, located 60 miles from Birmingham at Tuscaloosa, Autherine Lucy, a Negro [illegible] from Birmingham, tried to [illegible] was driven from the campus [illegible]

The Shuttlesworth effort today was unexpected, since registration had ended last week.

### Telegram Too Late

Lindbergh said a telegram from Shuttlesworth asking police protection arrived after the minister had made the unauthorized attempt.

This Deep South city of [illegible] has a Negro population of about 130,000. Another 70,000 or so live in its suburbs, making up about one-third of a metropolitan community of 600,000.

Jim Atkins, news director of WBRC-TV, said that when Shut-

See Page Eleven, Column Six

# NEGRO IS BEATEN AT BIRMINGHAM

From Page One

tlsworth drove to the school about "15 men jumped on him and started slugging him."

The crowd yelled, "Let's get that Negro, let's kill him," Atkins said.

Police Lt. E. T. Rouse, who headed a detail of four officers at the scene, said he called headquarters for help as soon as Shuttlesworth arrived at 10:35 a.m.

"Shuttlesworth got out of the car and ran west along the street for about 100 yards, and the police ran toward him," Rouse said.

"Shuttlesworth was knocked down several times. We could not keep up with him and keep the crowd off at the same time."

The Shuttlesworth car contained the minister, his wife; two of his daughters, Ruby and Patricia Ann, 14; the Rev. J. S. Phifer; Nathaniel Lee, 17, and Walter Wilson, 12. The four children were to be entered in the school.

Lee said the mob attacked the minister with brass knuckles and large link chains about a foot long. Only Shuttlesworth left the car.

The three men arrested were identified as W. H. Cash, 50; I. F. Gauldin, 42, and J. E. Breckenridge, 26, all of Birmingham. They were booked for assault with intent to murder at city jail, Warden A. E. Curl said.

The petition of the Negroes to attend the white schools here has been referred to Dr. Fraser Banks, city school superintendent.

### Law Untested

Under the Alabama school placement law, as amended this year and as yet untested in the courts, local school boards are given broad authority to place children in schools on the basis of test results, personal interviews and various other factors.

The law does not mention race or segregation, but it admittedly is designed as a legal way of maintaining separate schools.

Shuttlesworth is president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, formed as a pro-integration group in Birmingham shortly after Alabama courts outlawed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

He was a leader in the attempt to end separate seating of the races on Birmingham buses last December. Their test of the rigid Birmingham segregation laws still is pending in court.

### Named by Attackers

Shuttlesworth's name also figured in an outbreak of violence here Sept. 1 when a group of six white men, some of them wearing the regalia of the Ku Klux Klan, sexually mutilated a Negro.

Their victim, Judge Aaron, was picked up by chance, officers said, by a group which had met earlier [illegible]

Aaron, 32, has no children and has not entered in any integration attempt. He is in serious condition in a hospital here. He said the men who mutilated him told him to "tell Shuttlesworth this is what happens to any Negro" who attempts to send his children to [illegible]

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December 10, 1957

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Southern Normal School
Brewton, Alabama

# NEWS LETTER

## Alabama LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO

PHONE FA 4-5648 • 604 LYRIC BLDG. • BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA

Volume II, No. 13 March 28, 1958


### GOP Leader Comes to [redacted]ama to Aid Bolters

Judge Roy Mayhall, State Democratic Chairman, says that Republican National Chairman Meade Alcorn apparently is being brought to Alabama to give a shot in the arm to Eisenhower Democrats and to other would-be bolters who are trying to take over the Democratic Party. The timing of the $25-a-plate Republican fund raising dinner in Birmingham for April 11, just a few weeks before the Democratic Primary, would obviously give the bolters a sounding board and assist them in their campaign to take over control of the Democratic Party in Alabama on May 6. A complete slate of bolters has been entered in each district.

### The Constitutional Amendments

Are you tired of seeing cases tied up in courts for many, many months, and sometimes years? Then vote "Yes" on Amendment No. 1, to be voted on May 6. This amendment would make our present Court of Appeals a Court of Criminal Appeals with final jurisdiction to dispose of all criminal appeals. It will stream-line and increase the efficiency of our courts.

Amendment No. 2 is like the bad penny, still turning up. Last December the voters of the state soundly defeated Rankin Fite's Marion County bill, but it is again on the ballot in the form of Amendment No. 2, and should be just as soundly defeated this time. It would empower the officials of Marion County to turn over to corporations, without cost, land, buildings, or other public assets paid for by the taxpayers of that county.

### The Light Goes Out For "Labor's Daily"

Labor's Daily, only daily labor paper in the U.S., suspended publication with the March 28 issue. In announcing the suspension, Ralph "Scoop" White, Editor, said that failure of the labor movement to give sufficient support to the publication was the primary cause of the suspension. The paper was started more than five years ago, and published many stories not carried by the daily press. It had a number of first-rate labor columnists, and the editorials of "Scoop" White were often controversial but never dull. Its demise will leave a real need in union offices throughout the country.

### Who's Fooling Who Now?

For years the old National Association of Manufacturers line has been to insist that all high prices have been caused by high wages; that the wage earner is entirely to blame for inflation; and that if the inflationary spiral is to be stopped, then wages must come down. How long can they continue to use the same old broken record in the face of latest Bureau of Labor Statistics figures? The bureau has announced that the nation's living costs, moving contrary to the business decline, rose to another new record in February. This was in the face of a drop of 5% in buying power of factory workers. Senator Lyndon Johnson says it is one of the few occasions in history in which prices have risen in the midst of a recession.

At the same time, "Iron Age," the Bible of the steel industry, was reporting that steel mills earned more money in 1957 despite lower production and shipments. Could it be that manufacturers, in piling up record profits, have priced themselves out of the market and thus brought on the recession?

### How Can We Fail With Support Like This?

From a letter received from Radio Broadcast Technicians, IBEW #1264, Mobile, in answer to the Alabama Labor Council's request for funds for political action: "Our treasury is overburdened, and our members are carrying extra assessments. But, in spite of the terrific load we're carrying at present, we feel that the program you have initiated is so very important to the future existence of organized labor in Alabama that we voted in our last regular meeting to send you the enclosed check... The amount enclosed is almost 400% of what you asked us for... We'd also like to point out that we contributed for this purpose on a previous occasion." We can not ask this local to carry all the load. Has your union done its part and sent in 30¢ per member?

# BIRMINGHAM CROWD DISPERSES NEGROES

BIRMINGHAM (AP)—A milling crowd of jeering white men and teen-agers chased Negroes away from the vicinity of Phillips High School Wednesday, standing guard against any Negro attempts to enroll.

The crowd swelled to more than 150 and remained at the scene for more than four hours until dispersed by police. A white boy suffered a head injury when he said he was struck by a rock thrown by a Negro youth.

Police arrested three white men who, they said, refused to move on.

Negroes attempted to enroll at the white downtown high school last September, but no attempt was made by members of their race to enroll at a white school as registration began Wednesday.

The Negroes who were chased away were pedestrians who apparently were passing through the area just northeast of the business section. The crowd contented itself with yelling at Negroes passing in vehicles.

# THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

*For 91 Years The South's Standard Newspaper*

RALPH McGILL, Editor

CLARK HOWELL, Publisher

Established June 16, 1868

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MONDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1958


# RALPH McGILL

## *A Church, A School—*

Dynamite in great quantity Sunday ripped a beautiful Temple of worship in Atlanta. It followed hard on the heels of a like destruction of a handsome high school at Clinton, Tenn.

The same rabid, mad-dog minds were, without question, behind both. They also are the source of previous bombings in Florida, Alabama and South Carolina. The school house and the church are the targets of diseased, hate-filled minds.

Let us face the facts.

This is a harvest. It is the crop of things sown.

It is the harvest of defiance of courts and the encouragement of citizens to def, law on the part of many Southern politicians. It will be the acme of irony, for example, if any one of four or five Southern governors deplore this bombing. It will be grimly humorous if certain state attorneys general issue statements of regret. And it will be quite a job for some editors, columnists and commentators, who have been saying that our courts have no jurisdiction and that the people should refuse to accept their authority now to deplore.

It is not possible to preach lawlessness and restrict it.

To be sure, none said go bomb a Jewish temple or a school.

### *Gates Opened*

But let it be understood that when leadership in high places in any degree fails to support constituted authority, it opens the gates to all those who wish to take law into their hands.

There will be, to be sure, the customary act of the careful drawing aside of skirts on the part of those in high places.

"How awful," they will exclaim. "How terrible. Something must be done."

But the record stands. The extremists of the citizens' councils, the political leaders who in terms violent and inflammatory have repudiated their oaths and stood against due process of law have helped unloose this flood of hate and bombing.

This, too, is a harvest of those so-called Christian ministers who have chosen to preach hate instead of compassion. Let them now find pious words and raise their hands in deploring the bombing of a synagogue.

You do not preach and encourage hatred for the Negro and hope to restrict it to that field. It is an old, old story. It is one repeated over and over again in history. When the wolves of hate are loosed on one people, then no one is safe.

Hate and lawlessness by those who lead release the yellow rats and encourage the crazed and neurotic who print and distribute the hate pamphlets, who shrieked that Franklin Roosevelt was a Jew; who denounce the Supreme Court as being Communist and controlled by Jewish influences.

### *The Harvest*

This series of bombings is the harvest, too, of something else.

One of those connected with the bombing telephoned a news service early Sunday morning to say the job would be done. It was to be committed, he said, by the Confederate Underground.

The Confederacy and the men who led it are revered by millions. Its leaders returned to the Union and urged that the future be committed to building a stronger America. This was particularly true of Gen. Robert E. Lee. Time after time he urged his students at Washington University to forget the War Between the States and to help build a greater and stronger union.

But for too many years now we have seen the Confederate flag and the emotions of that great war become the property of men not fit to tie the shoes of those who fought for it. Some of these have been merely childish and immature. Others have perverted and commercialized the flag by making the Stars and Bars, and the Confederacy itself, a symbol of hate and bombings.

For a long time now it has been needful for all Americans to stand up and be counted on the side of law and the due process of law—even when to do so goes against personal beliefs and emotions. It it late. But there is yet time

Confidential

Air Mail [redacted]

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. - 217 S. COURT ST. - MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA
PHONE 2-0450

REV. DUNCAN HUNTER, President
DR. C. G. GOUMILLION, Vice-President
REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director
REV. THOMAS THRASHER, Secretary
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Treasurer

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Mr. Fred South
SRC

Wed., Oct. 29, 1958

Dear Fred:

Sans secretary and ability to type here's a report of the situation here in Birmingham as of late.

Since 1948 there have been some 25 unsolved bombings in Jefferson County, plus some just recently in a segregation. On December 1, 1956 22 Negroes were arrested for riding buses in a desegregated fashion. Federal Court suit filed. To be finally heard in A.M.

Two weeks ago in anticipation of suit, city commission repeals bus segregation laws + permits bus company to assign seats. Two weeks ago thirteen Negroes board buses + sit in front refusing to go to back according to driver's directions. Police called and arrest the 13 on disorderly conduct and breach of the peace charges followed by Rev. Shuttlesworth's arrest for conspiracy to commit above. Last Thursday night 1,000 Negroes knelt in silent prayer outside of the City Hall from 9:00 P.M. til 1:00 A.M. during trial in Recorders Court. All were convicted by judge who delayed sentencing until Monday. While he "thought it over" all 14 were to be held in jail. Friday a writ of habeous corpus filed + after Negro attorneys given "run around". A hearing

was finally set for Saturday morning. Sat. morning the case was continued until Tuesday morning as two witnesses, one the police chief, couldn't be found to serve the opens on on Fri.

Monday night an overflow crowd of several thousand Negroes held their regular mass meeting (meetings have been held each week for 25 years with only initial press coverage) while another large group met at the City Hall for the judge to pass sentence on the 14. Judge passed sentences instead of releasing on bond pending outcome of appeal (Jim) remanded them to jail until next morning at 10:00 A.M. when warden had orders to produce them in court for the habeas corpus proceedings. He wanted to be "certain" that they would be there. That same Monday afternoon Shuttlesworth's organization (the Ala. Christian movement for Human Rights) had their Executive Board meeting at S.'s home. Three Montgomery Improvement Assn. leaders joined the 20+ assembled. Four Birm. detectives, plain clothes, plain car — came in without arrest or search warrants and after identification of everyone took the Montgomery ministers to headquarters on vagrancy charges. Weren't booked, but questioned & held for five hours, then released. (Look story to press + TU)

Tuesday morning, yesterday, Judge

Bailes at the habeas corpus hearing said the writ question was "moot" and released the 14 negroes. Courtroom packed with negroes.

Yesterday morning after this hearing I attended an off-the-record special meeting of some 110-120 negro ministers from all over Jefferson County called by the Jeff County Betterment assn., an organization of ministers without lay representation led by pastors of the larger negro churches who disdain S's. methods, publicity seeking, etc. They've done little + had few actives during past two years. Rev. J. S. Ware has the commitment + manner of King but moved - says he's worn out. Key figure of the J.C.B.A.

These 110 ministers were joined by Shuttlesworth briefly. Everyone was fed up.

Tonite the A.C.M.H.R. at a special mass meeting is scheduled to deliver an indirect bus boycott threat to the assembled press.

Tomorrow morning the bus company president + owner will receive a letter mailed tonite from the J.C.B.A. asking for a conference. Not stated but to be asserted at the conference is

the ultimatum of change of seating policies or a bus boycott.

Fonte Shuttlesworth, though verging on pneumonia from a cold which all 14 caught in jail, may or may not decide to keep the boycott threat indirect as passed by his executive board. He gets caught up with the enthusiasm of the crowd.

Both A.F.M.H.R. & J.C.B.A. feel that the boycott must be launched soon or never - in all likelihood Monday night's mass meeting will result in walking orders if it hasn't come before then. Monday night is regarded as the latest date that sentiment can be held in check.

~~The bus company~~ Tomorrow morning Federal Court hearing will be of little real significance.

The bus company hasn't made a profit in 2 years & has just bought $1,000,000 in new busses. Negro patronage is about 75% roughly.

The question basically is - can the bus company be persuaded to keep

its 75 % negro patronage and lose some 25 % from a possible white boycott and suffer legal or punitive pressure from the city Commission or Ala. Public Service Commission.

As I see my task now, it is to try to get pressure built up on the company's local president (and holder of the majority stock) to follow the dollar and risk governmental sanctions. Although the city and particularly downtown merchants would suffer heavily, the city might easily drop public transportation regulation + let anybody run their own buggies as Little Rock has done with its schools. This would be typical of Birmingham sentiment.

All the rest of the picture I don't need to relate - "goon squad" charges by police, white + negro + Klan violence + lot we can't foresee.

Say a prayer for us as we'll need all possible resources and the spiritual is about all I've got.

Cordially,

Bill

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

November 12, 1958

Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I certainly appreciate your telephoning me from Birmingham last week and hope you will be able to write me within the next few days to let me know what the situation is at the present time. We are quite at a loss to know what appropriate action to take and would like to know whether there is something constructive and helpful which we should be doing to bring the situation to the attention of others or to express our concern to persons in authority. Let us hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax
National Representative of
Southern Programs

JF:mt
Encs.

C
O
P
Y

November 3, 1958

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr
Montgomery Improvement Association
530-C Union Street, South
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Dr. King:

This will acknowledge receipt of your lengthy wire with respect to the deplorable situation in Birmingham, Alabama, both as it affects Dr. Shuttlesworth and other Negro leadership on the one hand and Montgomery clergymen on the other. We share your sense of sorrow that such injustice can be perpetrated in a land which prides itself on its heritage of freedom.

We are taking steps to communicate with Attorney General Rogers, Mayor James Morgan of Birmingham, and Don S. James, the President of the Birmingham Transit Company, expressing our regret at the action taken against Negro leadership and urging the maintenance of traditional American freedom.

We are both surprised and disappointed that the national press has not carried more reports on the deplorable situation in Birmingham. For example, we have no information on the fact that Dr. Shuttlesworth was for five days denied counsel and held incommunicado. It would be very helpful to us if you could supply us with some information concerning the circumstances and to what extent he was unable to communicate with the outside world.

Sincerely yours,

Stephen G. Cary
Secretary
American Section

SGC:mo

C
O
P
Y

WESTERN UNION

Steve Cary
30 So. 12th Street
Philadelphia

October 30, 1958

A virtual reign of terror grips Birmingham, Alabama. Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth and other Negro leaders arrested. Denied bail, held incommunicado for 5 days, denied counsel, declared guilty and now face up to 3 months as result of non-violent effort to eradicate segregation. Three Montgomery clergymen offering spiritual comfort to Mrs. Shuttlesworth were arrested in her home. Charged with vagrancy denied counsel and ordered not to return to Birmingham. This is part of a lawless pattern which results in bombing the Churches, synagogues, schools and homes. It is all the more fearful because in Birmingham it operates through constituted police authority. The jailing of these leaders is an act of terror designed to deprive southern Negro communities of leadership. We urge you to send messages to United States Attorney General, Governor of Alabama, Mayor of Birmingham and newspaper publishers and civic leaders protesting this national scandal. Your action can save lives.

Martin Luther King, Jr. President
Southern Christian Leadership Conference

November 12, 1958

Mr. Jack Anderson
Washington Merry-Go-Round
1513 29th Street North West
Washington 7, D.C.

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Thank you for your letter of October 28 informing me of the limitations under which the Merry-Go-Round operates about which I inquired.

Two items from this state might be of interest to you as they constitute prospective news stories. First, the Civil Rights Commission is scheduled to hold a hearing in Montgomery on December 8th, to review complaints of the alleged discrimination based upon race by the Macon County Board of Registrars. The basis for this hearing is a report of the Voter Franchise Committee of the Tuskegee Civic Association, which states that during the 12 month period from September, 1957 to September, 1958, 314 Negroes presented themselves for registration, 145 were permitted to make a total of 214 applications from which 98 certificates of registration were issued by the board. These factors are against the backdrop of a county which in 1950 had an 84% Negro population, the highest proportion of any county in the South and probably in the entire Nation. Presently, there are 1,071 Negroes registered, and between 2,400-2,500 whites, while there are 14,000 Negroes of 21 years and over who are unregistered and less than a hundred whites unregistered.

When the Civil Rights Commission investigators asked to examine the boards files they were refused, as you know. The subsequent decision of the Civil Rights Commission to hold hearings in Montgomery was quickly followed by recommendations from the Attorney General and Governor-Elect John Patterson to all Boards of Registrars to with-hold all records from Federal inspection. With the lines thus drawn the Commission has stated that it would probably use its subpoena power if necessary, and Mr. Patterson has issued a vieled threat that it "might be difficult" for the state to find persons who might be willing to serve on Boards of Registrars throughout the state.

The upshot of all of this is another major "showdown" impending between Federal and state powers. Because the tenor of public opinion, reinforced by the attitudes of the involved officials , at least in that part of the state, it is inconceivable that the board, which will doubtless be represented at the hearing by the Attorney General, will gracefully surrender its complete set of records with or without a subpoena, and perhaps even with or without a Federal Court contempt citation. With such "Faubusing around" (a phrase which I heartely recommend) a situation with all of the legal ingredients of Little Rock might well be in the offing. A copy of our Newsletter dealing with the Tuskegee situation relating detailed background material is enclosed.

Mr. Jack Anderson
1513 29th St. N.W.
Washington 7, D.C.

November 12, 1958

Page -2-

The second item concerns a bus boycott here in the city of Birmingham. This city with its history of over 25 dynamiting of Negro homes and churches during the past ten years and with four violent and virtually uncontrolled mob scenes during the past 18 months, presents a far more volatile situation than Montgomery or Little Rock should the present two week old limited boycott become full-blown within the next month or two. Local press reporters insist that they can find no evidence of a boycott, although Birmingham city police are actively trying to stamp one out. Only yesterday morning policemen attempted to get Negro school children to use the bus line serving their community as in the past, rather than walking to school as they have been doing recently. This morning as each morning, police in the Acipco community standing 2 or 3 on each street intersection over a sizeable area took down the license tags of all persons giving rides to walking Negroes.

The irony of it all is that the Birmingham News which carries your column and the Birmingham Post-Herald, after following the lead of Editor Grover Hall of the Montgomery Advertiser in decrying the suppression of racial incidents in the Northern press for over two years, have yet to print a single reference to any bus boycott since the boycott appeal went out on the evening of November 7. Citizens in Montgomery, Atlanta, Nashville, St. Louis, Washington and New York have all had the privilege of reading of these general developments in Birmingham in their local papers, although the citizens of this city have been denied this privilege by an obvious conspiracy on the part of our only daily newspapers. Local radio and television has given some coverage, but there is no comparrison between the influence of these media as against the regular press.

If there is further information that you desire on either of these situations, please do not hesitate to contact me, as I feel that a presentation on the background of the Tuskegee Negroes vote quest and illumination of what is happening here in Birmingham will be healthy for both situations.

Sincerely yours,

Bob

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

REH/cas

B.C.C. - Enjoy Via

Thanks so much for coming over last week and helping out with things here. We had 60 ministers at Talladega last week from all sections of the state except Mobile + the West Black Belt. Hope the Ala. Council got its $5,500 as applied for. No clippings from you folks yet - or stuff since you all left. Bob

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM December 16, 1958

To: Frederick B. Routh

From: Emory F. Via

Re: BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

This memo is attached to a folder marked "Birmingham, EFV." The folder includes some of the correspondence from Bob Hughes which gives recent information on the Birmingham situation. It also indicates some of the interest of other persons in what's going on in Birmingham, especially the AFSC.

Two documents which were to be used in backgrounding denominational representatives are also included. One is a chronicle of violence which was to be added to by Bob Hughes and distributed to the denominational men. The second is a list of suggestions and approaches to be made by denominational representatives who come into the Birmingham situation. Copies of both of these were to have been sent to the denominational representatives. I have a feeling that this has not been done. It could be appropriately done either by SRC, with a carefully drawn covering letter, or by Bob Hughes or Will Campbell.

At the original meeting in Birmingham from which the suggestion of these documents came, Will Campbell, Glen Smiley, Jack Marion, J. Metz Rollins and Emory Via were in attendance.

Some of the recent information on both Montgomery and Birmingham concerning legal steps that had been taken there, especially the work of Federal Government agencies, should be included in the folder for background information of anyone going into Birmingham.

Each of the denominational representatives made several contacts in Birmingham and together turned up at least a handful of persons who would be willing to either meet, speak, or act on some level for better relations there. It is my feeling that through Bob, and with the help of SRC and Will Campbell, this effort should be pushed with some vigor. The widespread recognition of Birmingham as explosive continues. See Time article for December 15. No one has yet done

anything effective to loosen that situation up. I think it can be done with a concerted approach. This reminds me that the Time article, itself, is one valuable backgrounding piece which should be sent to each of the denominational representatives. This is something which we could do from SRC's office with ease.

While in Birmingham, I had talks with several labor leaders. I talked at length with Mr. Barney Weeks who has recently been re-elected as President of the AFL-CIO for the state of Alabama. He comes originally from Montgomery and was with the Typographical Union there. He is a good, honest, sensible, clean-living guy. I briefed him fully on my view of Birmingham and what our interests were in terms of law and order and at least developing the ground for elementary discussion of the more basic issues. Weeks is sympathetic and reasonable. He understands that the world has moved into the Twentieth Century, but he has never been an actionist in the race relations field to speak of. His first vice-president in Montgomery is Earl Pippin who is also a good guy. The secretary-treasurer of the Alabama Labor Council is Leroy Lindsay. Lindsay's heart is certainly in the right place, but he sometimes forgets who he is saying what to, and I would urge real caution in the kinds of things that are discussed with him. Let me underline that this has nothing to do with any bad motivation.

Other labor men whom I feel you could fruitfully contact if the occasion arises:

The district director of the Steelworkers is a man by the name of Rube Farr, whose office is in the Stallings Building, Fairfield 2-8534, Farr is really not very strong in the race relations field, but I believe he is coming around to a realization that these problems must be faced. Working under him are two or three men whose general information and approach seem to be substantially better than Farr's. Farr knows Via personally, though not too well. These other men will perhaps know of me and I have talked with them by phone on past occasions. Howard Strebel, who is assistant regional director of the Steelworkers, has an office known as the Easly office which is located outside of downtown Birmingham. Also in that office is Bruce Thrasher. In the main office in the Stallings Building is Ben Gage.

Barney Weeks has recommended J. M. Van Houton who is the state director of the Communications Workers of America. His telephone number is Fairfield 2-1586. He is a friend of Pippin's. I do not know Van Houton, but Via's relation to Pippin is quite good.

At some point someone should talk with Mr. "Buddy" Cooper who is with the law firm of Cooper, Mitchell, and Black. They have a large labor clientele, including the Steelworkers. The number of this firm is Fairfield 2-3338. These men have generally good ideas and motivation. They have refrained almost wholly from any positive stand or action for fear of jeopardizing their clientele relationships. However, they should be sources of some information and insight into the community and perhaps even into the bar.

Two Negro members of the Steelworkers would perhaps also be good sources of information. One is Clinton E. Lewis, who is also on the AFL-CIO's State Executive Board. He is at 1312 -6th Avenue, North in Bessemer. The other person is Charlie Pierce, who is at 2710 Third Avenue, South in Birmingham. His telephone number is Fairfield 2-0840.

Mr. F. C. McGinnis is the representative of the International Union of Electrical Workers - the union headed by Jim Carey and for which Ben Segal works. His address is 1405 - 17th Place, S. W. Though I do not think McGinnis is particularly strong on race relations, he will be candid with you and perhaps would work with his own local unions.

Frank Parker is with the Retail, Wholesale Department Store Union and serves as Assistant Regional Director. He has a very busy and fairly well-organized territory in Birmingham and other sections of Alabama. His address is 28½ South 20th Street. Telephone number, Fairfield 2-7462. He knows me by name, letter and telephone conversation. He is supposed to be an enlightened guy. I would certainly talk and work with him if the opportunity arises.

Two denominational representatives not mentioned above have also been into Birmingham, but for rather short and special purpose visits. One is Neil Tarplee and the other is Malcolm Calhoun.

Zack Appleton is president of the Ministerial Association. His address is 1508 - 33rd Avenue, North, Birmingham. Don't know his denomination.

It is my understanding that Emory Jackson of the Birmingham World is practically out of circulation. Jackson, a few months ago, suggested another Negro

Steelworker who might have useful information. His name is Jimmy Lee Williams, 409 - 53rd Street, Fairfield, Alabama. Telephone, ST. 6-1751.

Keep in mind that Art Levin wished to be kept up-to-date on reports from Birmingham and any proposed activities.

On an earlier visit, partly through Bob Hughes, I had the following suggestions made of reasonably good law-and-order type newsmen. They are as follows: E. H. Holland with the Birmingham News (he is also a stringer for the Christian Science Monitor and perhaps for the New York Times - known at one time as a liberal); Mr. "Bud" Gordon, with the News has handled the police beat. He has the recommendation of Paul Rilling; Mr. Clark Stallworth, with the Birmingham Post-Herald; Clancy Lake, City Editor of the Birmingham News; and Steve Yates with the Birmingham News.

Will Campbell had suggested an approach to Mr. L. D. (?) Weatherford, who either chairs or serves on the Board of the Acipco Company. This is the American Cast Iron Pipe Company. It is a large industrial establishment; of course it does not rival TCI. Will was supposed to have worked out some approach to Weatherford (BLACK MOUNTAIN) whereby he could be briefed on the Birmingham background and perhaps be put in touch with Bob Hughes of the Alabama Council. This seems a good first step to make in getting some approaches to business leadership there. Also, we should keep in mind that a national approach could be made to U. S. Steel. There is here even the possibility of an approach through Dave McDonald who would then go to the head offices of the steel company in Pittsburgh.

Bob Hughes should receive copies of all the materials which are developed during the Atlanta "campaign." This would include the extract from the Race Relations Law Reporter, the Emory and Agnes Scott faculty statements, and copies of the Jim Montgomery series. I have already suggested to him that he find channels other than the Alabama Council for the distribution of some of the materials either coming out of Atlanta or from elsewhere.

# A CHRONICAL OF VIOLENCE
# IN
# BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

This chronology is based on newspaper reports of violence in Birmingham and its environs from 1954 to mid-summer, 1958.

## 1954

January 3: The FBI office in Birmingham launched an investigation of the December 28th slaying of Moses Jones, Negro prisoner, by Sheriff Hill of Clarke County. Jones had been a Federal Government witness against Sheriff Hill in a liquor conspiracy case the previous fall.

December 31: It was reported that the City Commission voted a 30-day suspension of police officers Lynch and Siniard for beating Negro prisoner, Charles Patrick.

## 1955

April 18: Two discharged Birmingham police officers and a city jail warden were acquitted in federal court of depriving Negro Charles Patrick of his civil rights. Patrick claimed he was beaten by officers while the warden was present. The warden was suspended from his post for 10 days.

## 1956

September 13: John Kasper, speaking to a rally of some 500 persons, applauded the appearance of Ku Klux Klansmen at a Citizens Council rally, saying, "We want trouble and we want it everywhere we can get it."

September-October: "The Southerner," edited by Ace Carter of the North Alabama Citizens' Council, carried a column headed, "To Buy or Not To Buy (There Should Be No Question)," and listing Ford, for its "vicious program of using dollars to integrate." He also accuses corporations of promoting interracial programs, selling the idea that "the white Southerner is a bully, coward, or something very distasteful."

## 1957

January: The home of Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, Negro minister and leader of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, which staged a one-day defiance of city bus segregation laws, was heavily damaged by dynamite on Christmas night.

March 23: Hooded Klansmen slugged a television newsman and knocked him to the ground when he attempted to take pictures at a public rally in East Lake Park, where some 500 Klansmen listened to a speaker denounce the press as "Communist inspired."

April 10: Nat King Cole, Negro singer and pianist, was attacked by a group of white men as he played for a white audience in Municipal Auditorium. Maximum jail sentences were imposed on four of the attackers, members of the White Citizens' Council; two others were fined.

(Violence, 1957, con't.)

June 11: Two young Negro men told of being kidnapped, taken into a woods and being beaten with rubber hoses. Harold Cunningham, 19, and Henry Silent, 21, said they were beaten after being questioned about where they were "two Saturdays ago."

August 26: Three of nine Negro families who signed a petition requesting integration of Birmingham schools reported they have been receiving threatening telephone calls.

September 4: A 34-year-old Negro was kidnapped and emasculated by a group of white men wearing hoods and robes. The man, Judge Aaron, was taken to a Veterans Administration hospital, where doctors said he had been severely beaten and "100 percent" emasculated. Three men were convicted of mutilation and sentenced to 20 years.

September 10: Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth was beaten and threatened with death by an angry mob when he attempted to enroll four Negro children at all-white Phillips High School. Three men were charged with assault with intent to murder in the beating of the Negro minister.

November 2: Four homes purchased by Negroes in the once all-white section of Fountain Heights were dynamited over a period of several months. White property owners in the area have formed an association designed to prevent sales of homes to Negroes.

November 15: The KKK demonstrated throughout Jefferson county and distributed pamphlets calling on white employers to discharge all Negroes and warning businessmen that the Klan would boycott them if they continued to employ Negroes.

December 7: A Negro school janitor, Woodrow Johnson, told authorities he was taken into a wooded area by a group of white Klansmen and beaten.

December 31: The home of a Negro family which moved into a white neighborhood and ignored a warning fiery cross whas damaged by a bomb explosion. The house, in East Birmingham, was occupied by the Otis Flowers family.

## 1958

April 28: Fifty-four sticks of dynamite left in a satchel at Temple Beth-El failed to go off when a fuse went out. The dynamite sticks had enough power to demolish the synagogue. Harry Horwitz, administrative director of the Temple, said he could offer no explanation.

May 18: The tower of radio station WEDR fell over in U-shape with the lower part still standing. Perry L. Thompson, an announcer at the station, said the guy wire had been cut. Thompson entered the May 6 Democratic primary race for lieutenant governor, but later withdrew. When the station went on the air about three years ago, the tower it used then was damaged by vandals.

May 29: A radio station with all-Negro programs, recently was the target of threats and sabotage, was smeared with painted "KKK" signs.

(Violence, 1958, con't.)

June 30: Bethel Baptist Church, of which the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth is pastor, was damaged by a bomb for the second time in less than two years.

July 19: Explosions hit two houses in an area newly occupied by Negroes. Three whites were "caught in the act" and two men required treatment for cuts and bruises inflicted by a Negro group a few minutes after the dynamite blast.

October 19: Birmingham police disclosed the arrest of two men who admitted telling a Negro janitor that a Jewish temple (in Atlanta) would "probably be the next to be bombed."

- : -

1 copy

# BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

I. Statistics:

A - Population, Standard Metropolitan Area, 1950 Census:

1 - Total: 558,928
2. White: 350,312
3. Non-white: 208,616
4 - 1940 Total: 459,930

B - Population, City of Birmingham, 1950 Census:

1 - Total: 326,037
2. White: 195,922
3 - Non-white: 130,115
4 - 1940 Total: 267,583
5 - 1956 Estimated Total: 345,000 (Rand-McNally Commercial Atlas and Marketing Guide)

C - Median School Years Completed (1950):

1 - Male, 25 years old and older, City of Birmingham: 9.1
2. Female, 25 years old and older, City of Birmingham: 9.6

D. Median Income of Families and Unrelated Individuals (1950):

1 - Standard Metropolitan Area: $2,426.00
2 - City of Birmingham: $2,423.00

~~E. Jefferson County:~~

(2)

E. Jefferson County:

1. Total Population, 1950: 558,928
2. Urban Population, 1950: 448,546
3. Rural Population, 1950: 110,382
4. Estimated population, 1956: 594,500 (Rand-McNally Atlas-Guide)

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II - Principal Manufacturers:

Cement products, chemicals, clay products, clothing, heating equipment, machinery, paints and varnishes, steel and iron products, textile-mill products, wood products.

III. Public Officials:

A - Mayor: James W. Morgan (2nd term - Says he'll resign next year.)

B - ~~Public Safety Comm. — Eugene Connor~~

C - Supt. of Schools: Dr. L. Frazer Banks

IV - Newspapers:

A - Birmingham Post-Herald -

1 - Editor: James E. Mills

B - Birmingham News

1 - Editor: Charles A. Fell

Weekly - B'ham World - Ed: Emory O. Jackson

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Voter Registration, Jefferson Co.:

1956 — 7,000 Non-white

1958 — 11,000 Non-white

1958 — 127,500 White

## V - Previous Desegregation



Newspaper sources indicate little existing desegregation. Public facilities are rigidly segregated (see attached articles on transportation) and no public or private schools have desegregated. According to the New York Times, 6/13/56 (Peter Kihiss), "Recreation generally remains segregated. In 1954, Birmingham's City Commission sought to amend an ordinance so that whites and Negroes might join in professional sports. A Birmingham voters' initiative and referendum reinstated segregation - more than 2 to 1." A Negro was appointed to a community organization, the Community Council in May, 1954, however.

~~VI - The attached material will provide some information pertaining to the recent increase in instances of violence and intimidation, resistance group activities in the Birmingham area, state segregation legislation, recent attempts to desegregate transportation facilities and public schools, voter registration, and existant intergroup organizations.~~

B'ham - **Miscellaneous Notes**

Rath Packing Co. reportedly establishing a meat processing + distributing plant that will employ 125.

~~Violence~~

Incidents of racial violence are frequent in B'ham - One section of the city is known as "Dynamite Hill." The Violence + Intim. report shows around 19 (? Not confirmed - memory) incidents in B'ham. - probably a greater total than in any other city covered.

Attempts have been made by Negro citizens - unsuccessfully - to desegregate R.R. waiting rooms, public schools, and recently, city transportation facilities.

Alb
gen

Proposed basis for memo to denominational staffers coming to B'ham.

Little work has been done with ministers or other leadership groups in Birmingham which would make them aware of the grievances within the Negro community, the recurrent tensions, or the variety of ways that ministers individually and as a group could work for a more peaceful community, better racial relations, and for justice for all of Birmingham's citizens.

The recent arrests of Negro ministers and the moves to protest discrimination on busses -- with the apparent refusal of white public or transit leadership to discuss issues with Negro groups -- have evidently increased the desire for action and releif among a sizeable portion of the Negro population. Unfortunately, Birmingham is still known as the place where violence by unlawful white elements is likely to be the initial response to any serious move for justice on the part of Negroes. The city's past history and the actions of a number of its officials would indicate that there is no preparation for hearing, understanding, and seeking democratic solutions to Negro grievances.

Because of the possibility of trouble in the event of a serious bus protest and because the Birmingham situation is long overdue for concerted constructive action the following remarks are being made just as suggestions which you may wish to employ, in part, in making contacts while in Birmingham.

No one approach is considered to be especially superior. A variety of approaches to indivivuals and to community problems is needed. One way to phrase this is in terms of the different kinds of "public committees" that might be needed in the event of a concerted move by Negroes or retaliation by whites; several have been suggested as follows: a law and order committee, a we will meet interracially and talk frankly committee, we will aid in the defense of civil liberties and rights of Negroes, and a let's not kill each other committee. The last of these has been suggested in all seriousness as a kind of minimum which might bring forth some positive action from elements in a community -- including a number of white ministers -- who have been sluggish in responding to the city's most pressing problems. Of course none of the suggested committees would actually carry the title suggested above.

What the committee idea does imply is that some ministers will need to be approached primarily on the basis of their concern for community peace, with some indication that that peace can no longer be maintained by the prevailing philosophy of "keeping Negroes in their place." Others will be responsive to a suggestion for meeting quietly with Negro ministers to discuss the issues involved in the bus situation -- there is perhaps no time for meetings that will discuss inocuous "mutual" concerns not related to the central problem. Some may wish to meet with an all white group, perhaps ministers and selected "laymen" to discuss the seriousness of the problems before Birmingham and what they can in conscience and "safety" do or say. Others with a proper presentation of the need, the role, may wish to become associated with the Alabama Council on Human Relations. This latter is not a main objective; it is much more important to have men prepared to speak to current problems in a meaningful way than it is that they join with any specific existing organized effort. However, we should be mindful of the fact the Council is a responsible organization and the only staffed and continuing interracial effort in the state.

In all of your soundings and interviews it would be most helpful if you could formulate an evaluation of which category a given man fits into, who can best approach him at a time of cirsis, to whom he would respond for an invitation to participate in a given activity. This evaluation would be first of all for your own use. Secondly, if you could relay this information to Bob Hughes he would make use of it as you direct and treat it with discretion. Since he is the only staffer on the scene, it is important

for him to have a realistic view of the concern and committment of the ministerial group. He will abide by your wishes in contacting any of these men at any time. For instance if you wish to have him call you and let you be in touch with a given man he would do it that way.

At the end of your interviews, and perhaps periodically during the several days you spend in Birmingham, it would be most helpful if you would discuss with Bob Hughes, and any other denominational representative that happens to be in town at the same time, what kinds of specific activities and committees should be set up so that some ministers can start now in thinking and acting on the problems of racial relations.

To sum up we are suggesting:

That you get briefed on the current Birmingham situation and its background.

That you be intouch with ministers of your denomination to appraise them of the seriousness of the situation, the need for attention, and some view of how others view Birmingham.

That you use the interview as a means of helping "feel the pulse" of Birmingham.

That you formulate an evaluation of the individuals interviewd and suggest to them, where appropriate, what they can do and to Bob Hughes what you feel they can be called upon to do.

That you use your general experience and the results of your Birmingham visit to help suggest specific activities and approaches which ministers and concerned laymen might engage at a level suitable to the given individual.

Matthews

Alabama Council NEWSLETTER
SPECIAL EDITION NO. I
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC. ROOM 1218, COMER BLDG. - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.
"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

## WHERE ARE THE PEOPLE OF GOOD WILL IN THE SOUTH TODAY?

Many persons living outside the South ask this question when they read of some racial incident occuring below the Mason-Dixon Line. Without attempting to speak for the entire region, this is the story of one group of people of good will in Alabama who are actively working to strengthen democracy and brotherhood in this state.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations is an incorporated non-profit organization of some 500 white and Negro citizens using educational methods to achieve "equal opportunities for all people of Alabama". Recognizing that racial separation inevitably breeds ignorance, fear and hatred, the Council is striving primarily to establish channe of communication whereby understanding and cooperation can become a reality.

## WHAT HAS THE ALABAMA COUNCIL DONE?

Four years ago when the Council launched its present program it stepped into a virtual vaccum where there were only two local, paternalistic bi-racial groups in existence. Since that time it has established itself as a centralized state-wide integrated organization and set up fourteen affiliated district and local "Councils on Humar Relations." These local bodies, usually working under adverse circumstances and intimidation, have successfully executed such projects as:

> Securing economic opportunities and mayors bi-racial human relations committies; exposing economic pressure and police brutality; initiating and leading a public campain by thirty organizations in Mobile for effective law enforcement against Klan terrorism.

Dr. Martin Luther King in his new book, Stride Toward Freedom, praises the Montgomery Council of which he is a member as a group which "met a real need in the community,...and carried out its work at a high level of dignity and wisdom." Other, more strategic, projects currently in operation cannot be related here. Most important of all is the body of understanding derived from scores of local meetings and workshops.

## ORGANIZATION OF INDEPENDENT BI-RACIAL BODIES

In addition to establishing several independent local groups, the officers of the Alabama Council have largely been responsible for initiating and providing leadership for: the Ecumenical Student Conference composed of a hundred leaders from a dozen Alabama colleges; an inter-faith church women's conference with four local chapters; and a new interdenominational movement involving over 150 white and Negro ministers in semi-annual state conferences and eight local groups.

## WORK OF THE COUNCIL'S STATE OFFICE

The Council maintains the only state office of any of these organizations staffed by the Executive Director and his secretary. As such, this office bears a heavy burden of responsibility for counsel, stimulation, administration, serving as a clearing house for information and resource materials, and field work for these bodies as well as for the Council's own affiliates while generally coordinating their separate programs.

NFORMATION SERVICE: The State Office is currently compiling statistics and material on such timely subjects as Negro voting, communication across racial lines between local clergy groups, statements by Alabama church bodies on race, and the documentation of intimidation of all forms since 1955 throughout the state. In addition, case studies and background information on local "trouble spots" are prepared from "on the spot" investigations. Usually unavailable elsewhere, such information and their interpretation is dispensed to key figures and newspapers over the state as well as to scores of journalists and dignitaries from other parts of the nation and world when they visit the State Office for orientation.

ROUBLESHOOTING": Perhaps the most crucial role the staff can perform is "trouble-shooting" incidents. The Executive Director has gone into many tense situations rallyin community forces to fulfill their responsibilities and arranging meetings between white and Negro leaders for their first frank discussion of grievances.

When other measures have failed, he has ventured into ten different mob scenes over the state witnessing directly for reason and principle. There are times when nothing more can be done than giving an embattled minister in Livingston a simple work of encouragement; or feebly attempting to fulfill a ministry of reconcilliation in Clanton by kneeling in prayer with a Negro lady whose innocent husband and father of her five children had been killed by a posse.

## WHO ARE THE LEADERS OF THE COUNCIL?

During the thirty years of its existence, it has been closely associated with the Southern Regional Council, Inc. which Time recently referred to as "the South's respected old-line" race relations body. Over this period the Alabama Council has been led by some of the state's outstanding citizens. The current president is a prominient Episcopalian rector and the full-time Executive Director is a Methodist minister serving a special appointment. Among its board members are college presidents, clergymen, businessmen, labor leaders, editors, scientists and women civic workers of both races.

## WHERE DO ITS FUNDS COME FROM?

Financial support for the Council's $12,150 minimum annual budget is derived from memberships, contributions and a short-term grant-in-aide from the Fund For the Republic. The great bulk of these funds, however, are $5 and $10 donations almost exclusively from within the state.

As the situation steadily deteriorates in the South the task of raising sufficient funds becomes increasingly difficult. Regretably, fear and the need for the Council's program arize from the same conditions. Valuable opportunities have been permanently lost and hard-won work has been abandoned in recent months - not because of intimidation but directly as a result of lack of funds. The inescapable conclusion is that new sources of support must be secured outside the South.

## ARE YOU CONCERNED?

The Alabama Council does not pretend that its approach is by any means the only worthy one, nor does it exaggerate its own progress or potentiality. However, its strategic importance is clearly seen when it is realized that:

* The Alabama Council is the only state-wide race relations organization in existence in this state outside of the White Citizens Council and the Ku Klux Klan.

* Its program constitutes virtually the only bridge between the white and Negro populations.

* In contrast to practically every other Southern state, the State Office which it maintains is the sole professionally staffed inter-group relations office in the state.

Without apology we appeal to you personally, and through you to concerned friends and organizations, to join hands with people of good will in Alabama that this realistic program of brotherhood will not only be maintained but enabled to expand to new fields.

* * * * *

Checks should be made payable to the Alabama Council on Human Relations and sent to the State Office, 1218 Comer Building, Birmingham 3, Alabama. The names of other sympathetic persons or officers of organizations to whom this Newsletter and subsequent editions should be sent will be appreciated. It is requested that reasonable discretion be observed in any use of this material.

-Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

"Segregation in the South"
Film by FFR
general survey — 1 hr 15 min
Bob is in the close —

Montgomery

Drop Lyons group.

Sounds K^ish

B.W. thought that Lyons was fairly decent

Jay

is it off-shoot (KKK.) W.C.C.

Lyons is fronting for —

Campbell

Suffragan Bishop — ~~McMurry~~

Responsible — probably by Turner, leading Episc. educator (editorial)

Buses at Allmon School

3 out of 5 buses went empty —

L. D. Weatherford

Chm. Bd. Am. Cast Iron & Pipe Co ("owned" by the workers)

V.P. of Bowen (Fuel Boiler)

Lives at Black Mountain

With Campbell will approve

Mrs. McMurray (Xn Soc. Relations) B.M.U. director

[Group head — Rowlins, Mauer, Smith, Campbell, Vail]

demand and stays coming

split in Negro leadership

"Bogantt"

Press — little report — No effect

<Mass meeting — 2,000>

Pilgrim King — 5 days
without bail, incommunicado
No legal counsel
Mass Ministry to Man by Sat
Tues
Lat Tuesday
Deferred Sat 12:00

Call Margaret —
Chronology — F.B.R.
Mrs. T
ADL — pick

John Stanley
Glen Fairfax —
Tarth Bell

Phila: RI 6 9372

LAW OFFICES
OF
CHARLES MORGAN, JR.
SEVENTH FLOOR - BANK FOR SAVINGS BUILDING
BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA

BIRMINGHAM
JUN 22
2 PM
1963
ALA.

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

...Eagles, Loveman Pirates, ...Buga, The Hawks and Avondale.

A league spokesman said that "The Birmingham Community League will publish their standings in the Birmingham World every

## ...acist Books K... From Nyasaland

LUSAKA, N. Rhodesia —All books in the sch... teach Africans they are ... to whites are now being ... from schools in Nyasaland.

Kanyama Chume, the territory's minister of education, told a rally here Sunday that Africans would no longer be reading about Sir ...

...achieved a high de... ...civilization" be... ...Europeans ...made their homes in caves.

Mr. Chume said that the pyramids were the first evidence of African civilization, the wheel was first used at Timbuktu, and the first spoon ever stirred came from the Sudan.

...Congress, Atlanta ...

"The Children ..."
"The Christian Belief"
"The Youth Fellowship"

Let us supply your textbooks needs for the 38th National Baptist Sunday School and Baptist Training Union Congress.

# BIRMINGHAM

# THE COST OF LEGAL DEFENSE

## IN ALABAMA, THE N.A.A.C.P. LEGAL DEFENSE FUND IS...

- Defending every one of the 2,497 Negro citizens jailed in Birmingham for peaceful protest against segregation;
- Appealing the convictions of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. and 10 Negro ministers sentenced to jail for criminal contempt;
- Defending the freedom walkers arrested when they sought to complete slain postman William Moore's walk to Mississippi;
- Representing parents of Negro school children seeking desegregation of Alabama schools;
- Representing the four Negro students seeking admission to the all-white University of Alabama;
- Defending in federal courts the rights of the 1,100 Negro school children in Birmingham who were suspended from school for participating in demonstrations against segregation.

**OUR DEFENSE OF THESE NEGRO CITIZENS CONSTITUTES THE MOST MASSIVE LEGAL OPERATION** ever attempted in a single American city. We will persist in our defense of any Negro citizen who, through non-violent action, asserts his rights as an American.

## THROUGHOUT THE SOUTH THE N.A.A.C.P. LEGAL DEFENSE FUND IS...

- Defending more than 3,000 students convicted of sitting-in and like demonstrations; the Fund has won important United States Supreme Court cases upholding the rights of these students, including the crucial decisions of May 20, 1963;
- Representing Negro plaintiffs in 60 school desegregation suits in every major southern city;
- Representing Negro plaintiffs who seek to use public facilities of all types — transportation, parks, libraries, auditoriums, hospitals, etc. — on a non-racial basis.

**THE STRUGGLE IS OURS** for if we fail to make our constitutional rights a reality in Birmingham, Mississippi, or anywhere in the south, every American Negro suffers in his efforts to become a first class citizen.

Legal cost in Birmingham and in more than 100 other cases will exceed ONE MILLION DOLLARS in 1963!

## WE NEED YOUR FINANCIAL HELP

### FOR FULL EQUALITY FOR NEGRO AMERICANS

The N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund has fought in the courts since 1940 to secure for Negro Americans the rights guaranteed them by the constitution and laws of the United States, but denied in practice.

Legal Action is Costly: A single law suit to secure the constitutional rights of emergencies may cost tens of thousands of dollars.

It took Fund lawyers 18 months of court action, at a cost of more than $43,000.00 to secure the admission of James Meredith to the University of Mississippi.

Legal action in defense of civil rights of Negroes must be financed by voluntary contributions of concerned citizens. The Fund budget must cover the cost of 95% of all civil rights litigation in the country.

N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.
10 Columbus Circle, New York 19, New York

I wish to help in the defense of the Negro citizens of Birmingham.

Enclosed find my contribution of $.....

Name .....

Address .....

CONTRIBUTIONS ARE TAX DEDUCTIBLE.
MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO N.A.A.C.P. LEGAL DEFENSE

**N. A. A. C. P. LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.**
**10 COLUMBUS CIRCLE, NEW YORK 19, N. Y.**

Jack Greenberg, *Director-Counsel* Constance Baker Motley, *Associate Counsel*

STAFF COUNSEL

James M. Nabrit, III Norman Amaker Frank Heffron Derrick Bell, Jr.
Michael Meltsner Leroy Clark George Smith

LAW OFFICES
OF
CHARLES MORGAN, JR.
SEVENTH FLOOR · BANK FOR SAVINGS BUILDING
BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA

TELEPHONE FA 2-2642

June 24, 1963

BLIND COPY:

Mr. Paul Anthony
SRC
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Ga

Eleanor Eaton, Secretary
Rights of Conscience Committee
American Friend Service Committee, Inc.
160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Eleanor Eaton:

Thank you for your letter of June 11.

When the matter of fee was discussed we stated that, suggestions from others with respect to its amount would be welcomed. We thereafter contacted Morris Abram, an attorney formerly from Atlanta presently practicing in New York, and he suggested $10,000. Only $5,000 has been received and, quite frankly, it is extremely unlikely that any more will be forthcoming. It is correct that the $900 charge respecting office overhead ordinarily would be applicable against fee charges. But, this charge was included in our prior statement in light of the fact that fifteen days were spent out of the office in Huntsville (100 miles away) during the case and, additionally, more than 120 hours were expended on it in our office. Indeed, office overhead runs well over $85 per day (excluding any personal drawings).

Other than that, we find no charges listed that would not ordinarily be billed by this office and by other attorneys in the area in a case of this nature.

In the instance of the New York trip and the Washington, D. C. trip, we conferred with attorneys handling the other Alabama cases or with representatives of the United States Department of Justice.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

We are submitting to you a revised copy of our statement. Some additional expenses are still outstanding - they being primarily telephone charges. The future of Mr. Carroll's application has not yet been determined. It may well be that all or at least the major portion of our expenses have been incurred.

On behalf of our clients and ourselves, we wish to express our deepest appreciation to you for the kind contribution you have made to this cause.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Charles Morgan, Jr.

CM/mm
cc: Spencer Coxe

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

June 24, 1963

Mr. Dave M. McGlathery
206 Lowe Avenue, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Mr. Marvin P. Carroll
179 Wilkerson Drive
Huntsville, Alabama

## STATEMENT OF EXPENSES

**TRANSPORTATION EXPENSES:**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Eastern Airlines - Trip to Huntsville | 23.40 | |
| Auto Expense - 3 trips to Huntsville and return 600 miles at 10 cents per mile | 60.00 | |
| Eastern Airlines - Trip to Huntsville | 23.40 | |
| Expenses for John A. Taber for trip to Huntsville | 10.00 | |
| Hertz Rent-a-car to Huntsville | 40.27 | |
| Eastern Air Lines - 2 trips to Huntsville | 46.80 | |
| Hertz Rent-a-car - Huntsville | 13.54 | |
| Round trip air to New York | 143.64 | |
| Eastern Airlines - Trip to Huntsville (June 10, 1963) | 23.40 | |
| | | 384.45 |

**HOTEL ACCOMODATIONS:**

| | |
|---|---|
| Huntsville, Alabama | |
| Kings Inn | 71.49 |
| Holiday Inn | 47.68 |
| One-half expenses - trip to Washington, D. C. | |
| International Inn | 100.00 |
| Accomodation Expenses - trip to New York, New York | |
| Drake Hotel | 125.37 |

McGlathery and
Carroll

Page Two

June 24, 1963

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Hotel Accomodations - Contd.** | | |
| Holiday Inn - Huntsville, Alabama | 25.20 | |
| Holiday Inn - Huntsville, Alabama | 12.60 | |
| Holiday Inn - Huntsville, Alabama | 37.80 | |
| | | 510.14 |
| **RESTAURANT CHARGES:** | | |
| Out of pocket meals and sundry other expenses | 200.17 | |
| Meals, Huntsville | 46.36 | |
| Michad's Restaurant - Huntsville | 5.37 | |
| Meals - Huntsville | 36.44 | |
| Meals - Huntsville | 40.00 | |
| Meals - Huntsville | 19.50 | |
| Holiday Inn - Huntsville | 47.46 | |
| | | 407.61 |
| **MISCELLANEOUS EXPENSES:** | | |
| Birmingham, Huntsville, New York & Washington, including cabs, tips, etc. | 55.00 | |
| | | 55.00 |
| **CASE PREPARATION AND FILING:** | | |
| U. S. Court of Appeals, 5th Circuit payment for qualification | 20.00 | |
| Direct out-of-pocket - Charles Morgan, Jr. | 100.00 | |
| Morehouse College transcripts | 10.00 | |
| Filing Fees - U. S. District Court | 15.00 | |
| U. S. Marshal - Service of Process | 15.12 | |
| Long Distance Telephone | 744.21 | |
| Mimeographing Expense | 35.00 | |
| Extra secretarial help | 100.50 | |
| Legal Expense - Geo. V. Eyraud, Jr. | 100.00 | |
| Postage | 2.90 | |
| Photo Copy Expense | 9.75 | |
| | | 1,152.48 |
| | | $ 2,509.68 |
| Less payment: | | 1,000.00 |
| TOTAL DUE: | | $ 1,509.68 |

July 24, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: LWD

FROM: PA

RE: Role of Charles Morgan, Jr., in University of Alabama desegregation

Now that most of the events are past, it might be good to give a brief account--beyond the obvious--of the role Morgan played in the recent Alabama situation.

Morgan agreed to take the case only if he were reasonably certain of having one or both of the Huntsville applicants entered in June. He was not interested in the case unless it could be used as a means of confronting Wallace before September, and on other than the public school level. Further, he was interested only if the case gave him an opportunity to try to influence the thinking of the state as it related to the "inevitability" of desegregation and the necessity for "law and order."

In this regard, the actual legal work was only part of the real effort that went into the two and one-half month period before desegregation. (This is not to make light of the legal work. The brief filed by Morgan in behalf of his clients was the one to which the court responded and which led to the entrance of students at Tuscaloosa and Huntsville.)

As a first step, Morgan approached friends of his at the University. (He is well known, being a graduate of the University and the law school and a former faculty member of the University. Presently he is active in the alumni associations of the University and the law school.) It would be a mistake to go into detail in all that transpired, but a very close rapport was established with persons at the University and was maintained throughout the proceedings. The positive attitudes and actions taken since then by University officials would bear this out.

Thereafter Morgan began to talk with many people of importance in Alabama. Newspaper editors and publishers were a first target. A select group of newspapers throughout the state were apprised of events and--to varying degrees--were made sympathetic well before the first legal steps were taken. (It was no accident, e.g., that many Alabama papers referred to the Huntsville applicants as "young scientists.") A select group of state legislators, businessmen, leaders of professional groups, young lawyers, etc., became parties to events and, to some extent, participants. In my opinion this planning was extremely important in determining

the way in which the state accepted the change and in determining the amount of pressure which was brought on Wallace.

The man is obviously a competent attorney but it was this skill at public relations that I observed during my numerous visits.

Few people know of the job Morgan accomplished in achieving his real objective of "changing the face of Alabama." A select group in Alabama are aware of this, and Governor Wallace probably is. (Certainly the governor's private comments indicate that he is aware of Morgan as one of his prime adversaries.) Further, it might not help Morgan or his practice for this to become general knowledge. But, it would be good for a few persons, particularly those who supported him, to know something of this.

The University has appealed the court's ruling ordering admission of the three students and the appeal will be heard by the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals. Therefore, some legal work continues.

**Memo** from **PAUL ANTHONY**

LWD:

Attached - The Morgan memo

A copy has been given to Connie & one sent to Eleanor Eaton.

**Memo** from **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

MM:
Please file

I sent my law
memo. Suggest you
hold on to these

Rept. on Reg

Cap Available

Mrs.
Jane Reed -
~~Huntsville~~ -
3604 Lowhurst Dr.
536-8289 -

Huntsville, Ala.

Wd 30 Man

Margaret McDougald - CE 3-8400

SA 3-4711

Syd - 412 -

MM:
Please file all this
in a special
"Huntsville" file.

Courtesy—TUCKER-CASTLEBERRY PRINTING, INC. • JAckson 5-8654

APR 6 1965 Buffalo

Free Press
Colorado Springs, Colo.

# FROM FAR CORNERS THE NEWSMEN CAME

By DON F. WASSON

Advertiser Managing Editor

For a provincial cowtown which isn't in a mad scramble to become one of the nation's large metropolitan centers, Montgomery got more press agentry in the past few weeks than the New York World's Fair.

WASSON

Most of us would rather have had less notoriety and more tranquility, but it seems that the great sociological revolution has up a full head of steam and the brakes have long since been shot.

Because of a five-day walk in sun and rain which was supposed to have something to do with voting but seemed more like a rock and roll megullah, Montgomery inherited, for one frantic day, more newsgathering and dissemination types than ever covered a really important news event.

An office on wheels was loaned to the city by a construction firm and it was staffed by three really fine police officers—Asst. Chief George Owens, Lt. Rudolph Stephens and Dick Payson, executive secretary of the Traffic Commission. Bill Dawson, of Blount Brothers, was also on duty at the trailer parked on Dexter Avenue just below the Capitol and these gentlemen gave the visiting press as royal a treatment as they have ever received, anywhere.

During the few days the march was in progress, and until it was over, 376 folks, from 30 states, nine foreign countries, and the U.S. government complex signed up for press passes.

They represented 45 U.S. newspapers, 14 magazines, both major U.S. wire services, the three major U.S. radio and TV networks plus the British and Canadian Broadcasting Companies, 15 foreign newspapers and two foreign news services, six college newspapers and such organizations as the Associated Church Press, the Radio Press Institute, Hearst Metrotone News, American Radio News, New South Southern Regional Council and one gentleman who signed on as representing "Westinghouse, N.Y." In what capacity this last named gent performed, it could not be determined.

New York and Chicago were vitally interested in what was going on here. From New York came representatives of the Times, the Herald-Tribune, the Wall Street Journal, Newsday, Daily News, Post, and Bulletin. Chicagoans got first hand reports from the American, Daily Defender, Daily News, and Sun Times.

There were reporters and photographers here from Boston, Buffalo, N.Y., Memphis, Sacramento, and San Francisco, Milwaukee, Detroit, Louisville, Washington, D.C., Tulsa, Baltimore, Minneapolis, Honolulu, Newark, Indianapolis, Dayton, Ohio, Amsterdam, N.Y., and, of all places, Edwardsville, Ill. and Freemont Calif.

In fact, the electronics boys accounted for the major portion of the visiting "newsmen" and in all fairness, it must be pointed out that if TV sends one newsman, 18 technicians accompany him. So a lot of the people representing the TV and radio were not really newsmen . . . they were technicians. NBC brought in 45 people and ABC had 40. This seems to be enough folks to put on the Andy Williams Show in color. Judging from the show put on in front of the Capitol that Thursday, no television show need worry, unless it be Ed Sullivan.

From overseas came representatives of five newspapers from Great Britain, and writers from Australia, Italy, Canada (three provinces), France, Japan, Denmark and Sweden. Swedish Broadcasting, North and West German Radio and TV and the Tokyo Broadcasting System had men on the spot.

The collegiate press was well represented. In our college days at the University of Alabama, we weren't even allowed to cover the Dixiecrat convention in Birmingham. But Grinnell College from Grinnell, Iowa, The Yale Daily News, the Harvard Crimson, Bard College (N.Y.), the Daily Cardinal of the University of Wisconsin and the Campus Digest from Tuskegee saw fit to have correspondents on the scene.

While poring over this list, we were really struck by the appearance of the Edwardsville Intelligencer, which sent Mr. Richard Norrish to Montgomery.

We called Edwardsville and talked with Clarence Anderson, who is the editor of The Intelligencer, a newspaper of nearly 7,000 circulation and we asked him outright:

"Why did you feel compelled to send a reporter all the way to Montgomery?"

His answer was simple enough—Edwardsville has a Human Relations Council and this bi-racial organization hired a bus and invited the newspaper to send a representative along. Mr. Anderson said that if Mr. Norrish's expenses had not been picked up by the council, the Intelligencer would not have been represented.

We of The Advertiser and Journal are newspeople and we take no small measure of pride in our profession. I sometimes think that we often have a supercilious attitude about our calling and yet I think that the very nature of ourwork somehow requires such an attitude.

So we were not too disturbed by the influx of other newspeople, because these were people doing their jobs. They go where the news is being made. As Americans, we should all be thankful that newsmen are allowed to go anywhere, anytime, to report the news.

And in the long run, we feel that Montgomery probably profited to some extent by the visits of these newsmen. Surely most of them went back to their own little corners of the earth with a better impression of Montgomery and Alabama than they had had before.

## COMPOSITION OF TOTAL EMPLOYMENT, ALABAMA

| | 1961 | | 1963 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent |
| TOTAL EMPLOYMENT | 921,000 | 100.0 | 941,000 | 100.0 |
| Agricultural | 146,000 | 15.8 | 136,000 | 14.4 |
| Non-Agricultural | 775,000 | 84.2 | 805,000 | 85.6 |
| Manufacturing | 231,000 | 25.1 | 245,000 | 26.1 |
| Non-Manufacturing | 544,000 | 59.3 | 560,000 | 59.5 |
| Government | 166,000 | 18.0 | 170,000 | 18.1 |
| Federal | 67,000 | 7.3 | n.a. | n.a. |
| State and Local | 99,000 | 10.7 | n.a. | n.a. |
| Transp., Comm., Utils. | 49,000 | 5.3 | 48,000 | 5.1 |
| Services | 93,000 | 10.1 | 102,000 | 10.7 |
| Finance, Real Estate | 33,000 | 3.6 | 34,000 | 3.6 |
| Trade | 150,000 | 16.3 | 155,000 | 16.5 |
| Construction | 41,000 | 4.4 | 42,000 | 4.5 |
| Mining | 12,000 | 1.3 | 9,000 | 1.0 |

2-2-65

# Selma Jails Rev. King, 256 Others

Const

SELMA, Ala. (AP) — Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was arrested with 256 other Negroes during a right-to-vote protest march Monday, and he refused to post bond when called before a magistrate.

Bond for all 257 arrested on charges of parading without a permit was set a $200 each.

After appearing before City Judge Edgar P. Russell, King said he did not intend to seek release on bond for the time being, but indicated he would make a decision Tuesday.

**TRIAL IS FEB. 15**

Unless he does post bond he will remain in jail until his case is heard on Feb. 15. Maximum penalty for the offense under the city is 180 days in jail and a $100 fine.

The Negroes who were residents of Dallas County were allowed to sign their own bonds and were released.

King was arrested while leading a march to the courthouse where other Negroes tried again to register as voters as they have for the past two weeks.

**AIDE ALSO ARRESTED**

Arrested with the 1964 Nobel Peace prize winner was one of his top aides, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy. King, Abernathy and their followers were charged with parading without a permit after disregarding a warning from Selma's public safety director, Wilson Baker.

While King and the others were being booked at the city jail, Negro students by the hundreds began picketing the courthouse where the voter registration board was in session for a one-day term.

Approximately 30 Negroes were arrested for contempt of court by sheriff's deputies because, Sheriff James G. Clark said, they were interfering with a session of state court.

From the office of:

SENATOR JACOB K. JAVITS (R-N.Y.)

FOR RELEASE AT NOON
SATURDAY, MARCH 13, 1965

**********
The following are the remarks of Senator Jacob K. Javits prepared for delivery at the Russwurm Awards Luncheon of the National Newspaper Publishers Association, Terrace Room of the New York World's Fair at noon, March 13, 1965.
**********

## THE FEDERAL POWER AND SELMA

The brutality and blatant violations of human and constitutional rights which we winessed in Selma, Alabama during the last few weeks, is not news to you gentlemen. It is part, in fact, of an all too familiar pattern of State resistance-- in some parts of the nation -- to any attempt to exercise those rights. The incidents in Selma constitute a direct confrontation between citizens of the United States, seeking to exercise their constitutional rights of free speech and petition, and the State of Alabama, which is quite obviously determined to prevent them from doing so. In such a situation it is the Federal power which must be asserted resolutely, otherwise the citizen is helpless, a victim of tyranny he cannot muster power to resist.

For months, we have been assured that the Federal Government was "observing the situation with concern;" and that they were "exploring the possibility of legislation." The President's promise of a voting rights law, in fact, dates to his State of the Union message. As of this time, we have seen no such bill -- not even a draft of a bill -- in spite of constant proddings and proposals submitted by civil rights advocates in the Congress. And in the South, we have seen no significant Federal action outside the courts, not only to ensure citizens their right to vote, but to preserve their very lives in the face of vicious and, on their face, unlawful actions by State officials.

If this kind of lawlessness continues, irreparable harm will be done to this nation. I speak not only in terms of our national image abroad -- which has certainly been sullied by racial segregation and discrimination -- but of the deep scars which will remain on the American character, if we allow this situation to continue. What can be done, and what are we in the Senate planning?

First, we must meet the immediate problem of violence and excessive police action which has characterized the Selma situation from the beginning. It is within the President's power -- indeed it is his duty -- to send Federal marshalls -- or if need be -- troops to areas where it is necessary to preserve order and protect citizens.

- more -

There is ample precedent for such action. President Eisenhower sent troops to Little Rock and President Kennedy sent them to Mississippi when Federal rights were at stake. A clear and similar challenge is presented in Selma. And if the threat persists the response must be adequate to meet it. The worn out excuse that the Federal government cannot concern itself with maintaining law and order within a State rings hollow in the face of these atrocities. Swift and firm action has been taken in the past and should be taken when needed.

Second, the Congress must pass effective legislation to curb police violence. Perhaps the most shocking fact about the Selma maulings last week is that they were perpetrated under color of law. Club-swinging deputies used their badges as shields, and boldly announced that they were enforcing a court order. The citizen has little remedy in cases like this -- and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission has recognized the deficiency. As early as 1961, the Commission called for laws which would impose criminal penalties for certain specific acts of police or law enforcement officials which were violative of constitutional rights. In addition, they asked for legislation which would make local governments financially responsible for the actions of police acting under color of law. I sponsored such legislation in the 88th Congress, and with 6 Republican senators as cosponsors, I introduced it again last Thursday. Hopefully, the shock and disgust over that Sunday in Selma -- which all Americans felt --- will be mobilized into action for the passage of this bill.

Third, and most important in the long run, is the need for effective voting rights legislation. Until now, we have concentrated on court procedures to enforce these rights. And that is as it should be in a nation where we had always believed we could settle our differences in court. Unfortunately, in the civil rights field, court action is painfully slow, and delay is irremediable because human rights are at stake.

On Thursday, a bi-partisan group of Senators met and agreed to introduce a meaningful voting rights bill, providing for the automatic appointment of Federal registrars in areas where the right to vote has been denied. We waited long and patiently for an Administration bill along these lines, but we have waited long enough. As I have said many times, this is not a partisan issue. Democrats and Republicans are agreed that we can delay no longer, and Republicans and Democrats will unite --- as we did in 1957, in 1960, and most effectively in 1964 --- to see that this bill is passed. While I cannot reveal the exact details of our bill until tomorrow, I want to assure you that it will be comprehensive, applying to state and local as well as Federal elections; that it will be automatic, not requiring court determinations, which can be made to affect long delays, and that, if adopted, it will be effective in ending voter discrimination definitively once and for all.

- more -

I know we shall have your support in this effort, and your support is vital. You are members of the leadership and you are the voice of the community. Negroes need to have faith in their leadership and to strengthen the whole cause by following their leadership.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was made possible, not simply because the American people demanded the result. The press, the civil rights groups, and most particularly, the churches were tremendous forces in achieving that victory.

The same forces are mobilizing this weekend, united in one clear voice, and we can assure our brothers in Selma and throughout the nation: We Shall Overcome.

##########

Selma

March 15, 1965

Father Robert W. Baer, C.S.P.
Tufts University
Newman Apostolate
209 College Avenue
Medford, Mass.

Dear Father Baer:

Al Ulmer asked me to send you voting statistics for Selma, Alabama. Below is the latest information we have:

| Dallas County | Voter Age Population | Registered to Vote |
|---|---|---|
| | W - 14,400 N-15,115 | W - 9,542 N - 335 |

(Between May 1962 and August 1964, the registrars accepted only 93 of 795 Negro applications and 945 of 1,132 white applications, according to Judge Thompson who presided over the Dallas County boting suit.)

More recently, attempts have been made to register Negroes, and some have actually filled out applications for voter registration. Just how many have, and how many if any have been accepted as registered voters, we simply do not know. Sometimes it takes months before the person attempting to register ever finds out whether he is registered or not.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Memo from AL ULMER

Can we send this man

Father Robert W. Baer
Cap.
Tufts Univ.
Newman Apostolate
209 College Ave.
Medford, Mass

Send information
Voting Statistics — Selma

~~Call Ed Lewis~~

APR. 1965

8:00
8:30 Selma, Ala.
9:00
9:30
10:00 Business Week
10:30
11:00 3-20-65
11:30
12:00 LBJ's Reply to Selma:
1:00
1:30 "This Time - No Delay"
2:00
2:30
3:00
3:30
4:00
4:30
5:00
5:30

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# Auburn Methodist Church

POWERS McLEOD, Minister
MAX HALE, JR., Minister to Students

Auburn, Alabama

887-3431

October 28, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I had a very interesting trip to Washington. I was not prepared for the cordial reception which I received.

I wish I had time to go into detail in this letter, but I am busy here in the office late Sunday night trying to get ready to leave here early tomorrow for meetings in Blue Lake.

I would like very much the opportunity to discuss the conversations which I had in Washington with you at the earliest possible time. I will try to get in touch with you sometime early next week and perhaps we can arrange to meet somewhere or I can come up there, or you might be able to come down this way. If you are planning a trip over in this direction and could possibly meet with me for an hour, I would appreciate it very much if you would let me know. I will be out of the office until Thursday afternoon of this week.

Sincerely yours,

Powers

Powers McLeod

/b

October 31, 1962

The Rev. Mr. Powers McLeod
Auburn Methodist Church
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Powers:

I would welcome a chance to learn of your conversations in Washington as soon as possible. My schedule is impossible for this weekend next, although Friday, November 9, might be a possibility.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

file
McLeod

January 21, 1963

The Rev. Mr. Powers McLeod
Auburn Methodist Church
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Powers:

While going over administrative and financial matters with Jim last week, I was surprised to note ACHR provides no staff benefits. Would you consider this before the annual meeting, especially if there is any inclination to raise Jim's salary.

Minimum benefits could probably be had for $300-$350; an adequate travel and accident policy, personal and family health and hospitalization, and something like a modest term life policy. It is possible he may have some of these, in which case ACHR could take over the payment. I didn't go into it with him. This move, should you want to consider it, could amount to a non-taxable raise and with Jim's family situation these things should be done.

Also, I am all too aware of ACHR financial difficulties but any move possible toward a higher salary for Jim would be a good thing. I heard no complaints from him or his family, but there must be considerable financial straits.

I don't want to step over the bounds here, but you would be correct if you surmised from this that I was impressed by your man and the work he is doing. You and the Alabama Council may expect all the help SRC and I can give.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

Ala - Gen

July 23, 1964

Dr. Lucius Pitts
President
Miles College
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Lucius:

I know how crowded your schedule is, and seriously hesitate asking you to consider attending another meeting. However, the meeting described on the enclosed is, I believe, a serious attempt on the part of the president's poverty people to establish a good system of recruitment for the proposed job corps.

The problem of recruitment through regular channels in the South is difficult and the people planning the program would like to use private resources and sometimes bypass agencies like federal/state employment offices. Your knowledge of resources in the region would be very helpful to them, should you find it possible to attend. If this is not possible, we would appreciate you asking someone on your staff to represent you.

The meeting will begin at 10:00 A.M. and run until 12:30 on August 5. Mr. Cheston will probably want to speak with you or your representative privately, but that can be arranged at your convenience, probably during or immediately after lunch.

Again, my apologies for another meeting!

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm
Enc.

Ala - Gen

August 4, 1964

Dr. Lucius Pitts, President
Miles College
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Lucius:

Jim brought the Rev. Ed Stanfield to Auburn today. Turner Ivey, Auburn University history professor who is on our board, and I had lunch with them.

Ivey and I are very much impressed with Stanfield. He impressed us as being well trained, strongly motivated, and had a quite manner which should make him effective. We are in favor of hiring him if he is available. Of far greater importance than our recommendation is the fact that Stanfield has been at SRC headquarters for two months. Anthony and Dunbar have had a chance to evaluate him and they know the Alabama picture. I trust their judgment.

Jim also told me that Carl Elliott's Administrative Assistant is interested in the job. I think we should vigorously pursue all qualified and recommended applicants.

Your single most important job as ACHR President is the selection of a new director. I trust you will proceed with your usual good judgment, boldness, and decisiveness on this important matter.

Cordially,

NW:kw

Nat Welch

cc: Turner Ivey
Paul Anthony
Norman Jimersom

Ala - Nat Welch

July 8, 1965

Mr. Nat Welch
Box 1192
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Nat:

Thanks for the excellent sugges tons re the Nominating Committee. They will receive my support and, I'm sure, very serious consideration by the Committee.

The comments regarding Cummings and Mosely are especially noted and will be acted on.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

July 16, 1965

Mr. Nat Welch
Box 1192
Auburn, Aalabama

Dear Nat:

The note you wrote Wednesday arrived this morning and your point is well taken. If I ever make any such study in the future, I'll call you about it before releasing it. Please accept my apology.

As a matter of fact, I am somewhat surprised that the report turned out to be such a "blockbuster." I can tell you the whole story in detail later, but the whole thing began when it came to my attention that the local school board had assigned personnel on a racial basis. After investigating I wrote to the school officials, calling the regulations to their attention, and asking for some adjustment. They didn't reply. Meanwhile casual inquiries indicated that the lack of compliance was pretty widespread, so I checked systematically. As the report indicated, I found things pretty bad -- but not as bad as had been reported to me at first.

As I had feared, the local board of education decided that they would do nothing at all (which decision I discovered by calling the chairman). My letter of complaint to OEO had brought an investigator who said that he would recommend withholding their funds on the basis of his findings. Since it appeared that nothing could be done on a voluntary basis, I felt that as much pressure as possible should be brought to bear as quickly as possible. The program will soon be over in many places -- and the federal money used without any indication that the federal executive means business on Title VI -- which I believe a point that must be made very very clearly at this time. Hence the dropping of the "blockbuster" with such suddenness.

As I say, I really did not expect so much fuss. Having observed SRC's staff rather routinely issuing reports on studies (such as "Law Enforcement in Mississippi") with covering news releases, I just did the same.

By the way, I sent three copies to Keppel, as well as copies to OEO, Humphrey, Collins, and the Civil Rights Commission. I thought the Office of Education might benefit from the report's suggestion that Southern Educators can't really comprehend what nondiscrimination means.

Cordially,

Blind Copy — Paul Anthony

Stanfield

Ala
J Nat Welch

Wednesday

Ed,

Your blockbuster on discrimination in Operation Head Start hit the front page of the Opelika Daily News this afternoon. I saw the story but was unable to get a copy for you.

I don't particularly mind these blockbusters.....but feel like the president should be consulted before you release a big story to the AP.

I'll be in Selma Thursday attending my ~~xxxx

Ala -
Nat Welch

July 22, 1965

Mr. Nat Welch
Box 1192
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Nat:

Thank you, very much, for your generous comments about the changes here. I shall make every effort to continue the high standards set by my predecessors but I have no illusions about the traditions of quality which exist or the difficulty of maintaining them.

I agree with your interest in seeing strong field work and state council support and hope that, at least in part, the Executive Committee's action is an expression of that opinion also.

Your offer about fund raising help to councils will be a first order of business in the fall.

It will be good to have you in Atlanta as a neighbor, friend, and active member of the Council.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Ala. Nat Welch.

September 21, 1965

Mr. Nat Welch
2112 Castleway Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Nat:

This is to express my regret at not being able to attend the board meeting of the Alabama Council on Saturday.

I would like for you to know how pleased we are with ACHR and how impressed we are with the phenomenal progress of the past year.

Statistically, that progress speaks for itself; the greatest percentage increase in membership and next to largest amount of funds raised from within the state.

Equally significant though has been the extent to which the ACHR has become its membership. A large number of people do things, which is I think, the ideal of any council.

These factors all mean to us that the officers, board and staff deserve our highest commendation. Please consider this as my effort to do that.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director Designate

PA:rh

Rec'd 10/27/65

Ala - Nat Welch
AC
MM

2112 Castleway Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30329
October 26, 1965

MEMORANDUM

To : The Executive Committee, Alabama Council on Human Relations

From : Nat Welch, President

Subject: Preliminary steps toward selecting a new Executive Director

I have received with regret notice of Ed Stanfield's resignation as Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, effective December 31, 1965

After considering a called meeting of the Executive Committee, it seems to me that such a meeting would be more fruitful after we have obtained a number of candidates to be considered for the position of Executive Director. I note, further, that several members of the Committee will be in Atlanta on November 14-16 for the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council.

Accordingly, I am hereby appointing the Executive Committee to act as a selection committee to nominate to the Board a candidate for Executive Director. Please send to me immediately any names you wish to have considered and your comments as to qualifications. Those who will be at the SRC meeting in Atlanta can meet informally one or more times during those three days.

Meanwhile, I will contact Paul Anthony and others of the SRC Board and staff for possible candidates.

Phone: 539-4277 or 539-5496

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director
ROBERT S. VALDER, Associate Director

October 26, 1965

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**MEMORANDUM**

To : Members of the Board of Directors

From : J. Edwin Stanfield

Subject: Resignation as Executive Director

This is to inform you that I have tendered to Mr. Nat Welch, as President of the Alabama Council and chairman of the Board of Directors, my resignation as Executive Director, effective December 31, 1965.

I am resigning in order to accept the position of Director of Field Activities on the staff of the Southern Regional Council. To be candid, I did anticipate and would have welcomed a longer association with the Alabama Council on Human Relations, but the offer of the position with the Southern Regional Council is to me so rare a challenge and such a promising opportunity for significant service and personal fulfillment that I could not refuse it.

The date of my resignation has been chosen carefully, after consultation with Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council. Both the urgent need of SRC to fill the field director post and the desirability of having ACHR's annual membership-funding effort well underway and the annual meeting essentially arranged were taken into consideration by both of us. We both anticipate my giving special attention and time as needed to the Alabama Council during the first month or two of 1966.

President Welch and the Executive Committee are already taking preliminary steps toward the selection of a new executive director. *Nat asks that you send names of candidates you may wish to suggest, with pertinent information, and/or your comments as to desirable qualifications and traits (including traits of the incumbent which you would avoid!) to him or another member of the Executive Committee. Mr. Welch's current address is 2112 Castleway Drive, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia 30329.*

I want to express to you now, what you will hear me reiterate at the other anticipated opportunities, my gratitude to you for the chance to live and work with you during these months.

Your commitment, your thoughtful and energetic efforts, and those of the other members of ACHR, have been an inspiration to me and--more important--have made the Council a solid organization with bright prospects. I hope you realize what you have done. The successful membership-funding campaign last January laid the foundation. It put the Council on a sound financial basis and uncovered new talented and dedicated people. This left officers and staff free to develop program at both the state and local level: the conferences for students, for women, and on the Voting Rights Act; Head Start; the special reports; hospital and school desegregation efforts; and much more. Because you put the Council on a solid basis, we were able to secure the services of Mr. Valder as an Eleanor Roosevelt associate. Further (and this has not been announced heretofore), we are to receive, through the Southern Regional Council, a grant for a projected three-year period sufficient to enable us to employ another staff person to work in rural areas of the state. All of this would not have been possible if the Alabama Council had not been made strong through the hard work of its officers, Board, and membership.

I am confident that you will continue in strength and effectiveness. The displeasure I feel on terminating after so brief a period what is for me a happy relationship is offset by that confidence.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director

Telephone 539-4277

AV
MM

November 26, 1965

To: ACHR's Executive Committee

Fred Routh, formerly of the SRC staff, is Executive Secretary of NAIRO, the professional organization of human rights specialists. Fred put me in contact with five prospects for Stanfield's job. We will interview the two that Fred recommended the highest. Here are my comments on each based on my interviews with them in Washington recently.

(1) Rodney Miller, formerly of the Peace Corps. His resume is attached. I think his statement is provocative. Also being considered for a position on SRC staff. He is highly intelligent. He has a deep commitment with a strong concern about his obligation to the human race.

(2) The Reverend Herbert Lodder, Assistant Rector, St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Arlington, Virginia. Resume attached. Meets people easily. Has a very deep concern about the race question. Good speaker. Broad and varied education.

Lodder will spend Wednesday being interviewed by SRC staff in Atlanta, and will spend Thursday in Huntsville with Ed. Miller will spend Thursday in Atlanta and will fly to Birmingham with me Thursday night. So we will have the benefit of SRC's evaluation of these two men.

I hope that each of you can get into Birmingham Thursday night to interview Valder, Miller and Lodder informally that evening and at breakfast the next morning before our meeting starts at 9:30 a.m. at the Bankhead Hotel.

Cordially,

Nat Welch

Attachments

Ala. Nat Welch

NAT WELCH
BOX 1192
AUBURN, ALABAMA

July 12

To: Paul Anthony and Les Dunbar

Info: Ed Stanfield

Ed told me at our last meeting that practically all the state councils except Alabama are in serious financial condition. This I am sorry to hear.

In sales management what you try to do is to establish a success pattern and repeat it all over the lot. Had I taken the job as Development Director, I would have applied this Alabama formula in the other SRC states.

If you have a meeting of the state directors in Sept. or October, Ed and I will be glad to put on a 2 or three hour "nuts and bolts" workshop session detailing how we registered substantial increases in membership and budget this past year.

If you want this done, we would appreciate two or three weeks advance notice so we can do a good job on our homework.

Warm personal regards,

Nat

Typed Copy

**Rockefeller Brothers Fund**
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Office of the Director

July 17, 1957

Dear Mr. Griswold:

Thank you for your letters of June 27 and July 2 presenting a request to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund on behalf of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. We appreciate very much your having written and having forwarded such complete information on the Council's objectives and program, which we have reviewed with interest. Unfortunately, the Council's request involves certain policy considerations with respect to the Fund's own program which are under study at present. Until such time as these considerations have been resolved, I am afraid that I cannot give you a definite answer in regard to the Council's request.

At this writing, while I cannot be at all encouraging about the possibility of the Fund's being helpful along the lines which you suggest because of program considerations, I can assure you that the Council's request will receive full consideration. The next meeting of the Fund's trustees is not scheduled before fall, so that this matter cannot be taken up for some time. Under the circumstances, I would urge you to explore other sources of support in the meantime and not in any way base your plans for the coming year upon the expectation of assistance from the Fund.

Sincerely yours,

Dana Creel

Dana S. Creel

Mr. Nat R. Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 South Izard
Little Rock, Arkansas

July 26, 1957

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 South Izard
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Thanks for the copy of Dana Creel's letter. I know it must have been disappointing to all of you there.

I do not know that my interpretations will be any better, if as good, as yours. My guess would be that they are trying to figure out some way to do something about the South without exposing themselves to the sharp edge of controversy. I should further guess that the thing that is keeping your application under consideration at all is such influence of Winthrop's as may attach to it. Although the prospects don't look too bright, I don't think you can afford not to keep pushing in a determined fashion until and unless you are definitely turned down. It would seem to me that you should keep working on the Winthrop angle as effectively as you can.

I hope your committee was able to come up with a plan of operation untill you know for sure on the Rockefeller proposal. I will look forward to hearing from you on that and also on "Operation-Break-The-Back". I am hoping that I will have some word from you before I leave for vacation next Wednesday.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Arkansas
# Council On Human Relations

211 SOUTH IZARD TELEPHONE FR 4-4521

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*

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NAT R. GRISWOLD, *Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR., *Associate Director*
MRS. VELMA POWELL, *Secretary*

July 22,1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director of the Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

Herewith is a copy of Mr. Creel's letter for your information. In light of your experience what does this mean?

ACHR Board chairman is calling an executive session of the Executive Committee for July 30th. We assume that the Brothers final answer, even if favorable, will not be in time to help during the first quarter. What kind of program is possible on a drastically reduced budget? This is the question the Committee will discuss on Tuesday. This also assumes that SRC will support such a program at least until final words come from the Brothers.

We will keep you informed of proposed changes.

Sincerely,

nat

Nat R. Griswold
Executive Director

NRG: vmcl
Enc.

" Operation Break-theBack " discloses much, closes little and opens little. Will phone you more in detail.

RECEIVED OCT 18 1957

File

October 15, 1957

Hugh Moore
American Friends Service Committee
20 S. 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Hugh,

Re: Arkansas Council on Human Relations
Appeal to Rockefeller Brothers Foundation

I thought you might want to pass on to the Rockefeller Brothers Foundation some observations which I made on a recent visit to Little Rock. As you know, I was sent to Little Rock in the height of the emergency in order to see whether there was anything the AFSC could do there in the immediate situation or in the longer pull. A major conclusion that I arrived at in my study was that it is very important to get adequate financial support for the Arkansas Council on Human Relations of the Southern Regional Council.

I found that the office of the Arkansas Council was a center for mobilizing thinking people to come to the support of desegregation in the schools, and for upholding principles of law and order. The Council, of course, is composed of liberal-minded persons who are very much interested in promoting good race relations and thus involves directly only a small sector of the population. The Council has, however, avenues of approach and ways of bringing constructive ideas to the attention of persons in authority in the government and to persons of influence and importance in the community. The Council also has strategic importance as a center where communication can go on with freedom and equality between the white and Negro communities of Little Rock. The Council works quietly behind the scenes and does not seek publicity.

The plan of desegregation supported by the Superintendent of Schools did not provide for preparation of students, faculty, and parents for the advent of integration. The Superintendent took the viewpoint that the least said the better. Thus the Arkansas Council was thwarted in its efforts to help the school system to prepare in advance. It is probable that, in view of the crisis that has arisen, the school authorities will be more open to such programs in the future and the Council on Human Relations could well play a very important role.

I was dismayed to find that at the moment when the need for such an agency was most dramatically portrayed, the budget was being sliced and the future was very uncertain. It is clear that it will be several years yet before such a program can win wide popular support in Arkansas or even large sums from wealthy

citizens. It is certainly a program where foundation help is abundantly needed and it would seem particularly appropriate for the Rockefeller brothers to support this work in accordance with the appeal which I understand the Southern Regional Council is submitting.

I hope that this word from a brother organization may be of some assistance.

Sincerely yours,

C. H. Yarrow
Associate Secretary
American Section

CHY:srm

bcc: Harold Fleming, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia
Nat Griswold, Arkansas Council on Human Relations
F. E. Hutch ens, Texas Regional Office
Barbara Moffett

Harold -

Our thought is that Hugh Moore would present this to Mr. Creel of Rockefeller Bro. when he is to see soon.

Mike

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Dana S. Creel

REGARDING:

Special appropriation for Arkansas Council on Human Relations
(First installment - $8,000)

DATE

February 28, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Corresp. file: "Rockefeller Bros. Fund"

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Creel, Mr. Dana (RBF)

REGARDING:

Request for second instalment of grant from RBF to Arkansas Council on Human Relations

DATE

April 14, 1959

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Rockefeller Brothers Fund

July 19, 1957

Mr. Colbert Cartwright
Pulaski Heights Christian Church
Hillcrest and Spruce
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Cartwright:

I am pleased to inform you that our Executive Committee, at its meeting just concluded, approved a grant-in-aid to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, for the fiscal year 1957-58, in the amount of $4,500. Final approval of this sum is contingent on a mutually satisfactory agreement as to the matters discussed below.

The Executive Committee regretted that it was unable to grant an amount as large as that requested. As you know, the total available was $40,000, and eleven state organizations had to be considered.

This means that the average figure is about $3,600. The amount tentatively allocated to Arkansas is well above this average and was, in fact, one of the two largest sums approved. This favorable action was taken in recognition of the Arkansas Council's expressed purposes to continue with a bi-racial professional staff. Of course, it also reflects awareness of the decisive period which Arkansas is now approaching and the high regard in which you hold the lay leadership and staff of the Arkansas Council.

Obviously, in view of the curtailed amount granted, it will be necessary for your program and budget to be reconsidered. Will you advise us at your earliest opportunity what modifications the Arkansas Council feels it must make in the proposal as submitted?

Once the terms of the grant are satisfactorily worked out, the following conditions, as set by the Executive Committee, will apply:

(1) The grant will be distributed on a quarterly basis effective October 1, 1957.

(2) Succeeding quarterly distributions will be contingent on adequacy of performance, in terms of the agreement under which the grant is made. To this end, you will be requested to submit brief quarterly progress reports on program activities and fund-raising.

(3) The grant-in-aid is not earmarked for any specific expense, but may be applied against the total budgetary needs of the organization.

(4) Since the grant is not earmarked, and since our affiliate relationship expires on October 1st, your organization will handle its own payroll, including the withholding of income taxes and social security after that date.

(5) As has been true during the subsidy period, these funds are granted on the condition that your organization not engage in political activity or other activity inconsistent with tax-exempt status.

We shall look forward to receiving your revised proposal and to a mutually sustaining relationship in the months ahead.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. Nat Griswold

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*Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to*

SEPTEMBER 4, 1957

C. C. CARTWRIGHT
1701 NORTH TAYLOR STREET
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

PLEASE GIVE LITTLE ROCK DEVELOPMENTS FULL COVERAGE FOR THE NEW SOUTH. WORDAGE AT YOUR DISCRETION. REGARDS.

JOHN CONSTABLE, EDITOR

Board

October 28, 1957

Mr. Colbert S. Cartwright, Pastor
Pulaski Heights Christian Church
Hillcrest and Spruce
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Bert:

We don't know a great deal about the Southern Newsletter, even though they have lately taken to plugging the Southern Regional Council. Judging by the backgrounds of some of the people associated with it, we have our doubts as to the reliability and discretion of the operation. I think you would be well advised not to become a contributor or supporter of it.

This gives me an opportunity to tell you how much I admired your recent articles in the Christian Century and the Reporter. The only suggestion I would presume to make is that you suppress your natural modesty and give the Arkansas Council a healthy boost in your future writings on Little Rock. Incidentally, I was just in New York and found a number of people commenting favorably on your analyses.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED OCT 24 1957

Pulaski Heights Christian Church

Colbert S. Cartwright, Pastor

Hillcrest and Spruce
Little Rock, Arkansas

October 22, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have a letter from Perry Cartwright, circulation manager of the "Southern Newsletter," Box 1307, Louisville 1, Ky. He asks me to write an article for their Newsletter.

I am writing him that I shall not find it possible to do so.

I know nothing of this publication. Any background or evaluation in regard to it would be appreciated.

Sincerely,

Colbert S. Cartwright

Colbert S. Cartwright

Carter Wright
Bd.

4724 Hillcrest Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas
December 7, 1957

Dean Liston Pope
Yale University Divinity School
409 Prospect Street
New Haven 11, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Pope:

This is to follow up our brief conversation at the Alumni Luncheon at St. Louis in regard to the possibility of a social psychological study at Dallas in the immediate future.

First it might be well to mention a bit of my own background and activities in regard to the racial developments here. I have been here for four years. I shared three years ago in the formation of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations (affiliated with the Southern Regional Council) and have been an officer from its beginning. I am now chairman and have given primary concern and effort to the problem of human relations in our state. I am also an elected board member of the Southern Regional Council.

Having a bent for journalism I felt that when the Little Rock school crisis arose I could make my greatest contribution by serving as a member of the press and seeking to keep as fully abreast developments as possible. For the first month I devoted much time to covering the news beats, informally talking with press men, etc. This, along with a number of unusually reliable contacts from different sources within the community, has enabled me to have as good a picture of what the situation is here as anyone. I have had articles in the Christian Century, Reporter, Christian-Evangelist, and have received requests for articles from Progressive and New South.

I am giving you this background to indicate that my knowledge and concern for the present situation is more than casual.

My concern for a social psychological study of Dallas has grown out of my observations here in regard to the Little Rock situation.

During October a team of two social psychologist PhD's, working out of Harvard, came to Little Rock to make an opinion research study, particularly as the crisis related to the churches . However their study took them into practically all aspects of the problem and turned out to be something of a community-wide study. Upon several occasions I had conferences with them, and because my brother, Dorwin, is in the same field (at the University of Michigan), they talked somewhat more freely to me than to others regarding the nature of their work here. I was impressed with their competence and their ability to secure interviews from practically all they desired to interview.

From my contacts with them I saw that a team of this sort has at least three important contributions to make in the area of bettering human relations.

(1). A professional team of this typ e can contribute to basic research in the area of the relationship of a community to the problem of school desegregation. There is very little professional material of competence in this specific field. The Harvard team indicated that there is so little knowledge about the problems and principles of school desegregation in the South that they did not even know for sure what the real questions were which should be asked when they came to Little Rock. They were studying to uncover possible hypotheses in this field.

With the Little Rock experience behind them this team could go to Dallas to make a test of the hypotheses which they have begun to formulate out of their Little Rock study. A second study of a school-community problem should help to draw out important patterns and principles for other school situations.

This basic research is badly needed. It is my impression that very little has actually been done in regard to the school problem. I also understand that most foundations will not touch this kind of research because of its "controversial nature." Therefore funds that are available should be used in this field.

(2). A professional team can get a truer picture of the facts than can be drawn by any other source. Professional observers of this type are more competent than the keenest of journalists to get a true picture of the situation. Because of their "public opinion research" approach they get a more accurate sampling of opinion. In my observations of the Little Rock situation I have become convinced that because journalists were not trained to "ask the right questions" the true picture has been considerably distorted even by the most responsible of the press. It takes someone trained in the background of social psychology to get the right perspective. From what the Harvard men have told me of their findings it is apparent that what they have uncovered is at variance with the general picture given by journalistic analysts. The limitations of not actually being on hand with a professionally trained staff is seen in Elmo Roper's analysis of Little Rock in the Saturday Review (10-19-57), which was not based upon a real study, and is inaccurate at important points.

(3). A professional team can play an important part in consultative services to the communities they study and to other communities facing similar problems. I have taken the initiative in Little Rock in getting the services of this team used for consultative purposes as some kind of stability is being sought in our city and state. My suggestion has met with a warm response from persons who are in a position to see that the services are used.

Every indication points to the team's making a significant contribution to the solution of our problems here. The specifics of these possibilities are still in a stage of the strictest confidence , and coul d only be discussed with you in persons. However their services shall in all liklihood be sought by the most important persons in the power structure of our civic and state life--in the fields of politics, education, economics, and religion. The team has expressed a willingness and desire to meet with these persons and groups on a consultative basis. I cannot stress too much the importance of this aspect of the contribution of these social psychologists. So far as they were concerned they had no thought of this possibility when they came. Theyx did not suggest it to anyone. But I saw their importance and began planting the seeds of possibility.

This consultative aspect is a most important by-product of a study. That they will be sought by the community studied cannot be guaranteed, but our Little Rock experience indicates they will be sought after gladly sooner or later.

Of course published studies by the team will also make available important materials to be gotten to the right people at the right time throughout the South in the school desegregation process.

I believe the South will quite soon begin to turn to social psychologists for help in the solution of its problem. I was impressed by the article in the New York Times Magazine (12-1-57) titled "The Southern Negro: Change and Paradox" by John M. Popham, the southern correspondent for the Times. I know Popham, who is a native Virginian, and I believe he is possibly the journalist who understands the South the best. At the close of his article on the human relations problem in the South he says: "The job ahead is a great task of social engineering....The South needs informed assistance from the rest of the country, not fuzzy-minded sympathisers with little real understanding, but wise and compassionate leaders who yet are firm in their determination to rebuild. All the modern skills of the historians, sociologists, the political scientists, the educationists, must be brought to bear."

The Dallas study would help to provide the "informed assistance" that we in the South need. Furthermore, by utilizing the same men that studied Little Rock, a team of professional consultants will be better trained, who can make significant contributions for years to come.

The above three points in a general way gives my thought of why studies should be continued in the school desegregation process. The Harvard team was able ~~to~~ only to study Little Rock "after the fact" of chaos. Undoubtedly many questions occurred to them about what the attitudes and actions had been before September 2. Dallas would afforn them the opportunity to get that information ahead of time. I do not know how anyone else could be as well qualified to study Dallas as the men who have studied Little Rock.

I think that whatever happens at Dallas will afford valuable information. At present the court has ordered desegregation to begin at the end of January. However even if this should be delayed until next September, the value of the study would not be changed. If, when desegregation takes place, it is done with order or disorder, the findings will be important. I cannot conceive of a study's not being extremely important whatever the future holds.

In a telephone conversation with Dr. Harold Flemming of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, I mentioned the possibility of this study to him and he enthusiastically thought it would be quite significant.

In a telephone conversation with one of the Harvard team, it was indicated that they could accept the assignment and give it the necessary time. I have asked them to write you, giving the general proposal for a study. The technical details, of course, are beyond my range of competence.

The purpose of my letter is to urge the importance of the study. The men themselves will need to work out the details with you or whoever may have the funds available.

I have every confidence in their ability. Dr. Tom Pettigrew is an assistant professor of sociology at Harvard. He received his PhD from Harvard and worked under Allport. Dr. Ernest Campbell received his PhD from Vanderbilt and is on a study fellowship at Harvard. One is a native of Virginia and the other a native of Georgia. I think every indication points to these two men becoming important consultants in the field of southern school desegregation.

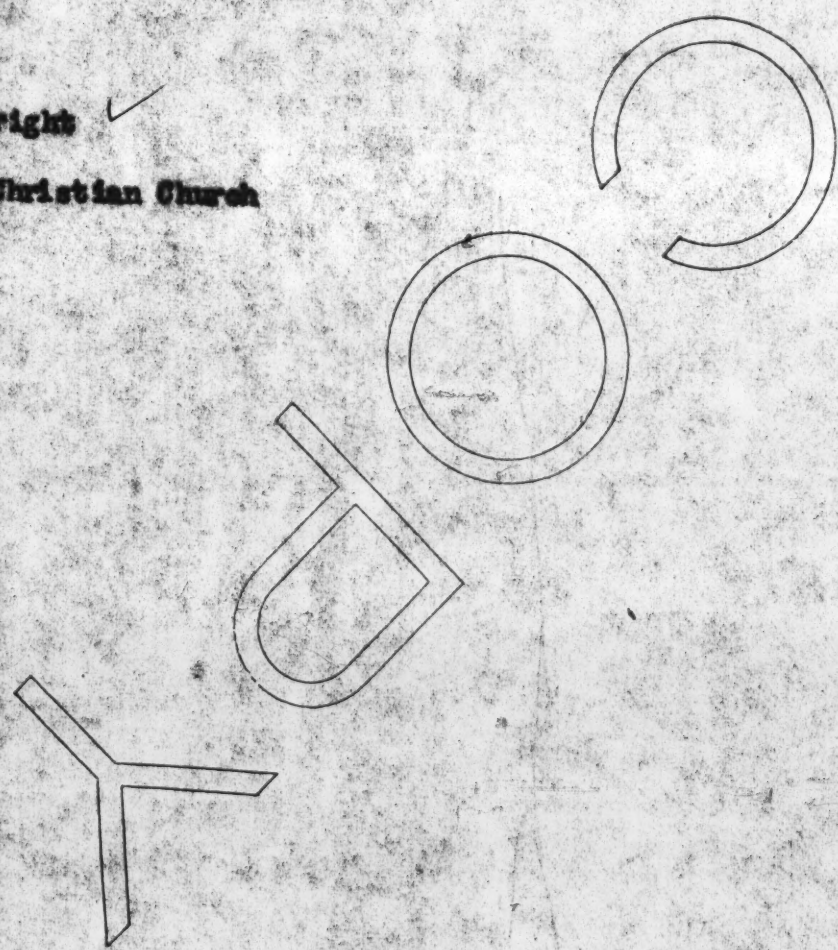
I appreciate your interest in this possibility, and hope something will materialize . We need all the technical help we can get.

I would like to write you concerning my observations of the situation here, but my letter is already too long. I shall have occasion to be in New York in January. I may get up to New Haven. If so, I hope I might have an opportunity to see you.

Thank you for your interest in considering the study I am suggesting.

Sincerely,

Colbert S. Cartwright
Minister
Pulaski Heights Christian Church



January 27, 1958

Mr. Colbert Cartwright
Pulaski Heights Christian Church
Hillcrest and Spruce
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Bert:

Please forgive this long delay in acknowledging your letter forwarding the manuscript by Pettigrew. The delay was partly occasioned by my passing it around for others on the staff to read, and partly by the need for copying it. I think it is a very good and provocative piece of writing, and I will correspond with Pettigrew about the possibility of our using it. I have not been able to think of a popular magazine that would likely be interested - though I do think there is a chance that we might get some newspaper publicity for it, based on publication in New South.

We have one reservation about the manuscript as it stands. In stressing the importance of sudden, decisive action by the authorities, Pettigrew neglects the desirability of useful, selective prior planning. Even in the case of a factory, it would be wise to prepare certain key people in the operation - perhaps down to the level of foreman - with explanations of the change of the reason for it. This is even more essential, as you have so well pointed out, in a community situation. I think this may well be an editorial rather than a substantive problem, since I doubt that Pettigrew sees this any differently from the rest of us. I do think it is worthwhile writing him to see if he would be willing to consider a slight revision on that point.

The supplementary document for the Rockefeller Brothers Fund (which Nat submitted as a quarterly report) was a very impressive account of the Arkansas Council's activities and their significance. As I have good reason to know, this kind of interpretation is extraordinarily hard to do successfully. I am glad to hear, through Nat via Fred, that things are looking up a bit for the Arkansas Council. I do hope that you all will resist the natural feelings of discouragement that so tough a situation is bound to produce.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosure - 1 (Manuscript - Thomas Pettigrew)

*Memo*

FROM THE DESK OF **JOHN CONSTABLE**

1/15/58

HCF:

I think this is very good. It offers concrete suggestions which would be helpful. It is ~~longxxxx~~ longish for New South, but we have printed longer ones.

Tried to get in yesterday afternoon to discuss this but you were tied up with finances.

RECEIVED JAN - 2 1958

Pulaski Heights Christian Church

Colbert S. Cartwright, Pastor

Hillcrest and Spruce
Little Rock, Arkansas

December 31, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I received yesterday a letter from Dr. Thomas F. Pettigrew, one of the two Harvard social scientists, who studied Little Rock and who I hoped would go to Dallas. He indicates that with the new court ruling he does not expect to go, although I don't believe any final decision has been made. He says he thinks he will have an opportunity to study Alexandria, Va. and Prince Edward County, Va. which are ordered to desegregate in February. All of this information is beside the main point of my writing.

Sometime ago Pettigrew sent me a copy of an address he has worked out titled "A Social Psychologist's View of Desegregation and Southern Industry." He has given it before business men in North Carolina and South Carolina. It seems to me that it is well done and should receive a wider audience. He says that a business magazine requested the paper for publication, but "backed down on publishing it for the usual reasons." He is open to suggestions for its use.

It is my thought that it would best be published in some national magzine if possible. Apparently the chances are slim. He asks me if I would advise submitting it to "New South". I am sure "New South" would welcome it, although it is a bit long.

I am sending my only copy of Pettigrew's ~~xxxx~~ paper to you in the hope that you may find it interesting, and that you can find some way to give it the audience it should have. I would like to have the copy back fairly soon. Pettigrew's address is: Laboratory of Social Relations, Harvard University, 9 Bow Street, Cambridge 38, Mass.

He also writes: "We still do not have definite commitments for our popular articles on Little Rock, and are still in the midst of sorting the data for the more technical papers."

If you have any opportunities to put in a good word for Pettigrew to the press, I hope you will. The material he has should be made known. I, myself, do not know very much about his findings here, and I would like to know. I should think that some organization in the East could be encouraged to invite him to speak to them on Little Rock. Maybe we could get hold of the text of his address. I have not asked him for a copy of the manuscripts he is submitting, as I think this would not be proper.

Next week ACHR's time for full compliance with the city's request for a full report of our receipts and disbursements will expire. We have no idea whether any action will be brought against us or not. I think it is quite likely that there will be, but we have no behind-the-scenes indication.

I shall be in New York all of next week attending an international affairs seminar at the Church Peace Union. I may have an opportunity to talk with someone from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. The questions they asked were ones most difficult to answer in a way which I think would satisfy their basis of operation.

Sincerely,

Bert

Colbert S. Cartwright

June 26, 1958

Mr. C. S. Cartwright
Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 W. Capital
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Bert and Nat:

The other day I had a pleasant lunch with some of the staff members of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. (I am glad to report that we have now joined you as beneficiaries of the RBF.)

In the course of the conversation, they expressed some unhappiness that they had not had more from you by way of information on the work and progress of the Arkansas Council. Nat's talk with Meserve here in Atlanta has helped some, but apparently their thirst for information is not quenced. Believe me, I realize that it's a strain to be forever preparing reports to benefactors. But since two further years of major assistance hangs on their good opinion of the Arkansas Council, I would suggest that you give this chore extra attention.

I know you are depressed, as we are, by Judge Lemley's atrocious decision. It hardly seems possible that his ruling can be reversed before September, surely it ultimately will be.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

July 2, 1958

Reverend Colbert S. Cartwright
Pulaski Heights Christian Church
Hillcrest and Spruce
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Bert:

Although I know this will arrive in your absence, I am writing it so that it will be waiting for you when you return from vacation.

Normally, a brief quarterly report to a foundation would be more than sufficient. Part of the problem may be that, as I understand it, your last quarterly report wasn't sent up to the Fund at the time of preparation, though I think Nat later gave it to Meserve here. I suppose that the intense interest by the Fund in your activities stems from the fact that one of the Brothers lives there and is much concerned with the course of events in Arkansas.

I would suggest the obvious step of sending Meserve, promptly, each quarterly report that you prepare in connection with our aid program. In addition, when anything noteworthy happens - such as Nat's attending the police school with a delegation of officers and private citizens - that Nat drop a note to Meserve, enclosing any pertinent clipping or document. Also I think

the Fund's staff would appreciate receiving any noteworthy background or reaction to major local events - for example, the ruling by Judge Lemley. I am sure that this will take care of the matter more than adequately.

I am looking forward to seeing Nat next week, at which time we will have a chance to discuss these matters in more detail.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Pulaski Heights Christian Church

Colbert S. Cartwright, Pastor

Hillcrest and Spruce
Little Rock, Arkansas

June 29, 1958

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for writing concerning the problem of our Council's reporting to Dr. Meserve. I am sure it can be worked out and it is well to get an understanding immediately.

I do not believe our sins of omission have been due to anything other than our inexperience in dealing with foundations. Up to the present our only reports have been to you, and we have sent the same information to Meserve. Presumably he is wanting something more than these quarterly reports.

It would be very helpful if you would list for us suggestions of what we should do to keep Mr. Meserve happy. We do not have any antipathy to preparing reports. The question is what the circumstances require. Any help you can give will be appreciated. Possibly you can discuss the matter with Mr. Griswold when you see him.

Mr. Griswold is at the moment in Texas with a delegation of law enforcement officers and citizens from Little Rock attending the seminar at A & M College. This is a most significant step for Little Rock and indicates a definite change in climate. Because Of Mr. Griswold's absence I have not had the opportunity to discuss this matter with him. Since I am leaving on my vacation tomorrow I am sending him a carbon of this letter.

Sincerely,

Bert

Colbert S. Cartwright

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Cartwright, Colbert S.

REGARDING:

Statement presented at Public Affairs Conference in New York

DATE

Statement dtd. Sept.27,1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Folder marked: "Public Affairs Conf."

File Cartwright

1701 North Taylor Street
Little Rock, Arkansas
December 14, 1958

Christmas Greetings From the Cartwrights!

Time and space are tyrannical barriers which separate us from our friends. One of the joys of Christmas is the occasion for sending and receiving messages which keep friendships green.

Although living in one of the world's most renowned trouble-spots, the year has been good to us for which we are deeply grateful. Satisfactions have been found in our growing family, a church growing in grace, and in widening opportunities to make a Christian witness in the midst of troubled race relations.

Our family consists of Sally (2½) and Scott (1½). They were both July babies, Scott coming into this world on July 4. Needless to say we do not refer to him as our Yankee Doodle Dandy! We are looking forward to another arrival this July. It is thrilling to watch the development of the children's minds, especially at this stage before either of them have learned to plague us with the question, "Why?"

Our church, despite heartache and disappointments, has exhibited signs of coming to a deeper grasp of its calling. At the outbreak of the racial controversy there was the inevitable question of what the church's role should be. Colbert (Bert) had since before the Supreme Court decision sought to deal responsibly with the problem of human relations both in the church and community. This role was challenged, and the congregation was faced with the decision as to what the nature of its work and ministry should be. It concluded it had a responsibility to make the spirit of Christ felt in all of life. Although we regretted the loss of ten percent of our members, we have found that the church which had been hesitant to act responsibly in the past, "lest there be a fuss," now took its stand and remains the freest church in the city to witness to the full Gospel of Christ. We have witnessed the birth of a unity of spirit conceived by a unified loyalty to Christ. The church is growing in stewardship, and we are now in the midst of obtaining our permanent sanctuary, dreamed of for many years.

Colbert (Bert) has had a growing concern for the problems of human relations. In October he completed two years as president of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. He has had unusual opportunities to keep close to developments and to work quietly on a number of significant levels. He has had the privilege of lecturing on this subject at Yale, Vanderbilt, and T.C.U. He has found it helpful to clarify his own thinking through writing, and his articles have found their way into six or seven publications, including the Congressional Record. His particular concern at the moment is the failure of national religious leadership to seek the formulation of a responsible national policy on school desegregation. The South is not going to change its mind soon in regard to civil rights. What guidance should the church give a nation which is faced with a strong minority's bitter resistance to what the majority deem to be just? This is the question which we would suggest you help answer in the context of the spirit of the One whose birthday we celebrate at this season.

It probably is enough to add now that we are well and happy. We earnestly pray that the Prince of Peace may dwell richly in your hearts throughout the coming year.

Cordially,

Bert, Anna, Sally, Scott

The Cartwrights

January 19, 1959

Rev. Colbert S. Cartwright
Pulaski Heights Christian Church
Hillcrest and Spruce
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Bert:

Thanks for your letter of January 12, which I will share with the Executive Committee.

I was glad to have this chance to demonstrate so tangibly our continued belief in the importance of the state councils.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Return corresp to HCF

Dear Bert:

Thanks for your letter of January 12, which I will share with the Executive Committee.

I was glad to have this chance to demonstrate so tangibly our continued belief in the importance of the state councils.

All the best

Sincerely,

HCF

Pulaski Heights Christian Church

Colbert S. Cartwright, Pastor

Hillcrest and Spruce
Little Rock, Arkansas

January 12, 1959

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It is good news indeed to hear of the substantial anonymous gift to the Council.

Particularly as a Board member I want to express my pleasure that a sum of $25,000 is earmarked for State Councils. This allays any fears which I felt and expressed at the Annual Meeting concerning the relationship of the Southern Regional Council to the state councils.

State councils are in very difficult positions these days and in many ways are ineffective. And yet such as they are, they are grassroot movements which must be watered and nourished. They keep hope alive in many a disheartened soul and serve as catalysts in significant ways which cannot be done by a regional organization. Regardless of the official relationship which may or may not exist between the Southern Regional Council and the state councils, the Southern Regional Council would in no way be as effective if there were no state councils.

As you have freshly indicated, this continues to be the philosophy of the Southern Regional Council. You may share my delight in this with the Executive Committee if you so desire.

Sincerely,

Colbert S. Cartwright

Colbert S. Cartwright

April 2, 1959

The Rev. C. S. Cartwright
Pulaski Heights Christian Church
Hillcrest and Spruce
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Bert:

For sometime now I have been thinking of a need for a New South article concerning events in Little Rock, which have caused the rise of sentiment for re-opening the public schools. I am especially interested in the role of the Woman's Committee To Open Public Schools, and subsequent developments along that line such as the Chamber of Commerce.

Do you think you might have time to document these things in an article for us? I would appreciate it if you could. If not, can you suggest anyone who might do this for us?

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

*Pulaski Heights Christian Church*

Colbert S. Cartwright, Pastor

Hillcrest and Spruce
Little Rock, Arkansas

April 16, 1959

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

I appreciate your thinking of me in connection with the article on the rise of sentiment for re-opening the public schools here. However I find it impossible to undertake this task. I have a very heavy schedule through June. To make things worse, I have been sick the past ten days, so I am far behind in my work.

The only person I can think of to suggest to write the article is Nat Griswold. He has been very close to a number of the behind-the-scenes developments and I think has a good grasp of what is happening. He has done little writing, but my impression is that with a good copy editor he could produce something worthy of publication.

Sincerely,

Bert

Colbert S. Cartwright

July 1, 1959

Mr. Colbert L. Cartwright
Pulaski Heights Christian Church
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Bert:

Col. Muse writes that you have not received any of the recent L reports being mailed by the Council. I am at a loss to understand why since your name is included in the Board of Directors' stencil list which was used in the mailing.

In any case, enclosed are the first five L reports. The sixth one will be mailed soon.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Enclosures (First five L reports)
cc/ Benjamin Muse

July 1, 1960

Mr. Colbert S. Cartwright
Pulaski Heights Christian Church
Hillcrest and Spruce
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Bert:

I am unpardonably remiss in failing to reply to your letter of many weeks ago forwarding a copy of the Aldersgate Camp transcript. Please accept my abject apologies. I circulated ~~your~~ letter and the transcript in order to get the views of other staff members, and in the process the material got buried.

I suppose any reaction now would be too late to matter. But, for whatever it's worth, our consensus was that others -- most particularly church groups -- could benefit from this good precedent in interracial communication. If the second meeting yielded a similar transcript, we'd be grateful for a copy. And our distribution facilities would be available for a selective outside-Little Rock distribution, though it may well be that Will Campbell could do a better job of getting the document to those who would get the most from it.

Incidentally, Ralph Creger, who has been busy with his own manuscript, spoke of the Aldersgate conference with great enthusiasm when I saw him recently.

I hope all goes well with you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

*Pulaski Heights Christian Church*

Colbert S. Cartwright, Pastor

Hillcrest and Spruce
Little Rock, Arkansas

Rec'd 4/22/60

April 20, 1960

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is a mimeographed transcript of a one-day meeting held recently at Little Rock to deal with Little Rock's racial problems. Although the sponsoring group was ad hoc, nearly all were old stand-by members of ACHR. We were quite encouraged by the response--98 persons present.

A second meeting--limited to late afternoon and evening--will be held April 29. This meeting will deal with aspirations and the frustration of these aspirations due to racial discrimination. This will get us into the sit-in and boycott demonstrations. This meeting, too, will be tape-recorded.

We are using the mimeographed transcription as a means of promoting the second meeting. Participants in the first meeting were also anxious to have copies.

We are not clear as to whether there might be a wider use made of this transcription or the next one. We would appreciate any suggestions you might have along this line.

We had a good meeting of the "Committee of the Future" and Paul Rilling did an excellent job for us. I think the findings of the committee will result in our developing a stronger and more forthright organization.

I have been much impressed by the rapid advances of SRC in the field of mass media. Congratulations on your New York Times magazine article. It is too bad that the South which has traditionally been liberal in foreign relations has very little interest in the influence of its racial policies on world affairs.

Sincerely,

Bert

Colbert S. Cartwright

# CONFERENCE ON COMMUNITY UNITY

## ALDERSGATE CAMP

## LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

## FEBRUARY 20, 1960

**Report of a one-day meeting, planned and conducted under the sponsorship of a group of religious leaders of the community in cooperation with the American Friends Service Committee.**

## FOREWORD

On February 20 a group of 98 persons met at Aldersgate Camp near Little Rock in an all day session to consider community problems and tensions. The group was made up of white and Negro citizens, and it included 19 high school boys and girls representing both races.

It was called a Conference on Community Unity, and it had as its four-fold purpose:

1. To provide an experience in thinking together on problems of racial understanding as they relate to community unity.

2. To help participants become aware of the barriers which divide us; to understand their complexities without accepting their inevitability.

3. To develop in participants a better understanding and appreciation of the pressures felt by various segments of the population.

4. To build in conference participants a sense of shared concern and mutual support in the task of easing existing barriers to community unity.

The plan for achieving these purposes included: (1) a panel presentation representing various points of view as to the barriers dividing us; (2) an open forum reaction to the panel presentation; (3) an informal luncheon; (4) small discussion groups; (5) a report back session; and (6) a talk "Where Do We Go from Here?" followed by discussion on the same topic.

A tape recorder was in operation during all the general sessions, and this report is a reproduction, only slightly edited to avoid repetition, of what was said that day.

In the text, participants have been referred to by letter rather than by name, and for the purpose of adding to the significance of their comments, they are here listed and identified as to race and role in the community.

<u>Panel Members</u>

| | |
|---|---|
| Father J. | An Episcopalian minister (N) |
| Mrs. W. | Homemaker, participant in church and community activites; mother of three teenagers (W) |
| Kay W. | High school girl in a desegregated school, daughter of Mrs. W. (W) |
| Dorothy L. | High school girl in a segregated school (N) |
| Conference Coordinator | Lifetime resident of Little Rock, former teacher, and worker in public education (W) |

<u>Other Participants in Post-Panel and Afternoon Discussions</u>

| | |
|---|---|
| Mrs. L. | Mother of Dorothy L., lifetime resident of Little Rock, wife of a mail carrier (N) |
| Mrs. T. | Lifetime resident of Little Rock, leader in cultural and civic affairs. Closing session speaker (W) |
| Mrs. C. | Wife of a doctor and mother of three young children (W) |
| Horace B. | Student in a segregated high school (N) |

PANEL PRESENTATION

Panel Members and Conference Coordinator

Conference Coordinator: This meeting came about as the result of long time planning. It was before Christmas that a group first got together because of their concern about the barriers existing in our community and their conviction that in the community there were others who were similarly concerned. Reading the minutes of that first meeting and the others which followed, one is impressed with the way in which the plan developed and grew into today's meeting. There was give and take; there were suggestions that came from all members of the group; and there was some revision of plans as the group continued to meet.

What the planning committee wanted to do was to offer to a larger group an opportunity for talking and planning together about ways of dealing with the barriers to unity in our town. The first step, the committee felt, was to have some realization of what those barriers are. As the people who planned the conference talked among themselves they learned from one another of barriers of which they had formerly been entirely unaware. This caused them to realize that one of the great difficulties in facing the problems that have come into this community has been the difficulty of providing opportunities for communication among the different segments of the community.

What the people who planned this conference hoped was that it would, first of all, be that kind of opportunity. They hoped, too, that through talking together, those of us here today could come to realize and appreciate the barriers and pressures that other members of our community feel. They hoped that beyond that, this would be a conference which would look to the future, that out of it might grow some formal or informal arrangement through which experiences of this sort could be continued and through which the moral strength of the community could be channeled toward a solution of the problems that face us.

As the committee planned, it began to think of people who might help us, from varying points of view, understand some of the barriers that face us. The people who are on the panel here this morning have agreed to be the ones to start us thinking.

As the panel speaks of the barriers that exist in the community, you might want to note some of them, for as we go into our discussion groups, we will be working from that same topic. Let me tell you a little about the four members of our community who are going to talk to us.

Father J. is an Episcopal minister in our town. He tells me he is really a circuit rider because he also ministers to Pine Bluff and to Hot Springs. A native of Pennsylvania, he went to school at the Cheney State Teachers College in Pennsylvania. He took some of his ministerial training in Philadelphia, and following service in World War II, went to Austin, Texas for further ministerial training, coming to Little Rock in 1956 to take the post he now holds. We have all benefited greatly in the planning phase of this conference by hearing the comments, reactions, and experiences of Father J. I know that you will too.

Father J: Last weekend we heard quite a bit about images, and I thought I might begin with myself and try to see myself as I would like to be seen. I thought that, first of all, if I were to draw an image of myself, I would see myself as a Christian, who is a citizen of the United States, who by chance is a minister in the Episcopal church, and finally, a Negro.

I would endeavor to sustain that picture by saying I am a Christian because I have repented of my sins, been baptized, and added to the church. I am a citizen of the United States because I am about the third or fourth generation, to my knowledge, of citizenship in the United States; I have been educated in the schools of the United States, I have been indoctrinated with democracy and freedom and all the things one learns in public schools; I have also served in the armies of the United States. Therefore I feel truly that I am a citizen. I know that I am a minister in the Episcopal church because when I was ordained the bishop said to me, "Take thou heart to be a minister in the church." And finally, by natural means I know that I am a Negro citizen, because my color is brown.

Now I see myself in that manner; yet somehow the picture gets distorted and I always begin seeing myself as a Negro first, then a Christian, an Episcopalian, a citizen, an American. It seems to me this should not be, but one of the barriers that prevents me from having the other picture completely is the fact of race, something I can't do anything about, something that I'm always conscious of, because it is related to my cooperation with the community in which I live.

I can remember, when I first came here about two years ago, an organization in the community was having a fund-raising campaign to support a local institution. A minister was needed to give the benediction at the end of a campaign luncheon. I was about to go to Pine Bluff when the telephone rang, and the speaker at the other end of the line told me that my name had been given him as the minister to ask the benediction. Could I come down and pronounce the benediction? I hesitated, telling him I was about to go out of the city, but he insisted. He even said if I would come down early he would see that I got my lunch. I started to say that I was a Negro, but somehow I didn't say it. It ended with my consenting.

I went down to the hotel where the meeting was being held and nobody stopped me. (I guess fifteen or twenty years ago somebody would have asked me, "Boy, where are you going?" and I wouldn't have gone as far as I did.) I was escorted graciously to a table where there was a place marked with my name. I sat down, and one of the waiters began to serve. The meeting was a long time starting. Finally, a gentleman came up to me very flushed and excited. Asking me to come out the door with him, he told me of his concern about the results of this campaign if I said a prayer there that day. He had no objection to my being a minister, a citizen or a Christian, but he felt that the group at the time would not be able to contribute if a Negro prayed.

We were unable to communicate. I think I tried to say I was sorry, and he was so disturbed about asking me to go that he didn't know what to say. Finally, a third person settled it by just shaking my hand, and I left. What I am trying to say is that right then and there, the one thing that mattered to all of us was the barrier of race, and nothing else.

Another barrier is community custom -- the social, cultural mores. In my communion there is difficulty in using me to my full value as a clergyman because of these things. A committee drawn up with me in it finds itself at a disadvantage. The committee members could meet at a lunch downtown, conclude their business and then go on back to work, but with me in it, they cannot have a lunch downtown. Sometimes they have the meeting after lunch. Other times they have lunch together, meeting me afterwards. Talking together at lunch, they have already in their minds what they are going to do and what is going to be said. All I have to do is accept their wisdom, not because they want it that way, but because the custom of the community says there is no place for me in the downtown restaurants and eating houses. For this reason very often in my communion I am not used to full advantage. Many of us in bi-racial organizations find ourselves similarly hampered.

Besides the racial cultural laws that we run into, there is also a barrier which comes about from the natural shifting of the community living. This has nothing to do with race; it just has to do with economics. Groups live in certain areas because they are earning certain amounts of money. They are separated from the rest of the community and what is happening in other segments of the community does not concern them. I can move about in Little Rock, and for weeks at a time I don't see any of you whom I see here now, because my whole concern is to work with the Negro in the community.

Very often when I go over to Hot Springs, one of the clergymen over there will say to me, "Jim, when you come over stop by and see me." I don't, because pressure of time keeps me always on the other side of the world. We don't know what is happening in any other part of the community. This is true not only in the larger community but also within the Negro community. The Negroes who live in and around Little Rock know what is happening at College Station only as they read it in the newspaper.

Another barrier, which is perhaps the result of the first two, is the psychological barrier, the resentments that come into the hearts of men because they are unable to offer what they have to offer to the community. They are unable to work because they are sometimes considered inferior. Deep resentment develops.

I remember as a child coming home from grade school singing "My Country 'Tis of Thee." My step-father told me not to sing that song. "You don't have any country," he said. The child feels he doesn't belong, he can't sing "My Country 'Tis of Thre."

There are other resentments that come out in words that we hear. We don't like the word "boy." There is the resentment of a lack of courtesy. This is a complex problem, for in the larger community, informality is beginning to be the pattern of life.

When I first went to Dallas, the Bishop and I were on friendly terms, but when the Bishop said, "Well, Jim, whenever you need anything let me know," I found myself boiling up inside. To me, his use of the informal first name made me think he considered me inferior. Later I learned all the other clergy were called by their first names, but I wasn't accustomed to that informality. We haven't begun to become informal among ourselves. Maybe it's a good thing, maybe this is what we have to offer. Maybe there is too much informality.

Sometimes our friends have found a certain word very difficult to say, and that word is Negro. They shorten the pronunciation, and it very often sounds like something else. When that word is used, we begin to suspect, and communications break down right then and there. These deep resentments in me which are sparked by certain words and attitudes coming from members of the white community, more likely than not are resentments of which they are completely unaware; yet those feelings are barriers to our communication.

There is a fourth barrier, a barrier that we all share as sinners, when we do not act as Christians ought to act. In the Negro community, where the minister is still leader, he has great weight in the church. He assumes that is true in the white church, and he doesn't understand the failure on the part of the white clergy to make the strong pronouncements about what the Christian point of view is. Very often he looks at the members of the other community who have taught of Christianity, and he doesn't see them practicing Christianity, and it confuses him, that people are not living what they preach. As Christian believers, all of us should want to meet with and to shake hands with other Christian believers, and that ought to be the beginning point of any communication, the point at which barriers can be broken down.

Conference Coordinator: Mrs. W., Mary, to a lot of us who have worked with her on many activities of community interest, is a member of a suburban Presbyterian church. She attended Little Rock Public Schools and has lived here since she was seven years old. She has worked in youth groups, as a Girl Scout leader. She has been a leader in her local Parent Teacher Association, and she has worked a great deal these past months in the Women's Emergency Committee.

Mrs. W: I speak as a homemaker and the mother of school age children. One of the barriers to finding a solution to the problem of racial tensions in our community, I feel, is the use of the work integration rather than desegregation. The term integration seems to antagonize people -- it apparently implies forced mixing of the races, rather than "freeing a particular race from any law requiring isolation of its members" which is the Merriam-Webster definition of the word desegregation. This is the word used by the Supreme Court in handing down its decision. If we could remember to use the word desegregation in our thinking and especially in our conversation, maybe it would help to lessen some of the tensions which are apparent in our city today.

Another barrier, in my opinion, is that of closed minds. The racial problem, in certain individuals, is something that they simply "don't want to talk about." It makes me wonder if they do not secretly fear, because Negroes have proved their worth in the field of sports and are gaining such prominence in the fields of entertainment and music, that they might prove their worth in the fields of education and business, as well.

I am sure that the greatest barrier to racial tolerance in Little Rock, is the lack of opportunities for each race to know the other on anything like an equal basis -- just as individuals -- not in an employer-employee relationship, but in community projects and activities, through working together for a common cause.

The areas in which I have met Negroes, as equals, were usually once-a-year affairs. There is the annual meeting of the Girl Scout Council, where we met as leaders and officers, had lunch together, and conversed across the table for a few hours. At the meetings of the Council of Church Women, we smiled and nodded and possibly occupied the same pew in some church, but never actually spoke or exchanged ideas or opinions, except at an annual luncheon on May Fellowship Day.

For the past three years I have observed desegregation successfully in operation in the Veterans Administration Hospital, where I do volunteer Red Cross work. I noted that both races and both sexes seem to work together harmoniously, attending strictly to the business of operating a hospital efficiently, without any apparent worries over the dangers of "race mongrelization" in such a setting. I began to wonder why all the uproar about Little Rock and the race relations problems.

During the past two years my path has crossed that of several Negroes who impressed me as outstanding in our community. The first was during the day of violence at Central. On that very day I heard the most inspiring devotional I have ever heard. It was given by an attractive young Negro woman, on the subject of world brotherhood. The occasion was a World Missions program of the Council of Church Women. The devotional leader was Captain N. of the Salvation Army. The picture I always associate with the atrocious scenes flashed on our television screens that night, is that of Captain N. speaking quietly to that desegregated group, in her soft, clear, voice.

During the school crisis, I began clipping letters to the editor, from the Gazette; letters with which I heartily agreed. Suddenly I found I had quite a number written by the same man, a doctor. The name meant nothing to me until I met his lovely wife at a luncheon given by a mutual friend in a private dining room in a

local hotel. Yes, they are Negroes, and very fine people.

It apparently became known that I was interested in knowing more about the Negroes in my community, and I felt we certainly had a common problem in the closed schools. My husband and I were invited to a number of small gatherings in private homes, sponsored by the Friends Group, or Quakers, to hear discussions of community interest. These were all desegregated, and we met a number of fine Negro people who were as concerned as we. We met others while attending seminars held in a church in our own part of town, but not of our denomination. We were pleasantly surprised to see some of the leaders of our city working side by side, both races, trying to find ways to bring order out of chaos in our community.

I have lived in Little Rock over forty years and I have never had an opportunity to speak to a Negro man until I was asked to be on this panel. It has been a pleasant new experience, being able to talk, as we planned this panel, with Father J, just as I would to my own minister.

Conference Coordinator: Kay, the daughter of Mrs. W., is a student at Hall High School, where she is a junior. She is a member of the Student Council and a representative to the Inter-Club Council from the National Society of Arts and Letters. She had the opportunity recently of attending a student seminar in Washington and New York and I imagine she will tell us in her presentation something about the things she learned there.

Kay W: As I was trying to think back when I first knew that there was discrimination against the Negro, I realized that I had never thought about it until the school situation came up. This was because I had never had any contact with Negroes except maybe an occasional maid, and since we never had one steady, I would just see them off and on.

It was hard, and still is, for me to understand the feelings of hatred some people seem to have toward the Negro. Even though I had never known any Negro personally, it was not hard for me to think of them as individuals. I couldn't understand why some people would say "Negroes," referring to the whole race, "are uneducable,"or "have low morals," or "have no desire to become better educated," "don't want to improve."

As I became more aware of the problem, more closely associated with it, and discussed it with my friends, I realized that one's attitude toward the Negroes depended very much on the way he had been brought up, and the way his parents felt. In this respect, I have a head start. Since I had never been taught to treat Negroes as inferiors, I did not have this to unlearn.

Each day I am aware of barriers that need to be overcome. One is the hesitation of individuals in showing friendliness to Negroes, for fear of what others will say. I know this is especially true at school because some of my very best friends would like to be friendly toward the Negro girls in our school, but are hesitant because of what their friends might say about it. Parents can be barriers, too. I know that some of my friends who feel the same way I do about the situation and would like to get to know some Negroes, are held back because of their parents, and the way their parents have been brought up, and have believed all their lives.

As my feeling on this subject became stronger, I realized that I had no experience with which to back up the way I felt. I never dreamed that I would ever have an opportunity to meet a Negro boy or girl, but my opportunity came when I was invited to go on a seminar to New York and Washington. One of my good friends from

my own school went, and there were two students, a boy and a girl, from the Negro high school. If I had ever had any doubts about what I believed the Negro to be, they were all gone after this experience. Now when people say things about Negroes, I just sort of smile to myself, and feel sorry for their lack of experience, because I have had an opportunity to know Horace and Dorothy and I know what Negroes are really like.

Conference Coordinator: Dorothy L. is a student at Horace Mann High School, where she is secretary of the Student Council. She is secretary of the Junior Red Cross, and is an officer in the county organization of the Junior Red Cross. She, too, went to the seminar, which Kay attended and will, I'm sure, bring in some of the experiences that she had there in making her presentation.

Dorothy L: I was born and reared in Little Rock, and all my grandparents live here also; so I am aware of our problem. It is not so easy to be an intelligent Negro teenager. We want to try our wings -- enjoy new things -- question why--and be a step better than our parents. Although our opportunities are limited, we admit that they are better than our forebears. Therefore, we want to and we must make progress.

As I move through the various areas of our community life, I notice many things that retard us and when we are retarded a certain proportion of Little Rock's population is retarded -- which naturally will affect the whole community whether it is realized by all or not.

To start at a solution to this problem we must have understanding of each group. And with understanding there must be knowledge of the various levels in our group as well as in the other group. We admit that we have some of the lowest people in some of our slums, but we also have some of the finest people by any measurement that you could want. To judge the finest, we find moral character, service to humanity, education, travel, comfortable home, church membership and well -- you name it -- they have it.

We want respect as individuals, because we are usually classed or considered as a group. There are so many of us who deserve a great deal of recognition.

We must also admit that there are some barriers for which we are responsible. Some of us will "clown in public" or "grin" in the other faces for money or goods. Some Negroes will even sell out their own race just to get position, or money, or votes. What we need is integrity in some of our people.

The Negro woman does not always receive the courtesy title of Miss or Mrs. which is due her. The attempt is often made to relegate our group to an inferior status.

The worst pictures of our group are always put on the front page. There are never pictures of Negroes doing well. Accomplishments of our people are seldom played up. All or most of our publicity is negative. The qualified Negro is seldom publicized, because it is usually the case that the least qualified are asked to serve on important committees, and our people are not well represented.

Our economic status is inferior, because we do not have the opportunities for better or more jobs. This makes possible intimidation by employers.

Our housing situation is far below par. Many real estate men or property owners try to exploit our people by renting them cheap run-down houses with no modern conveniences. This in itself is demoralizing because these sub-standard environmental factors tend to lower the person's morale and his goal is also lowered. The effect of this is to make him satisfied to be in a different class from decent people, and from this stems our Friday night brawls, fights, and general disturbance.

As a result, many of the young, educated, progressive, Negroes leave for a section of the country where they can enjoy better opportunities. Then others who remain here, run into a stonewall of barriers which seem insurmountable.

I am glad for this opportunity to speak out for a new day in Little Rock. I consider this conference a step forward for all. I pledge myself to do all in my power to aid in overcoming our short-comings.

Post-Panel Discussion

Conference Coordinator: As you have listened to the members of the panel, I'm sure that it has been impressed upon you as it has upon me, that the barriers we feel are personal ones. Each panel member, speaking from his own personal point of view, has called attention to barriers that we did not realize existed.

All of them, however, have brought out this one point, that one way to ease the barriers, is through working together and through opportunities to be with one another. This has been brought out in each presentation we have heard. The illustrations that have been given of lack of understanding, of strong pressures, have been of situations that have come about through our not knowing one another.

I think that we have time here, before we go to lunch for some of you to react and to ask questions of the panel. I'll start with a question to Father J. who spoke of the pronunciation of the word Negro. I have become aware lately in print of the use of the word Nigra, the implication being that people were trying to avoid the more offensive word Nigger but didn't quite make the grade. Is this an offensive thing?

Father J: It isn't offensive if a person is unable to pronounce it, but it is really offensive when it comes out Nigger.

Conference Coordinator: The reason that I bring this out is not to talk about the word itself, but to ask ourselves this question, "How oftn with the best intentions in the world do we offend one another?"

Mrs. L: I was just going to say that when the papers use the words white and Negro, they really should say Caucasian, because all other races are called by the name of the race. If we used words that mean the same thing, we would get along better.

Mrs. T: I would like to ask a question. I'm the oldest living inhabitant here. In my childhood we were taught never to use the word Negro or Nigger but to use instead the term colored people. It has only been in the last twenty years that I have heard the word Negro used. What do colored people like to be called?

Father J: I'm afraid I'm no authority, but I accept Negro personally. I don't know about others.

Mrs. C: Caucasian is used more up north. I notice it in reading the papers up there.

Horace B: Don't you think it would be better to just call people by their names instead of by race? I notice whenever a Negro commits a crime, it is on the front page, but if a crime is committed by a white person, race is not mentioned. It would be nice for Americans to come to the point where they don't think of a person as being a Negro or a Caucasian. Actually the only difference is skin coloring.

Conference Coordinator: This, I think is the barrier that Father J. was bringing out at the beginning of his presentation, the fact that in all inter-racial situations he feels himself reacted to first as a Negro.

Mrs. C: Has any attempt ever been made to approach either the morning or afternoon paper to drop the use of the word Negro as identification in news stories? I am specifically thinking of the separate listing of Negro funerals. This to me is most offensive.

Mrs. H: There are one or two others here who were a part of a group a number of years ago who did call on the newspaper editors. At that time the Gazette made a real start in the direction we are talking about today. After September 1957, we regressed, but I don't think this rules out another approach.

Mrs. T: The oldest living inhabitant speaks again. Back in my youth, I used to fight with the papers because they wouldn't use Mrs. or Mr. or Miss with the names of Negroes in the papers. I remember the day when the Gazette first used a title with the name of a Negro woman.

Mrs. P: I remember also that many years ago members of the College Club, which later became the American Association of University Women, made special effort to talk to the editors of the paper to get that attitude changed, and they have come a long way.

Rev. Mr. M: About that word Nigra -- if I hear a white person say Negro I can trust him more; but if he says Nigra, I'm going to watch him. If he says Nigger, then I know he doesn't care. I know where he is, but the one who goes between and says Nigra, I'm a little afraid of that.

Conference Coordinator: This interpretation fits in with the impression that I had gathered that there is a lack of sincerity in the use of the word, Nigra, that it is used by people trying to curry favors with Negroes whose help they might need.

We have just a little time left. When you go into your discussion groups, you won't have the panel members to answer questions. Are there any points now that you would like clarified by them?

Bill F: I would like to ask Mrs. W. for the definition of the word desegregation and also the word integration.

Mrs. W: I have both of them, for I thought someone might ask. Integration means to "unite or form a complete or perfect whole, or to unify." Desegregation means "freeing a particular race from any law requiring isolation of its members."

Conference Coordinator: Read the definition of integration again.

Mrs. W: "To unite, or form a complete or perfect whole, or to unify."

Conference Coordinator: And isn't it a shame that such a big, such a wonderful idea, should have been so spoiled and contaminated by our use of it that we feel hesitant to let it pass our lips. Father J. brought out the point about the difficulties that we face so far as semantics is concerned, and I don't know of any word that has suffered more than the word integration, which has now become a flare word, an ugly, unspeakable word.

Mrs. A: I have been interested in this discussion, but the thing that strikes me forcibly is that those of us who are members of the Negro race have indicated what

we consider barriers to understanding, the things that hurt us and keep us from having understanding. What are the barriers that the white race finds in us that would hinder understanding? We need to know some of those things, too.

Conference Coordinator: Does someone on the panel want to speak to that?

Kay: I could give a number of examples that I've come up with at school.

Mrs. A: Yes, bring them out in the open.

Kay: Well, for example -- one day I was going to have Effie come back to my table and eat lunch. I asked her to come back -- we sit in the back of the cafeteria. She did not come, and I wondered why she didn't. I had told my table that maybe she would come back, and a couple of them got up and started to leave, and I said, "Well, she's real nice. Do any of you know her? Have you given yourself a chance to know her? Maybe you would like her." One girl said, "Well, it's not me, it's my father. If he found out he wouldn't like it." Her father is one of the ones who was very strongly quoted in the papers, as not feeling friendly toward Negroes. She left and the rest of us waited for Effie, who did not come.

Mrs. A: What I had in mind was this. The word Nigra offends us, and we do things that offend other people, too. I was wondering if you wouldn't bring that out, too.

Miss M: I think that you folks do something that we do, that you lump all white people in one category -- that you think that all white people are the same and that all white people feel the same toward you. Is that true?

Mrs. B: Twenty-five years ago, it was a very difficult thing for me to say "Mr." and "Mrs.", and the brown hand -- it took me a little while to learn to accept, and to shake without thinking anything about it. That was back a good many years ago. There were things that I had heard that I found out later were not true, such as matters of sanitation and various other things that were barriers in the minds of a great many white people, I know.

Mrs. D: I think, perhaps , if I understand Mrs. A., maybe I can think along with her. What are the invisible walls that keep you as white people from us as Negroes?

Mrs. V: One thing, I think is the lack of trust. Maybe it isn't just lumping all white people into one group, but sometimes those of us who try to be friendly, if we are not already known as being friendly, are looked on with suspicion.

Mrs. C: The things that I would find blameworthy in the Negro race are only matters of individual failings that are to be found in our race, too. I find it deplorable that in a fight such as we are trying to wage, the Negro race doesn't vote 100 per cent, but the white race does a poorer job. The faults in the Negro community are the faults of the white community. Someone commented to me the other day that in a certain integrated organization that met, so few Negroes showed up, and I couldn't help saying,"Yes, they are just like us they just don't bother to come to the meeting!"

Bill F: There is one thing well meaning white persons often do in their association with the Negro. They are likely to approach him with the attitude of, what-can-I-do-for-you, how-can-I-help-you, instead of taking the attitude of, let-us-do-this-together.

Mrs. K: A real barrier for white people is the lack of awareness. I was seventeen before I realized there were white and colored people, and it wasn't until I was much older that I realized that I was a Caucasian. When that realization comes

it is a new idea, and we are always suspicious of new ideas. They make for conflict. Sometimes we fail to realize and be confronted with the problem until something dramatic happens.

Dick D: I got lumped the other day -- speaking of the matter of Negroes lumping white people -- I got lumped. It was after Mr. Dabbs got through speaking at Wesley Chapel. I needed to make a phone call at the college across from the church. I couldn't get change to make a phone call. I had been lumped, you see.

I think this is related to the problem of sematics which we were speaking about a while ago. In the South, I'm not even sure that Websters is on the approved list. One of the problems that the Negro has, I think, is understanding that Southern whites don't always speak good English. They are even suspicious of people who do, and so our use of words is one of the biggest problems we have. On the white side of this problem we need to be careful of our speech, and on the Negro side there needs to be understanding of this speech characteristic, so that when there is a slip of the tongue and the wrong pronunciation comes out, the red flag doesn't go up too fast. In the use of words both sides have to be careful about letting things bother us too much, letting the chip on the shoulder be knocked off too fast.

Rev. Mr. H: Perhaps the American Indians had something when they called us pale faces. Maybe we ought to go back to that. Speaking about lack of cooperation, the other day when we had a chance to work together, these pale faces made themselves scarce. I think, too, that we often don't know how far to go. For years there was a gentleman I would have liked to have lunch with me, but I wasn't sure if he would like for me to invite him.

Conference Coordinator: What you are mentioning now is something that I am sure many of us in this group have often felt. How do we show our good will? This is a problem that only experience in groups like this, can help us meet. We need to be free and at ease with one another, and we can't feel that way if we are so unaccustomed to being together that we don't know the common base from which we operate. Our language does us in, and our mannerisms do us in, and we are not even conscious that this is the case.

June S: There are community groups already organized to work on problems which concern us as members of a community and which cut across racial lines. In groups such as these there are steps which could be taken right now, if the white people working in the groups were courageous enough to take them. Many of us are in such groups, and, hence can help take those steps. They may be small, but they should be taken.

Rev. Mr. H: We can't forget power controls. The white man controls and is not going to give up that control very easily. He controls the State House; he controls the expenditure of taxes; and the Jewish people control the stores. That is a barrier which Negroes feel.

When I walk in a store down town, all the white clerks will stop talking. One will say "May I serve you?" and I say to myself "Why do you want to get rid of me so fast?" I go to a large clothing store perhaps to ask for a job, but I am brushed aside with "can I serve you."

Jack E: I want to get back to what Mrs. A. was asking. I think it all boils down to fear on the part of the Negro and on the part of the white person. Let's use a simple illustration. We are communicating here this morning, and we hope that we are understanding each other. But as soon as we leave and get down town, the Negro is not going to feel free even to speak to me on the street, and the white person is going to be fearful of speaking to the Negro because of who might see him. Can we start right here with a very simple thing? When I meet you on the street downtown,

you feel free to speak to me,, and I'll certainly speak to you. Let's keep open this line of communication begun here today. Two human beings meet, two people greet one another.

Mrs. H: Let's go back to those words desegregation and integration. I'm not willing to give up a word like peace, because the Communists have taken it over, and I'm not willing to give up integration because of its misuse.

Mrs. W: I agree, but I still think that in talking to people, to whom the word integration is a barrier, we might use desegregation. I think everyone here realizes the difference between the two words, but most people you talk to don't realize it.

Mrs. G: The word integration has often been used deliberately to impugn the Supreme Court, although in the Supreme Court decision, which applies exclusively to removing barriers to education, the word integration was not used at all. Instead, it was the word desegregation. Integration is a much more comprehensive term. I doubt that we have an economically integrated society between, let us say, management and labor. Integration is certainly a goal, but it is a long way off, and it is related not only to color.

Conference Coordinator: I might underline that by saying that integration used to be a good educational term until 1954. The word, itself, has now become so loaded with ugly connotations that at any time it is used, even about something entirely unrelated to the Supreme Court decision, immediately there are flare signals up all over the place. I think that is what Mary was talking about, that when a word is a barrier to the goal, even if the goal is the situation described by the word, why let's recognize it and work in another way.

Rev. Mr. R: Can we just spell that out for Little Rock? To many white people in Little Rock "integration" means having it "crammed down their throats by the 101st Airborne."

Rev. Mr. W: If the word desegregation were used in place of integration, wouldn't the politicians and the people in Little Rock ruin it too?

Conference Coordinator: It is possible to ruin any word. Mrs. H. spoke about what an ugly word peace is now, and that is just the way words work, and people work with them.

I look around the room, and I see that many hands are raised. Many of you have things that you want to say. I am glad that this is the case, in spite of the fact that this session of our conference must end and we must go to lunch. Around the luncheon tables and in the small groups which follow we shall have an opportunity to continue our discussions. We have tried to make those groups small enough that there won't be any hands raised that are not recognized, for we want everyone to have an opportunity to get his thoughts into the record.

## REPORT BACK SESSION

### Conference Coordinator and Discussion Leaders

Conference Coordinator: In small groups for a little over an hour now we have been talking together trying to probe more deeply into some of the ideas presented in this morning's session. We hope that everyone had an opportunity to be heard, and now we want to distill some of the main ideas that were brought out. There are two things mainly that we were trying to do. We wanted to talk about the barriers that divide us. We had some of those mentioned this morning. Then we wanted to talk about ways in which we might try to overcome some of those barriers.

Mrs. Y: I'll start with one of the points that was brought out in our group. Someone suggested that as long as we have a meeting like this in which we get up and say "my people" and "your people" and "they" and "us", that we have a common barrier right there.

Conference Coordinator: You mean that this we-they attitude is so ingrained in us that it does constitute an almost unconscious barrier.

Rev. Mr. C: Along that same line, it was suggested in our group that it is difficult for the majority group to understand minority group psychology. A white person going into an interracial experience is likely to say to himself "Well, I'm just gonna treat everybody like white folks." Then he gets into some of the problems mentioned this morning and he wonders, "Well now, should I call him Mr. Williams, or should I call him Jack." He finds himself in a very complex situation where he can't ignore the we-they relationship. It is there, and when he tries to ignore it, he only makes problems for himself.

Dr. O: In our group, the point was made that really it would be helpful if we could get away from thinking in terms of group or race, and think instead in terms of personality. We all are children of God. Using "we" and "they" in this framework we are not being discriminatory at all.

Rev. Mr. W: It was brought out in our group that it would be helpful if all of us could be "color blind", that one thing that keeps us apart, is the fact that we recognize each other by our color rather than by our personality.

Bill F: One of the Negro students in my group mentioned that this conference has helped her understand the white student's position much better. It has enabled her to become aware of some of the pressures which keep the white youngsters from associating freely with a Negro. She appreciates more clearly the fact that frequently a real sacrifice is being made by those white young persons who have the courage to move against these pressures.

Captain N: In our group, on the adult level, we mentioned the fact that we have to face these same pressures with our associates, the family and friends.

Bill F: Some of the white youngsters expressed concern about the lack of understanding on the part of their friends, an unwillingness to discuss this thing, among themselves. They feel that they are all alone. They don't say anything to the Negro youngsters because they feel that they will be rejected by the Negroes on the one hand and by their friends on the other. They fear, too, that they will be putting the Negro youngsters who attend white schools, in a bad situation, one that will open them to more criticism.

Mrs. A: The same thing came out in our group. There is fear, even among adults, of standing up and being counted, fear that there would not be sufficient support for the amount of effort expended. Sometimes, too, we take personally, things which are not intended to be personal. We are often oversensitive, creating barriers where no barriers, really exist.

Mrs. Y: This was brought out in our group too, in discussing the use of titles or first names. Sometimes it is an old-young kind of thing; sometimes it is just a question of a custom of the group. Often racial difference is not involved.

Mrs. H: Our group was much concerned that we treat one another as individuals, that regardless of what others do that we ourselves must feel a responsibility to treat each other as individuals, as children of God.

Rev. Mr. R: Our group felt that one barrier was the church, in that the particular church is something that people look to, to guide on many questions in living. The fact that the church did not speak in a concerted voice about this area of personal relationships with people of other races, constitutes a barrier. Not only did the church not speak, but responsible citizens also kept silent, letting the irresponsible citizens call the shots, politically and socially. This silence is also a barrier.

Conference Coordinator: The role of the churches came up also in the group where I was a member, and attention was drawn to the lack of representative attendance at the Race Relations Sunday observance last week.

Mrs. Y: We talked about the role of the church, too. We distinguished two levels. On one level people will accept the teachings of the church and its leadership. They will even approve its formal statement of position, but when it comes time to vote, or act in accordance with the church position, this is too high a level for most of the membership. The church seems to operate at two levels, and this is a failure which we didn't have any solution for.

Dick D: We talked about that, too. One minister simply made the statement that in his church, if a young minister should speak out on this thing, the hierarchy simply would not back him. Getting back to this personal relationship, one person to another, and the matter of informal versus the formal relationship, our group discussed this at some length. One of the young Negro men said if we insist on the formal relationship all the way down the line, "Mr." and "Mrs.", and not actually knowing, "can I call him by his first name, yet", sooner or later it would be like eating dinner with a long handled spoon, thus destroying the spontaneity of the relationship.

Conference Coordinator: That is something like the confusion I always had with the familiar form of the French and Spanish pronouns. Sometimes it's a matter of affection and friendliness, and sometimes its a matter of contempt and superiority. When are you free to lay aside the formality and be on a first name basis, was the point that Father J. raised early in the day.

Rev. Mr. W: I would like to talk a little on the fears that we have. One of the fears that persists is that when doors are opened, all Negroes will rush in. That is a fallacy. Negroes are just like any other group of people; they will not go where they feel that they are not wanted. They will not rush in, in the second place, because they have within themselves certain inhibitions, that they themselves will have to overcome. I daresay that if the school board opened all the schools to all the Negroes, there would be no need to worry about any rush of Negro students. Negroes are not pushers; they like to go where they feel at home.

In our group the question of the role of the Jew in all of this concern was brought up. I thought when we were attacked in 1957, that the Jews would recognize that they too would be on the list, after the Negroes. The matter of concern with material progress was put forward in our group as a contributing factor in the lack of a stand taken by the Main Street merchants. The same factor operates, we agreed, among other segments of our society. All of us are concerned with this financial security, and most of us would find difficulty in speaking out if we felt our security was involved.

We were asked to consider where we go from here. May I suggest that if we could just get a group of people who would stick together and form an action group, this is what we should do. This is a fine meeting; we have had a good time; but now let's move ahead and do something.

Dick D: There was some frustration voiced in our little group about our failure to come to more of a decision on this thing, to set up some one-two-three-four steps.

Mrs. H: Each of us has a responsibility to go from here, committed to do everything we can. It may be little, and yet it can be effective. Our individual witness must include each person as a child of God wherever we come in contact with him. A second suggestion was that more discussions like this be planned to reach out to other people. A suggested technique was that each one of us take responsibility for setting up another group for the purpose of discussion. The suggestion was also made that the panel we heard appear before some of our organizations and church groups. As a final suggestion it was proposed that we get down on paper, some of the findings of this conference.

Bill F: I'd like to go back to the barriers. There was another significant barrier that our group was concerned with, and that was the fear of social intermixture specifically, intermarriage. The young people very bravely faced up to the issue. There were differences of opinion, as might be expected. Several expressed themselves as disapproving; others thought that it is a matter of individual concern. All the students were of the opinion that young people had a responsibility for witnessing to the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. They have young minds; they are not so set in their ways as the older persons are; change is more acceptable to them. Their final consensus, sofar as intermarriage was concerned, was that they would be opposed to any law which would prevent such marriage, while at the same time they recognized the social pressures and social barriers which would discourage it. One of the young persons said that if persons of the different races were to be kept apart through laws, then there might logically be laws which prevent a man earning $5,000 a year from marrying a person who earns $60,000 a year.

Mrs. A: We mentioned ignorance as a powerful barrier. Only through education and training can this barrier be removed. Hypocrisy was also mentioned; the fact that often we work in a two-faced way toward each other. Sincerity is what is needed. We are at a critical period in our history. The problem which we face is a complex one, but to work toward its solution is a great opportunity. One technique which we might try would be that of cooperative action on community projects of mutual concern: cultural movements, civic improvements, etc. We might see to it that there are organizations where those having common interests can come together because of that common interest and not simply to participate in an interracial group. We must recognize the fact that the races are divided, not only against themselves but among themselves. To change our attitudes and our backgrounds of personal experience to help overcome those divisions is likely to be a long slow process.

Mrs. H: That is the understatment of the day!

Mrs. A: Someone expressed the hope that it would happen in our life time, that we would have the joy of seeing some tension eased.

Rev. Mr. R: One barrier which has not been mentioned before is the fact that the present political regime seems to want to propagate the bridge between the races.

Conference Coordinator: On this matter of barriers, maybe we have, now, touched most of the points that were brought out. A few minutes ago we had a few suggestions in answer to the question "Where do we go from here?" I wonder if we could have others.

Dr. O: In our group as we talked about how to overcome barriers, it was generally agreed that one of the best ways was to provide more opportunities for the type of thing that is going on here today. We had three specific suggestions: first, that we encourage all churches, Negro and white of our area, to open their doors to inter-

racial meetings such as this; second, that we encourage all churches and civic groups to invite members of the other race to their meetings, not just those meetings that have to do with race relations, but to all types of meetings as a method of extending friendships; and third, that we as parents and adult leaders in the community, set up more opportunities for our young people to come together for discussion of topics of mutual concern to all young people. As young people devote themselves to the consideration of problems of mutual concern, they will naturally develop respect for the individuals of another race.

Conference Coordinator: You are underlining, in what you have just said, the suggestion that Mrs. A. made. She was speaking about community groups with a project or an activity that was of concern to all and that was over and beyond race relations.

Rev. Mr. W: I am in complete agreement with the doctor's suggestions, but I should like to raise a question. What would happen if these points were publicized as coming from this conference. Knowing that we are the minority in all of this atmosphere, what would be the likelihood of our sticking together on such issues as he has outlined. He has given us something definite, but we must remember that we would be under terrific pressure, if we tried to do what has been suggested. We would be called "communists", "nigger-lovers", and all types of epithets. The points that have been made are good ones, but I would like suggestions for carrying through on them.

Dr. O: Well, since you direct it to me, let me say how I feel about this. I don't know how to approach this problem, in a safe way. If we are going to solve our problem of living together as human beings, we can't hesitate to move, or act or speak, for fear of what others are going to say to us, or to our children. When I speak about problems that concern mankind, I can only speak from my own commitment to the Judeo-Christian concept of human brotherhood. I can't speak from economics, or legal rights, because someone who is smarter than I am in those fields can always beat me down, but as long as I speak from my understanding of the Judeo-Christian concept of brotherhood, then at least I feel secure. This doesn't mean that I insure myself against other peoples who feel differently, but until we understand, those of us who say that we are Christians, that basic Christian imperative is service to all mankind, then I think we are going to be unhappy and restless and will have no answers to these problems. We seem to think that we are battling with human beings, with other races, but we are battling with God.

Conference Coordinator: I am sure that many things were said in the discussion groups, but our time is up and this is a good note on which to close this reporting session as we go into the closing General Session.

## CLOSING SESSION

### Final Speaker and Plans for Next Steps

Mrs. T: Now I think there are some very definite things we can do. I think that we should talk to our church people, both white and colored. We should follow the example of one of the churches represented here by seeing if we could get groups together to discuss this problem in the church environment. We need to talk it all the time. I don't talk about anything else but this -- I have learned that I mustn't call it race problem -- but call it what you may, this problem of the community is the one that I talk about all the time.

Now, there is something else that I want to suggest here, and that is that we are being desperately hurt all over the world by the things that are happening and have happened here in Little Rock. We are being terribly hurt financially and economically. Don't think, after the things that have happened here in the last few

days, few weeks, and few months, that people are going to rush in, no matter what the president of the Chamber of Commerce says on the subject. People are not going to forget it, they are not going to move in here with their businesses and help build up this town. And a lot of people are going to move out, both white and colored, because they don't want to live in a town where things like this happen.

Now I think we could bring a good deal of pressure to bear on two organizations here in this community. The Chamber of Commerce is one of them. It is the group that is trying to bring industry and business into the community. Also we should bring pressure to bear on the Urban Renewal movement. I'm going to suggest that a committee be appointed this afternoon, a definite committee to visit with these two groups, and that all of us as individuals write letters to the presidents of these two organizations.

Mr. Raymond Rebsamen, the president of Urban Renewal, has been around the world during this year; he knows exactly what our reputation is and it is far from good.

An acquaintance of mine took a trip to Africa, and she was standing on the banks of the -- this is actually a true occurrence -- she was standing on the banks of a river flowing through the Congo, looking at some alligators out in the water. A native boy turned to her and said, "What about Little Rock?" In the Congo we are widely and unfavorably known.

Mr. Raymond Rebsamen thoroughly understands this situation. I think some letters should go to him, asking him to consider the possibilities of appointing a group of business leaders, who will work out a gradual course of desegregation. It is silly for the people of this town to sit back and wait for Nemesis to overtake them.

I have been on the library board for a great many years. Some eight or ten years ago, when we saw what was going to overtake us, we called in a group of five or six leading colored citizens and asked them what they wanted. They told us, and we promptly did it. The library has been desegrated since that time, and we have never had the least particle of trouble.

About three years ago, when the Children's Hospital was rebuilt, the superintendent decided that it was going to be desegregated, and, by heavens, it is desegregated. She first thought that she would have different visiting days for the families of the children. She changed her mind, deciding that it was too much trouble to have separate visiting days. She made up her mind that they could all come on Sunday or they could stay at home. They have come on Sunday since that day, and there has never been the least particle of trouble.

Now, I talked to a couple of men down at the Chamber of Commerce a few days ago, about an interracial committee and they said "blood will flow in the streets". Well, we have two examples here of the Little Rock Public Library and the Children's Hospital, and blood has never flowed in the streets from them. Well, I think that Little Rock should not sit back and wait, as I say, for Nemesis to overtake us because we all know, every one of us knows that segregation is on the way out. Now, that is the thing that should console us this afternoon, because no matter how long it takes, segregation is of the past; desegregation is the future. I'm trying not to say integregation. But I think the South is acting a hundred years late, just as we did in 1860. We just can't see the future.

Now Little Rock is a progressive town. We have had pretty good relations between our citizens. You will notice I didn't say race, again. Let us see if we can't get something done in the line of setting up a committee to help them see.

June S: I believe this comes near to the end of our day, and it has been a wonderful time for us. I don't know whether you feel as I do or not, that we should set our sights ahead to some time later on when we might come together again.

Rev. Mr. R: I have felt this has been such a good thing that perhaps it would be feasible to continue meetings such as this, perhaps on a quarterly basis, not just bringing all of us back together, but trying to bring in new people as well.

Mrs. Y: Our group felt that way too.

Mr. C: In our group we hoped this would only be a beginning, that we could have future meetings in which we could center upon one particular phase of our problem of human relations such as the legal problem, or downtown. In other words we would like to have another meeting in which our scope would be narrowed, and yet we would deal directly with the problem of barriers.

Voice: In our group we felt that one of the great values of today's meeting was that since it was entirely unpublicized, we were unhampered in saying what we wanted to.

June S: Your committee was aware that some of us here have had very unpleasant experiences when we failed to publicize meetings; so we had our statement all ready in case the newspapers called us.

Mrs. Y: I would just like to add as a minority report that in our group we also talked about this matter of publicity, and while some people were glad not to have publicity, there were others who felt that it would be good to let the community know that interracial meetings are held in which nothing horrible happens. Such knowledge reinforces people who might be interested and don't know where such a session would be held or how to be invited.

Rev. Mr. D: Here is a question. Must we always approach these meetings negatively? I wonder if sometime a follow-up of what has been done here might bring us together to discuss our similarities?

June S: You will be interested to know that in reply to our letters of invitation to this conference, there were many people who wrote notes and letters to me as chairman saying that it was impossible for them to be here today, but asking to be kept on the mailing list. If we have another meeting, they want to know about it. People called me to say, "I cannot come. Will you please let me know what happens, because I am very much interested."

Mrs. C: Is it premature, or may I put it in the form of a motion, that we meet perhaps in four months, with each of us bringing two new people who, we feel, would be happy to be involved in such a conference.

June S: Will you all be a business session and allow such a thing as a motion? Do you feel that we should do that?

Conference Coordinator: May I suggest that we have on the record and tape, a good many proposals, all of them leading toward future planning and action. Could Mrs.C's proposal go in with the others that have been made and be considered by some continuing group as a possible way of proceeding?

June S: If that is agreeable, let me ask one more question. How many of you prefer a meeting of this length to say a two hour meeting some evening?

Voice: There is something about breaking bread together, you know, that seems to bring people closer together.

June S: You like the whole day together?

Rev. Mr. C: I voted for the two-hour session, not on the basis of my own personal preference, but from the knowledge of a number of persons for whom it was unrealistic and impossible to take a full day off. Baby sitting is a problem in some cases. I was hoping that we might have one of these occasions in which these persons who can't take a day off could come to an evening meeting.

Dick D: I would like for the committee to consider both types.

June S: I think we have a pretty good understanding of what you would like for a continuing group to do.

Mrs. G: There is another possibility which the committee might consider. A meeting might start at five and go through 9:30. It would be a supper meeting which would include an open discussion on a particular subject, with small group discussion sessions afterward. A four hour session in all.

Dick D: I was just going to say that since the committee that arranged this meeting, did such a good job, I think it would be the consensus, that this same committee be authorized to go through this tape, and all the other suggestions that have been made, using its own judgment concerning future meetings and notifying the rest of us appropriately.

June S: Yes, we will see that satisfactory arrangements are made for following through. And now, Rev. Mr. W. will close our meeting.

Rev. Mr. W: Two passages come to my mind both in the Old Testament, Isaiah 30:12 "And thou shalt find a voice behind thee saying, this is the way, walk ye in it."... and Amos the third chapter and the third verse, "Can two walk together, except they be agreed?" Oh Lord, Our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the earth. We are thy children and we thank Thee, oh God, for the opportunity of getting together in fellowship. Now, bless us, oh Lord, go with us, stand beside us, help us. This is our prayer, Amen.

PR ✓ a good meeting but not unique. I see no wider use for this

JC ✓ Good. Maybe other state groups could profit by.

WD ✓

Reactions, please.

HCF

HF

COMMENTS AND REACTIONS: CONFERENCE ON COMMUNITY UNITY, LITTLE ROCK

I think it's chief value is that ~~ix~~ was real "communication" -- and not all such meeting are, in spite of the best intentions of those planning and attending the meetings.

This is the kind of meeting, and subject, that churches and church groups need to be having--but how to convince them? how to get this in their hands? At the top levels, which you might reach, they already know all this and more.

It is true that this meeting is not unique--but a written report of such a meeting IS.

These are MA's comments. I have scanned the transcript, & will let her remarks stand - with a little less conviction - on mine

*Pulaski Heights Christian Church*

Colbert S. Cartwright, Pastor

Hillcrest and Spruce
Little Rock, Arkansas

November 29, 1960

Dr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing a number of things which when read will be self-explanatory.

I was wanting to send you the clippings and my address anyway, but now I think it is even more urgent, after the New York Times story.

I do not have time to go into details now. The power structure is fully mobilized to squelch our movement, and me. By this I do not mean I feel myself in personal danger or my job in danger. But they are playing rough.

Sincerely,

Bert

Colbert S. Cartwright

November 29, 1960

The Editor
The New York Times
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

I am writing in regard to an article appearing in the New York Times of Sunday, November 27, 1960, headed "New Group Stirs Little Rock Rift".

Before I discuss the article I hope you will distinguish my comments from "crank letters" which must often come your way. I am first vice-president of the Arkansas Council of Churches and hold positions of leadership on various levels of activity in my own church denomination. I am on the board of directors of the Southern Regional Council. Further, I have been recognized as a writer, having had articles on the Little Rock situation printed in such publications as the Christian Century, the Reporter, Christianity and Crisis, and Progressive.

Thus, although I possibly cannot be free from bias, I do expect to be taken seriously by you and your paper in the comments I now make, and I expect a prompt answer and corrective action.

To my mind the article is the most irresponsible piece of journalism yet to come out of Little Rock. It has all the earmarks of a deliberate attempt to smear me and to misinterpret the activities of which I have been a part.

I am enclosing reports as given in the Arkansas Gazette of the same events which took place. Please note the sequence of dates. You may be the judge as to the fairness of your article. I am also enclosing a mimeographed copy of my address which was read at the meeting referred to. Thus you have first hand basis to judge the fairness of the report.

First, let it be noted that in no way am I to be regarded as "spokesman" for the group. I was not so introduced, and never made that claim, and have never so regarded myself.

Second, note that the primary emphasis of my statement was upon the fact that our Little Rock racial situation is a religious and moral issue, which has never been faced by this community. This obviously is the chief point to anything I said, and this was totally ignored. Even from a news point of view, the most significant thing I said was that racial discrimination and segregation is a sin. For a white person to say this publicly is news.

Third, the article gives the impression that all is well with "token integration". You will note from my address that we have had four conferences on community unity in the past year. At each of these conferences a substantial number of Negro pupils and their parents now attending formerly all-white schools have been present and have discussed conditions in the school and the subtle ways in which school officials "discriminate within the law". Furthermore, one school board member, Ted Lamb, has openly stated that he believes the school board is not acting in good faith in relation to the courts.

Fourth, can any competent reporter not see that the whole article is slanted to defend the school board against what I have said? The article brings in what has supposedly happened each year since September 1957. I would not grant the accuracy of what was reported here. Nevertheless this sort of thing might be acceptable in an editorial, but certainly is questionable in an unsigned article. The Arkansas Gazette did not find it necessary to do this.

I must conclude that you have done a great disservice to me and to those who are working for the end of racial discrimination in Little Rock.

It seems to me that the article might well have been written from the point of view that for the first time in Little Rock's difficult times the voice of religion has been heard publicly to bear upon this issue. For the first time a person has openly come out on religious and moral grounds and said that racial discrimination and segregation is an evil and a sin, and that until it is irradicated, we shall continue to have trouble. Now there is a group which is going beyond the "legalistic" approach of "law and order" and is trying to come to grips with the rising expectations of the Negroes and the adamant refusal of the power structure to move an inch. To anyone working in race relations in the South, this rising tension is apparent. It is obvious that we are in a most critical and explosive situation which will not be resolved by the present approach now being used by Little Rock's power structure. Certainly silence upon the part of religiously motivated people is not the answer. And one questions whether or not they should be likened to the racists who "stir" a rift in Little Rock.

I do trust that you will take this matter seriously and correct the damage you have done to me personally and to the general cause of better race relations in the South. If you care to make further investigation, please contact the American Friends Service Committee in Philadelphia; contact Dr. Harold Fleming of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta; contact Mr. Forrest Rozzell, executive secretary of the Arkansas Education Association, Little Rock.

To my knowledge this is the first time in the South that a substantial number of persons in a given community is moving to declare openly on moral and religious grounds the wrongness of racial discrimination and segregation. Rather than being kicked in the teeth, we should at least be given a fair voice.

May I hear from you?

Sincerely,

Colbert S. Cartwright

PR - This seems to me to justify the NYT article complained of. H.

HCF
JC
JM

PRESENTATION by the Rev. C. S. Cartwright
at
FOURTH CONFERENCE ON COMMUNITY UNITY
November 22, 1960

A little over a year ago there came into Little Rock a Quaker lady representing the American Friends Service Committee. She was assigned the unenviable task of seeing what could be done to bring about better race relations in this world-renowned city.

She asked me if I thought anything could be done about our situation. Having experienced disappointment after disappointment in Little Rock's leadership for a number of years, I bluntly told her I didn't think so. I could foresee nothing she might expect to accomplish. But, mustering a flicker of hope, I went on to add that I knew you cannot operate on the basis of despair. You must keep hoping that something still can be done. And with this dismal note of encouragement I gladly welcomed her.

We know the rest of the story. Mrs. Thelma Babbitt energetically set out to get acquainted with the community and to search for those persons in Little Rock who saw the real tragedy of our shattered community and who yearned to heal its racial strife.

It was not long before she called together a racially mixed group of about eight persons to discuss with them what they thought might be done to bring wholeness to our fractured city. This little group had no ready answer. In fact we found we really did not know each other, and so it was several meetings before we truly became a group.

The very process of our sharing of our thoughts with one another across racial lines suggested to us something we might do to help our community. Why not sponsor an all-day conference on community unity in which others might have something of the experience of interracial fellowship that we ourselves had experienced? We were sure it was a good idea, if anyone would come. One of the tragedies of our Little Rock crisis lay in the fact that everyone had quickly learned to keep his mouth shut, and we were not sure just where other people stood in regard to the moral rightness of racial desegregation. Each of us as best we could, began putting down the names of people we thought might be interested. To our surprise we came up with a lengthy list and actually sent out 228 invitations to attend a conference on community unity.

So it was that in February ninety-eight Negro and white youth and adults came together (not without considerable trepidation) to talk about the barriers which separate us from each other. We all gained a new sense of freedom in having a heavy burden of fearful silence lifted from our hearts as we expressed our deepest convictions concerning our city's racial troubles.

We were eager for another conference and in April a larger number of invitations were mailed, and we had 147 persons respond by their presence. Then in June a third conference was held with 111 persons attending. All-in-all we found that some 250 persons had attended at least one of the conferences.

We knew by then that none of us were as alone in our concerns for racial justice as we had thought. There were many others of equal concern and commitment. We also became aware that we all shared in a desire to do something for the unity of our community, even though we were not sure just what form the action should take. In each of our conferences the question arose again and again: What can we do? Much of our discussion time was devoted to searching out answers. Through evaluation sheets which those present filled out, the planning committee was able to accumulate a lengthy list of suggestions.

It became apparent that we have in Little Rock two essential ingredients for resolving our community crisis which a year ago we did not think we had. First, we have a significant number of persons deeply concerned about our divided community. Second, we have some rather definite ideas as to what steps can be taken to bring about a unified community free from the debilitating disease of racial discrimination. But for something significant to happen, a third ingredient is needed. Up

to this moment we cannot be sure it is present. It is our purpose tonight to find out. This third ingredient might be called one of several things. In polite terms we may call it "the courage of our convictions". More plainly we may call it "the guts to act the way we believe."

We have numbers; we have definite ideas as to what must be done. The question of the hour is whether we are willing to band together to take significant steps of action to lead our community out of its present ruinous approach to racial relations. This is why we are here tonight. Before we leave we want to decide whether we are willing or not to work together to break the barriers of racial prejudice and custom which separate us from one another in our community. We are well aware that this decision has a certain price tag for each one of us. Some of us have already at least put a small down-payment in lay-away. We know something of the cost of our convictions. Do we mean business?

There can be no question as to the tragic evil inherent in our community's practices of racial discrimination and segregation. Our religious heritage teaches us to love our neighbors as ourselves. We are to treat every other person as a child of God who is of inestimable worth and endowed with certain inalienable rights.

In the sight of God everything that thwarts the development of a wholesome personality in another person is evil and sinful. Yet it is just the nature of racial discrimination to din constantly into the ears of the Negro that he is inferior and that he is of little worth compared to his white neighbors. He is constantly forced to live in a society which treats him as some strange being who is less than human. Somehow because of his race he is shunted off into separate schools; he is told that he is not good enough to eat just anywhere he would like or to visit just any park he would prefer; he is told that he is not good enough to hold down the better-paying jobs. By the practice of racial discrimination we insist that the Negro act as some kind of inferior mistake of God.

We well know what happens when we constantly tell a person that he is no good. As a parent I know what would happen to my son if from his birth I dinned into his ear that he was not as good as other people. I know the tragic results of what would happen if I daily told him not to do this or not to do that because he was "different" and not deemed worthy of the privileges other people have. I would so destroy my son's spirit that in all likelihood the state would take him away from me, denouncing me as a father who is unworthy of parenthood. Yet this is exactly what we white people are doing every day as we continue to condone the practice of racial discrimination. We white people are in a vicious conspiracy to twist and contort the souls of countless children who become the objects of our destruction because they are Negroes. God knows our sins, and let us soberly observe that God is not mocked.

In the face of this enormous evil in which we all share, there is no doubt that religiously motivated action is required. We must act in the name of God to end this tragic conspiracy against a portion of God's children. We must recognize racial discrimination and segregation as a sin against man and God. We must help our community to see the immorality of our present racial attitudes and actions.

Today we who live in Little Rock are not facing up to the moral imperatives of our religious faith. We all share in this vicious conspiracy, and yet we are doing little to end this crime. We have chosen to remain safe and silent. In our desire not to offend our white neighbors, we remain an offense to God.

We are all to blame. Yet the enormity of our unrighteousness has become writ large in the practices of those in our community to whom we look for leadership. Those who are in positions of influence in Little Rock are flagrantly violating the ordinary demands of simple justice and human decency.

The Little Rock school board by its written and unwritten policies deliberately seeks to circumvent the demands of justice that racial discrimination be removed from our school system. While piously assuring the courts that they do not discriminate against Negro pupils, the school board members maneuver in every conceivable way to keep those pupils from exercising their God-given right to nondiscriminatory education. When a few Negro pupils are assigned to formerly all-white schools,

those Negroes are confronted with "cold-war" tactics by the school administration in an attempt to let them know they are still deemed inferior. Although such activities as chorus, band, clubs and sports are an integral part of the educational program of our schools, these Negro pupils are deliberately ruled out from participation.

Although desegregation is here to stay in our schools as the courts have made perfectly clear, the school authorities refuse to adjust to these new conditions. They refuse to help their teachers face the unique problems which arise, and they refuse to permit students to discuss the adjustments which necessarily must be made in this new era in which they find themselves. In short the school authorities continue blindly to act as if by some kind of slick manouver they could turn the calendar back so that one day Little Rock could resume unmolested the old unrighteous practices of racial discrimination in the schools.

A general policy of isolating the Negro pupils is fostered by the school officials. White pupils are not discouraged from showing hostility to the Negro pupils. The only stricture is that the white pupils must not commit violence to the extent that the school's accreditation might be jeopardized. This is a fine line the school officials walk. It is a distinction which some persons are not subtle enough to grasp. This is a policty of equivocation and duplicity which can irrupt at any time into greater tragedy than our city has yet known.

From a religious point of view the members of the school board have become legalistic Pharisees who by the clever twisting of words clothe unrighteous acts with pious profession. Their professions of "good faith" may legally satisfy the courts for a time, but from a moral point of view they have not acted in good faith either with the patrons against whom they plot or with the God who is ever-watching and testing the sincerity of each man's actions.

I must hasten to say that one school board member, Ted Lamb, has consistently refused to follow this path of deceit laid out by the other board members. He has been a lone voice for justice and has paid a heavy price personally to maintain the integrity of his soul. He has been dealt with treacherously by some of Little Rock's so-called leading citizens. I hold Ted Lamb in the greatest respect.

Looking at the broader picture of leadership in our community, we find the same blindness to the moral issues involved in dealing justly with all our citizens. In the face of just demands from our Negro citizens for the end of racial discrimination in public facilities, our leadership with utter disregard for the basic issue answers with quick arrests and stiff punitive sentences. Adamantly these leaders have refused to discuss the question of the moral rightness of these requests. They have refused to even think in terms of what their own religious faith demands that they do in the face of blatant injustice.

We are faced, then, with the fact that our community is torn by strife, and our leadership will do nothing to bring about unity among us. Its only answer to the social revolution in race relations which is now taking place, is to threaten, intimidate, and procrastinate. Its only answer is to continue practices which will guarantee that strife remains with us for decades to come.

After a year's study of our Little Rock situation, I believe it has become the general consensus of those of us who have been participating in the conferences on community unity that a citizens group of religious leaders be formed which will place the moral issues squarely before the public. A group is needed to seek to counteract the tragic policies of our civic leaders who are leading us into even greater strife in the years ahead. There is need for a permanent group which fearlessly stands against all demagoguery and duplicity -- against racists and moderates alike -- and seeks a just and equitable solution to our racial problems. To remain silent is to condone practices which are immoral and can only lead to greater tragedies than we have yet witnessed.

The ultimate solution to our problems can be found only as our citizens work together across racial lines for the establishment of just and equitable practices among our people. Getting to know one another across racial lines we can learn how best to ease tensions and build a unified community of which we can be proud.

I know that in taking these steps we will be accused of being trouble-makers. But I ask you, who are the real trouble-makers? Are they not people who flout God's demands for righteousness and justice? Are they not the racists who thrive on racial strife? Are they not the moderates who now wield so much power in our community, preventing even the discussion of a just and equitable solution to our problems?

In this connection I am reminded of a story in the Bible. You will remember that King Ahab had established his realm on unrighteous practices. He even countenanced the exploitation of the poor and the defenseless for his own personal gain. In the midst of his complacency he was confronted by the prophet Elijah who decried his unjust actions. When Ahab saw Elijah, Ahab said to him, "Art thou he that troubleth Israel?" To which the stalwart prophet replied, "I have not troubled Israel; but thou, .. and thy father's house, in that ye have forsaken the commandments of the Lord . . ." (1 Kings 18: 17-18) It is the message of the Bible that things are not settled until they are settled equitably. The real trouble-makers are those persons in positions of civic leadership who foster and perpetuate unjust and immoral racial practices. We are the true realists who know that God's will must be done before peace can come to our strife-torn community.

We who are gathered here tonight yearn for the end of racial strife in our community. We want to put an end to the troubles which have embroiled our city.

Is this not the moment for those who love our community to band together to work for its genuine unity? This is the question your planning committee puts to you tonight: Shall we organize for action, or shall we continue by our silence to let our community be further destroyed? This is the hour to decide. The answer rests in your hands.

Registered U. S. Patent Office

# Gazette.

**Little Rock Forecast**

Mostly cloudy and cooler today, partly cloudy and cool tonight and Thursday. A high of 58 is forecast today and a low of 34 tonight. Yesterday's high was 63, the low 49.

(Details, Weather Map, Page 9B.)

OCK, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1960. —TWENTY-SIX PAGES. * * * * PRICE 5c.

oto by Gene Prescott

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# Congolese Troops Rove Leopoldville, Beat UN Officials

## Group Formed To Fight Bias In Little Rock

### Pastor Says Leaders Walk 'Path of Deceit' In Suppressing Negro

More than 100 persons meeting at Aldersgate Camp last night expressed dissatisfaction with the progress Little Rock is making in race relations and voted to establish a permanent organization of religious leaders to do something about it.

This was the outcome of the fourth Conference on Community Unity organized by certain religious groups under the guidance of the American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker organization. Previous meetings were held in February, April and June.

Attending last night's meeting were young persons and adults of Jewish, Protestant and Roman Catholic faiths. These included ministers, educators, housewives, business and professional persons.

The 110 persons attending voted unanimously to "organize to create community unity through full racial equality." They appointed a 10-member steering committee headed by Rev. James C. Jackson, rector of St. Phillip's Episcopal Church to formulate a plan organization and report back to the group. A date was not set for the next meeting.

The organization will be interdenominational and inter-racial.

### 'Immorality of Actions'

The action came after a Little Rock minister called for "religiously motivated action" to "help our community see the immorality of our present racial attitudes and actions."

Rev. Colbert S. Cartwright, pastor of the Pulaski Heights Christian Church, denounced "racial discrimination and segregation as a sin against man and God." He said, "In the sight of God everything that thwarts the development of a wholesome personality in another person is evil and sinful. Yet it is just the nature of racial discrimination to din constantly into the ears of the Negro that he is inferior and

## Kasavubu Bloc Wins Seating In Assembly

United Nations, Nov. 22 (AP).—The General Assembly tonight gave its vacant Congo seat to a delegation headed by President Joseph Kasavubu.

By a vote of 53 to 24 with 19 abstentions the Assembly upheld a recommendation of its credentials committee that it seat Kasavubu.

The vote represented a victory for the United States and other Western supporters of Kasavubu, and a defeat for the Communist bloc and a considerable number of Asian-African nations.

### Peace Trip Delayed

Just before the vote was taken the UN's Asian-African Conciliation Commission decided to delay its scheduled departure tonight for Leopoldville on a peace-making mission.

The decision came after Kasavubu sent a letter to Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold objecting dispatch of the mission at this time to the violence-wracked Congo.

The Assembly called upon Hammarskjold to disclose its contents, but he refused to do so on the ground he received it not as secretary-general but as head of the UN advisory committee that decided to dispatch the Conciliation Commission.

Earlier the Assembly beat down a last ditch attempt to adjourn debate pending a report from Hammarskjold on anti-UN violence in the Congo. Ghana made the move with support of the Communist bloc.

The Assembly voted 50 to 34 with 12 abstentions against a mo-

## *Judge Asks For Tip-offs On Violators*

Traffic Judge John L. Sullivan said yesterday that persons should report traffic law violators to the police.

Judge Sullivan told members of the Little Rock Optimist Club at the Albert Pike Hotel to "drop a note to the chief" reporting the license number of the violators, and the time, place and nature of the law violations. Persons particularly should report those who do not come to complete stops for stop signs and stop lights, he said.

Judge Sullivan said the police, in turn, would send a notice to the law violators in whose name the car was registered urging them to observe traffic laws.

"That alone would have more beneficial results than anything we might do," the judge said.

Would that be "snitching"?

"Snitching is not the case," Judge Sullivan said. "It's a case of protecting our lives and our property."

Some of the finest individuals in the county come before him in Little Rock Traffic Court, Judge Sullivan said, because they violate traffic laws when they wouldn't violate any other laws.

He said it was this attitude toward traffic violations that he sought to break with stiff fines and other punishment.

He said all should be required to apply for driver's license in person.

"I've had men on crutches before me who had driver's licenses," the judge said. "One man came in with two cork legs."

## Ghana Agent Has to Flee Guarded Home

Leopoldville, Nov. 22 (AP). — Col. Joseph Mobutu's Congolese army roved through Leopoldville today, arresting and beating scores of United Nations officials in revenge for the death of their field commander in an all-night battle with UN troops.

With the Congo army attacking the official residence of Ghana, the world organization backed down on its pledge to protect the diplomatic immunity of Ghana's charge d'affaires, Nathaniel Welbeck, an ally of deposed Premier Patrice Lumumba. Welbeck flew home this morning on orders from Mobutu after the young colonel's troops had forced him from the residence that was guarded by UN soldiers.

Despite this setback, the UN reaffirmed its pledge to maintain order in the Congo. Machinegun units were posted at UN offices.

But UN officials fell victim to rampaging bands of Congolese soldiers. They were pulled from their cars and homes. Some were beaten savagely. One group of 30 returning late from a party—including three girls—was locked in a room all night by the soldiers. The group was released in the morning.

Twelve other UN officials were held throughout the day at Camp Leopold.

### Mobutu Has Problem

Despite his success in making good on the expulsion order against Welbeck, Mobutu faced the problem of subduing his rampaging troops, defying his orders to refrain from violence.

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### Criticizes Board

Although indicating that, "We are all to blame," Mr. Cartwright particularly criticized members of the Little Rock School Board — except Ted Lamb — and "Little Rock's leadership" generally.

"Those who are in positions of influence in Little Rock are flagrantly violating the ordinary demands of simple justice and human decency," he said.

Mr. Cartwright charged the School Board with employing "cold-war tactics" toward the Negro pupils in formerly all-white schools "in an attempt to let them know they are still deemed inferior." He said, "Although such activities as chorus, band, clubs and atheltics are an integral part of the educational program of our schools, these Negro pupils are deliberately ruled out from participation. A general policy of isolating the Negro pupils is fostered by the school officials. White pupils are not discouraged from showing hostility to the Negro pupils. This is a policy of equivocation and duplicity which can erupt at any time into greater tragedy than our city has yet known."

He said the federal courts had made it clear that desegregation is in Little Rock's schools to stay, but that school authorities "refuse to help their teachers

(See RACIAL on Page 2A.)

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Earlier the Assembly beat down a last ditch attempt to adjourn debate pending a report from Hammarskjold on anti-UN violence in the Congo. Ghana made the move with support of the Communist bloc.

The Assembly voted 50 to 34 with 13 abstentions against a motion by Ghana Delegate J. E. Jantuah to adjourn the debate pending an official report from Hammarsksjold. Jantuah said it was impossible to consider seating a government "whose militia has attacked the United Nations."

### Puts Blame on Ghana

But United States Delegate James J. Wadsworth blamed Ghana for the violence.

He said Ghana's refusal to follow normal diplomatic procedure in acceding to a request from Kasavubu for recall of its charge d'affaires, Nathaniel Walbeck, caused last night's battle between UN troops and the army of Col. Joseph Mobutu.

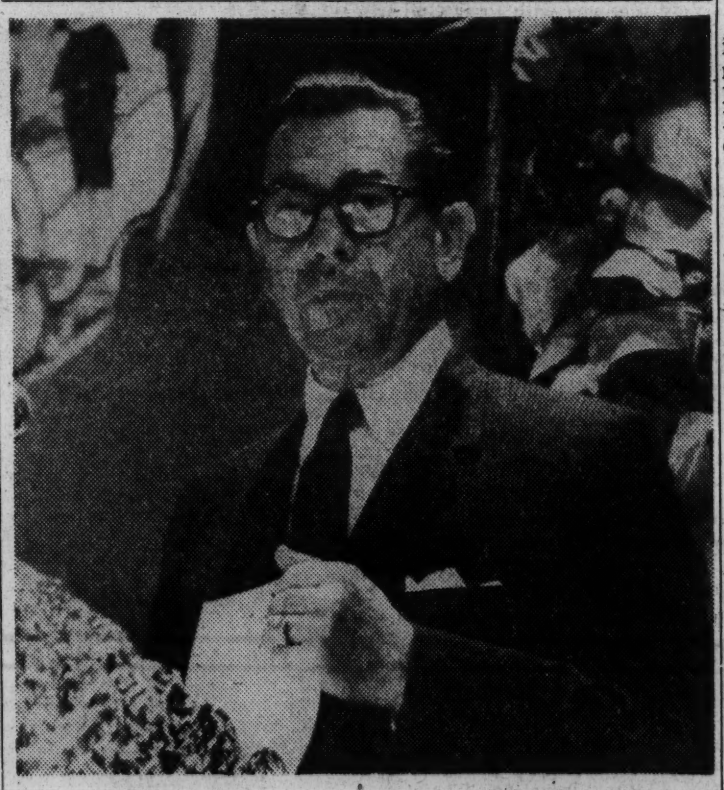
"Now that Mr. Welbeck has, according to reports, left the Congo, I believe that this matter and this incident can be considered closed," he added.

Later, in debate on the committee's recommendation, Wadsworth assailed both the Soviet Union and a group of Asian-African nations which have sponsored a resolution to give the Congo seat to a delegation representing deposed Premier Patrice Lamumba.

Wadsworth declared that the Soviet Union sought to intervene in Congo affairs on the side of Lumumba.

### Big Tourist Attraction

Paris, Nov. 22 (AP).—The Chateau at Versailles was France's most popular tourist attraction last year, the Ministry of Culture reports. It drew 1,115,065 visitors. The Louvre Museum was second with 720,099 visitors.



—Staff Photo by Larry Obsitnik

### Re-elected Head of Farm Bureau

Harold F. Ohlendorf of Osceola was re-elected president of the Arkansas Farm Bureau Federation yesterday during the annual convention. (Details of the convention in Leland DuVall's column on Page 9B.)

and stop lights, he said.

Judge Sullivan said the police, in turn, would send a notice to the law violators in whose name the car was registered urging them to observe traffic laws.

"That alone would have more beneficial results than anything we might do," the judge said.

Would that be "snitching"?

"Snitching is not the case," Judge Sullivan said. "It's a case of protecting our lives and our property."

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He said all should be required to apply for driver's license in person.

"I've had men on crutches before me who had driver's licenses," the judge said. "One man came in with two cork legs."

He said he had revoked many licenses of constant offenders only to have them—or someone for them—obtain new licenses to start all over again, doing the same things they've done for years and years.

Many people are now driving cars who should never drive, he said.

# Furor Dies, Streets Get 1-way Status

By MATILDA TUOHEY
Of the Gazette Staff

Portions of Eighth and Ninth Streets will be changed to one-way traffic Friday, six months after the switch originally was scheduled to be made.

Traffic Engineer Henry M. DeNoble announced yesterday that city crews would begin installing the one-way signs Friday morning for 25 blocks from Rock Street west to Denison Street. Eighth will be for westbound traffic and Ninth for eastbound.

DeNoble said he hoped that all of the signs would be in place by 4 p. m. but the Little Rock Police Department will not begin strict enforcement on the streets for about two weeks. Officers will be stationed at certain intersections to direct traffic Friday.

The change was to have gone into effect May 5 but at the last minute a majority of the City Manager Board, prompted by Letcher Langford, then a member of the Board, intervened.

Langford, who resigned from the Board the next month to make an unsuccessful campaign for the state Senate, obtained the postponement because of objections by merchants on West Eighth Street that it would hurt their businesses.

### First Interference

Langford got four of the six members to go along with him and it was the first time that the Board, a policy-making body, had interferred directly in a major traffic change. Director James F. Hewitt and Mrs. Edgar F. Dixon were not involved.

The Board's intervention came after city crews already had erected the posts for the one-way signs. The posts have remained empty since then, awaiting the change.

DeNoble said the Board had given its approval now to the conversion.

The change in the traffic pattern for Eighth and Ninth is tied into the new automatic traffic signal system which is being in-

(See STREETS on Page 2A.)

diplomatic immunity of Ghana's charge d'affaires, Nathaniel Welbeck, an ally of deposed Premier Patrice Lumumba. Welbeck flew home this morning on orders from Mobutu after the young colonel's troops had forced him from the residence that was guarded by UN soldiers.

Despite this setback, the UN reaffirmed its pledge to maintain order in the Congo. Machinegun units were posted at UN offices.

But UN officials fell victim to rampaging bands of Congolese soldiers. They were pulled from their cars and homes. Some were beaten savagely. One group of 30 returning late from a party—including three girls—was locked in a room all night by the soldiers. The group was released in the morning.

Twelve other UN officials were held throughout the day at Camp Leopold.

### Mobutu Has Problem

Despite his success in making good on the expulsion order against Welbeck, Mobutu faced the problem of subduing his rampaging troops, defying his orders to refrain from violence.

A UN spokesman said Mobutu, who is striving to maintain his role as the Congo's strongman, had issued orders to his men to halt the violence.

The UN found itself fighting the Congolese Army after promising to protect the safety of all officials, Congolese and foreign, including Welbeck.

In the battle, one Tunisian UN soldier and at least four Congolese were killed. Eight Tunisians were wounded.

The acting head of the UN mission, Indian Brig. Indarjit Rikhye, announced that the UN is ready to continue carrying out its mandate to maintain law and order in the troubled nation.

### Blow to Prestige

But a question arose on how the UN could overcome the critical blows to its prestige during the past 24 hours.

Lumumba's fate was the next matter for concern to both Rikhye and Mobutu. The deposed premier remains entrenced in his official residence under a strong guard of UN troops, and Mobutu assured Rikhye that he would not order any attack on the residence.

But neither Rikhye nor Mobutu seemed confident that unruly army elements, encouraged by Welbeck's departure, might not set out after Lumumba without orders.

A new 6 p. m. curfew was imposed on the tense city to prevent further outbreaks of violence.

The UN ordered all staff members to remain in its headquarters compound throughout the day except on duty trips. Accommodation in the headquarters building was provided for officials living in outlying districts. Malayan, Moroccan, Tunisian, and Indonesian UN units set up machinegun posts at strategic points and around UN offices.

Mobutu's men blocked off the Congo River ferry to Brazzaville and declared no one would be permitted to leave the capital until all "Communist spies" had been weeded out.

# NASA Launches Starlight Study

Washington, Nov. 22 (AP).—A rocket was fired 105 miles high over Virginia coastal waters today for a study of the ultraviolet light of stars.

The experiment, carried out by the Goddard Space Flight Center at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's Wallops Island Station, was part of a broad study in rocket astronomy.

The 26-foot Aerobee-Hi rockets propellant charge burned for 52 seconds. The 228-pound instrument payload came down in the ocean 56 miles from the launch site.

The telemetered data will be analyzed at the Goddard Center in Greenbelt, Md.

# Arkansas Gazette.

Registered U. S. Patent Office

VOL. 142—NO. 5. LITTLE ROCK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1960.—THIRTY-TWO PAGES ★ ★ ★ ★ PRICE 5c.


**Little Rock Forecast**

Fair and cool today and tonight. Friday partly cloudy and warmer. A high of 58 is forecast today and a low of 34 tonight. Yesterday's high was 59, the low 44.

(Details, Weather Map, Page 9B.)

## In the News

**Jacob Calvin Atkinson,** a retired lumberman who came to Arkansas from Missouri in 1885 in an ox-drawn wagon, planned to observe his 109th birthday today at the home of a daughter, Mrs. Linda Johnson, 71, at Fort Smith.

**Ted Sorenson,** special counsel to President-elect John F. Kennedy, promised in an interview at New York that "no senator or congressman is going to have a tough time getting in to see" the nation's new president.

**Vice President Richard M. Nixon,** deeply tanned after a 13-day vacation, flew from Nassau to Washington to join his wife and two daughters for Thanksgiving.

**Prime Minister Harold Macmillan** of Great Britain, accompanied by Lord Home, Britain's Foreign secretary, met for 25 minutes in private audience with Pope John XXIII at Vatican City.

**Mrs. Mary Jane McCaffree,** secretary to Mrs. Mamie Eisenhower, brushed off all inquiries by Washington newsmen on whether an invitation will be extended to Mrs. John F. Kennedy, the future first lady, to visit the executive mansion to look over her new home in a similar fashion to the cellar-to-attic tour Mrs. Harry Truman gave Mrs. Eisenhower in 1952.

**Mrs. Sterling Hayden,** the actor's wife who was dropped from the New York social register because of her marriage to the film star, said at Hollywood that she didn't mind at all but "Sterling blew his top."

**Jacques Charrier,** French film star Brigitte Bardot's husband who was released from military service last year after a severe case of "nervous exhaustion," may be drafted back into the French Army to complete a two-year hitch, it was reported at Paris.

**Antony Armstrong-Jones,** commoner husband of British Princess Margaret, underwent treatment at their Kensington Palace residence at London by two orthopedic surgeons for neck and shoulder pains believed to stem from a polio attack in his school days.

**Prime Minister Nehru** of India said in a speech before Parliament at New Delhi that the world was living in a state of semi-war that may turn into actual fighting as long as Communist China believes war is inevitable.

**Sir Winston Churchill,** the British statesman who is making

# School Critic Draws Retort From Tucker

### Clergyman's Blast At Board Is Called 'Harsh Disservice'

The president of the Little Rock School Board accused Rev. Colbert S. Cartwright yesterday of doing a "harsh disservice" to the five Board members the minister had charged with using "cold-war tactics" toward Negro students in formerly all-white schools. He also denied the charge.

Two Board members suggested that Mr. Cartwright himself run for a seat on the Board.

Mr. Cartwright, pastor of the Pulaski Heights Christian Church, in a speech Tuesday denounced discrimination and segregation as a sin and was critical of the community's leaders for not promoting desegregation at a more rapid pace. He was especially cirtical of the School Board, contending it had employed tactics toward Negroes in Central and Hall High Schools intended to "let them know they are still deemed inferior." He excluded Ted Lamb, a Board member, who, Mr. Cartwright said, had refused to follow "this path of deceit."

### *Critics 'Chaos' of Past*

Everett Tucker Jr., Board president, said the Board members had sought to serve "in an attempt to resolve the legal and practical problems which had resulted in the closing of Little Rock's high schools."

He added, "It might be remembered by the Board's present critics that closed schools were a fairly effective bar to racial discrimination per se. To now accuse five of the Board's six members of moral weakness is in my opinion a harsh disservice to these men who have given so unstintingly of their time and talents in bringing the opening of the schools back to normalcy from chaos which existed at the time this Board assumed control.

"I am reluctant to contradict a member of the clergy," Tucker

# *Are Negro Students Exiled?*

## *Opinions of Parents Differ*

Two fathers of Central High School Negro students took diametically-opposed viewpoints yesterday on whether the students were being denied participation in extracurricular activities because of their race.

Neither would allow quotation by name, but one said he thought Rev. Colbert S. Cartwright, pastor of Pulaski Heights Christian Church, was "100 per cent correct" in charging that the School Board and school officials had attempted to "let them (the Negro students) know they are still deemed inferior."

The same father said that as far as he knew, none of the Negro students at Central had sought to take part in athletics, clubs, band, choruses and so on, nor did he know of any direct attempt to prevent them by school officials.

But he said it was "generally understood" that the Negroes weren't to take part in these activities.

"No Board member has told me they couldn't," he said, "but it's generally accepted that they can't. It seems to be a general understanding of the school officials that the Negro students are not to participate * * * ."

The other parent said his son had "no ax to grind. He says he likes his teachers and they like him, and he's participating in the activities that he desires to. He hasn't been excluded from anything."

This parent said his son "is not in exile in his class. In fact, he's gotten several calls from his classmates—friendly calls. Basically, I disagree with some of the statements made in the paper this [yesterday] morning."

"He has no contentions whatsoever," he added.

The Negro students themselves declined to talk, referring questions to their parents.

As for isolation, the first father said "there is some, as far as I know."

He said there also were such "minor incidents" as throwing things, spitting, throwing ink, name-calling and kicking.

Asked how often these occurred, he said it was "more often than once every month," but didn't know more specifically since "I don't keep any records of it."

The most serious such incident occurring to a child of his, he added, was spitting in the face.

# Assembly Provides Orleans School Pay

From Gazette Press Services

The Louisiana legislature, foiled at every turn in its efforts to stop integration, voted unanimously at Baton Rouge yesterday to provide money to pay teachers of the embattled New Orleans public schools.

Legislators had cut off funds to the New Orleans Parish School Board after it complied with a federal court order desegregating two elementary schools.

Some segregationist legislators had held out hope that the creation of a teacher pay roll crisis might somehow halt school integration.

The legislature ordered that $2,525,312 be placed in a bank to pay all New Orleans school teachers.

Legislative leaders said neither

# UN Troops Mass As Fight Looms

# Road Spending Of $83 Million Yearly Urged

### Legislative Council Postpones Action But Appears Cordial

By ROY REED
Of the Gazette Staff

The Arkansas Highway Commission told the Arkansas Legislative Council yesterday that it proposed to spend up to $83,100,000 a year each of the next two fiscal years.

The Council, which writes appropriation bills for consideration of the General Assembly, postponed action on the Department's budget until Monday. It recessed for Thanksgiving.

The 1961-63 budget would be smaller than the current highway appropriation — which was $83,900,000 for the 1960 fiscal year and $85,920,000 for the 1961 fiscal year — but considerably larger than the Department's actual expenditures this biennium.

The Council was cordial to the Commission and Highway Director F. R. Oliver. That was a contrast to the 1958 budget hearing. Several Council members were hostile when the late Herbert Eldridge, former director, presented the highway budget for the last time in November 1958. Eldridge resigned under pressure a few weeks later.

### *Want Time for Study*

The only apparent reason for not approving the budget yesterday was the one offered by Representative John P. Bethell of Prairie County: It is voluminous and he needs time to study it.

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# *Nikita's Leadership Shaken By New Red China Demands*

By WILLIAM L. RYAN
Of the Associated Press

After two weeks of haggling, world communism's leaders apparently failed to compose their differences and Russian Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev may be on an uncomfortable spot. If anything, the cleavage across the course of Communist world policy seems more acute than ever and the real showdown is yet to come.

These conclusions can be drawn from new statements by the Kremlin and Red China, seemingly timed for the end of a Communist summit meeting in Moscow. It began November 9 with about 45 Communist chieftains from around the world in attendance.

From the tone of the latest statements of the two sides, the quarrel must have been bitter.

The Red Chinese seem to accuse Khrushchev of being timid and reneging on the bold terms of the 1957 Moscow Declaration, which was supposed to be a charter for world Communist expansion.

Khrushchev, whose future as head of the world movement ultimately may be at stake, now looks more and more like the advocate of a policy of "making haste slowly." He argues that communism can be expanded through economic competition, entailing less risk of world war and destruction of what Russia has built up over the past 43 years.

From the statements, one gets the sharp impression that Peking has put Khrushchev on notice. Between the lines of a Red Chinese declaration broadcast Monday by Peking, a note of ultimatum can be detected. In exchange for continued acceptance of the Kremlin's overall direction of world policy, the Red Chinese seem to be demanding:

1. That Red China, with prompt and significant Russian help, be brought quickly into membership in the nuclear weapons club now restricted to the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France.

2. That Moscow acknowledge the only course for communism is to step up pressure for violent revolution wherever the opportunity presents itself and that it abandon the practice of giving meaningful economic aid to developing countries whose leadership is not oriented toward communism.

3. That Moscow concede "the struggle for peace" and the fomenting of revolution around the world are one and the same thing, having nothing to do with the question of importing or exporting revolution. Any views opposing this concept, Peking declared, "are very wrong."

Obviously the Chinese were not alone in opposing Khrushchev. They were supported, apparently, by dissidents from western countries, including West German communists, by the leadership of Red North Vietnam in Asia and by the Yugoslav-hating Albanian Communist leadership.

# *Weather-spying Satellite Is Successfully Orbited But Pictures Disappoint*

Cape Canaveral, Fla., Nov. 23 (AP).—A camera-carrying weather-eye satellite was rocketed into orbit from here today and quickly started transmitting cloud pictures which meteorologists hope to use in actual forecasts. However, there was indication of disappointment with early results.

The 280-pound robot weatherman—Tiros II—rode into space atop a thundering Thor-Delta rocket. Its near-

# Kremlin Still Is the Leader, Red Allies Told

### Policy Statement Clashes With View Published in China

Moscow, Nov. 23 (AP).—The Soviet Union threw a tough challenge today at its critics—led by the Red Chinese—in a statement indicating showdown bargaining at a world Communist summit conference.

Moscow sharply informed the Communist world that the principles laid down by the Kremlin under Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev's leadership remain the controlling factors of Communist global policy.

The statement clearly clashed with an official pronouncement of the Chinese Communists, published Monday in the Peking People's Daily, assailing Khrushchev's theories of peaceful coexistence and his insistence that World War III can and must be avoided. The Chinese retorted that it was an illusion for Communists to think they can get along with "imperialism"—meaning the capitalist West.

### *Tough on Disarming*

The Russian statement was published by Pravda. At the same time the official Russian Communist Party newspaper published an interview with Khrushchev repeating his refusal to take part in drafting any system of controls over disarmament unless the Western powers first accept the fundamentals of a Russian demand that disarmament come first and controls over it second.

The appearance of the two articles at the same time seemed an indication of the toughest sort of bargaining in the Communist summit meeting which has been going on in Moscow since November 9, with Red chiefs from all parts of the world in attendance. On the disarmament question, at least, Khrushchev could demonstrate to the Red Chinese that he could present an uncompromising face to the West.

that she didn't mind at all but "Sterling blew his top."

**Jacques Charrier,** French film star Brigitte Bardot's husband who was released from military service last year after a severe case of "nervous exhaustion," may be drafted back into the French Army to complete a two-year hitch, it was reported at Paris.

**Antony Armstrong-Jones,** commoner husband of British Princess Margaret, underwent treatment at their Kensington Palace residence at London by two orthopedic surgeons for neck and shoulder pains believed to stem from a polio attack in his school days.

**Prime Minister Nehru** of India said in a speech before Parliament at New Delhi that the world was living in a state of semi-war that may turn into actual fighting as long as Communist China believes war is inevitable.

**Sir Winston Churchill,** the British statesman who is making a good recovery after breaking a small bone in his back last week, sat up in a chair at his London apartment for the third day in a row, prompting his personal physician to remark, "The prime minister is going on all right."

**Actress Joan Caulfield,** 36, surprised friends by announcing at Beverly Hills, Cal., that she and Dr. Robert H. Peterson, 38, whom she met only recently, would be married today at her home.

**Paul C. McGee,** 22, a wealthy Wall Street broker's son accused of robbing a Washington movie theater and wounding a policeman in a getaway gun battle, surrendered to the FBI at New York.

**Mrs. Letha L. Metcalf,** 48, charging cruelty, won a divorce at Santa Monica, Cal., from hotel owner Jess E. Metcalf, 60, who was ordered to give her half of his assets—$3,200,000 in stocks and properties.

**Dr. Geoffrey Fisher,** the archbishop of Canterbury, arrived at Jerusalem for the first visit to the Holy Land by an Anglican primate in 30 years.

**Leander H. Perez,** the Louisiana segregationist, charged in a telegram to Dr. Frank Stanton, president of the CBS network, that his name and character were impugned on the network's television show "Face the Nation," which featured New Orleans Mayor deLesseps Morrison, and his secretary said at New Orleans that Perez may instigate a lawsuit if he is not given equal time by CBS.

**Senator John A. Carroll** (Dem. Col.) announced at Washington his Senate Judiciary Subcommittee will conduct hearings on criticism of some federal commissions and agencies and that witnesses scheduled to testify include James M. Landis, former Harvard University School dean; and officials of the Civil Aeronautics Board, Budget Bureau, Civil Service Commission, Atomic Energy Commission and Federal Power Commission.

it had employed tactics toward Negroes in Central and Hall High Schools intended to "let them know they are still deemed inferior." He excluded Ted Lamb, a Board member, who, Mr. Cartwright said, had refused to follow "this path of deceit."

### Critics 'Chaos' of Past

Everett Tucker Jr., Board president, said the Board members had sought to serve "in an attempt to resolve the legal and practical problems which had resulted in the closing of Little Rock's high schools."

He added, "It might be remembered by the Board's present critics that closed schools were a fairly effective bar to racial discrimination per se. To now accuse five of the Board's six members of moral weakness is in my opinion a harsh disservice to these men who have given so unstintingly of their time and talents in bringing the opening of the schools back to normalcy from chaos which existed at the time this Board assumed control.

"I am reluctant to contradict a member of the clergy," Tucker continued, "but I feel compelled to refute statements attributed to Mr. Cartwright in Wednesday morning's paper. The Board has never fostered a policy of isolating colored children nor has it failed to take whatever steps it deemed necessary in discouraging any overt acts of hostility directed at them.

"On the contrary, the Board has several times taken affirmative action in disciplining violators of this kind and it will continue to do so in the future. Without shirking its responsibility in this field, I think it well understood that a School Board cannot control people's or children's minds. It is my feeling that it is in this area of moral suasion that the parents and the pulpit have a greater burden than the School Board."

### Responsible to All

Tucker said that while it was "quite true [as Mr. Cartwright stated] that 'everything that thwarts the development of a wholesome personality is evil and sinful,' it must nevertheless be remembered that the School Board bears this same responsibility to the white children in its custody and more importantly, it has this responsibility toward all of the children as a group, both white and colored."

J. H. Cottrell Jr., a Board member, said the School Board called in the principals and teachers of the two formerly white high schools in the summer of 1959 and instructed them to maintain discipline but to show no favoritism in the treatment of the white and Negro students.

Said Cottrell, "The staffs were instructed to treat the colored children just exactly as they treated the white children. They were specifically instructed to see to it that the children were not abused, and at the same time not granted any privileges or special treatment because they were colored."

He said the Board had given no instructions whatsoever barring the Negro students from any activity.

### No Incidents Reported

Cottrell said he had not heard

(See CRITIC on Page 2A.)

school officials that the Negro students are not to participate * * * ."

cident occurring to a child of his, he added, was spitting in the face.

# Assembly Provides Orleans School Pay

From Gazette Press Services

The Louisiana legislature, foiled at every turn in its efforts to stop integration, voted unanimously at Baton Rouge yesterday to provide money to pay teachers of the embattled New Orleans public schools.

Legislators had cut off funds to the New Orleans Parish School Board after it complied with a federal court order desegregating two elementary schools.

Some segregationist legislators had held out hope that the creation of a teacher pay roll crisis might somehow halt school integration.

The legislature ordered that $2,525,312 be placed in a bank to pay all New Orleans school teachers.

Legislative leaders said neither Dr. James Redmond, superintendent of the New Orleans public schools, nor Sam Rosenburg, School Board attorney, would be paid, apparently because of their stand on the integration crisis.

### Other Developments

In other developments yesterday:

★ Students in the fourth, fifth and six grades at McDonogh No. 19 and the William Frantz Schools at New Orleans—integrated by four Negro first graders last wek—transferred to all-white schools in neighboring St. Bernard Parish.

★ Parents of white students at the New Orleans schools appeared at the capitol in Baton Rouge to demonstrate in favor of segregation.

★ The 6,500-member Louisiana Teachers Association, meeting at Baton Rouge, voted to fight with "legal and honorable means" federal court orders to integrate the New Orleans public schools.

★ The legislature passed a resolution some senators said called President Eisenhower and the federal judiciary Communists.

### 'Mourners' Cheered

Before the legislative session began yesterday, a group of about 200 mothers, a few fathers, and children, all wearing black to mourn their integrated schools, marched into the House gallery.

The first child in carried a miniature, flower-decked casket housing a doll. The doll was supposed to represent Federal Judge J. Skelly Wright, who ordered integration. Behind that came another child carrying a black cross and then came the rest of the procession.

The children were reportedly all students at the two integrated elementary schools in New Orleans who have boycotted classes. All schools in the state are in the midst of a week-long holiday for teachers' conventions and Thanksgiving.

They received a standing ovation from legislators.

### Support Davis' Stand

The Teachers Association closed out its convention by passing overwhelmingly a resolution supporting Governor Jimmie H. Davis and other state officials fighting integration, and condemning Judge Wright.

It resolved that "the usurpation of power as shown in the rulings of Judge J. Skelly Wright and the resulting encroachment on state sovereignty be restricted and fought by every legal and honorable means."

When the legislators sat down at their desks, they found reproductions of news dispatches reporting the marriage last week of Negro entertainer Sammy Davis Jr. to Swedish actress Mai Britt. On each reproduction, a passage was underscored which told of Davis kissing President-elect John F. Kennedy's sister,

(See SCHOOLS on Page 2A.)

# UN Troops Mass As Fight Looms In Leopoldville

Leopoldville, Nov. 23 (AP).—Congolese soldiers made menacing gestures today at the two top officials of the United Nations in the Congo, digging military emplacements near their homes. UN forces were placed on emergency alert.

The Congolese appeared to be still enraged by the death of Lt. Col. Joseph Kokolo, commander of the Leopoldville garrison, and three other Congolese solders Monday in a battle with UN troops.

The four were given a state funeral this morning. About 100,000 Congolese watched the procession grimly. Some shouted: "Death to the United Nations."

Two truckloads of Congolese soldiers then appeared in the Kalina residential section and began digging trenches in gardens near the villas of Rajeshwar Dayal and Brig. Indarjit Rikhye, the Indian civilian and military chiefs in the Congo.

As darkness fell, UN troops also were digging gun emplacements and foxholes at strategic points in the Kalina section.

Truckloads of Tunisian troops, who had fought Congolese in the battle around the Ghana Embassy residence Monday, were sent to Kalina.

The UN command said it feared Congolese troops or civilians might attack isolated installations and ordered all UN employes living in outlying districts to move into the headquarters area. There were scattered reports of UN officials being molested.

UN troops and officials were confined to quarters except when on duty.

Malayan soldiers of the UN force were put on special guard duty at all UN-occupied buildings. Machine guns covered the entrances.

actual expenditures this biennium.

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### Want Time for Study

The only apparent reason for not approving the budget yesterday was the one offered by Representative John P. Bethell of Prairie County: It is voluminous and he needs time to study it.

Several members asked questions but none was hostile.

In other action the Council approved a budget for another "non-political" agency, the Game and Fish Commission. It voted down a move by Senator Roy L. Riales of Mena to go over the Commission's head and raise the pay of game wardens.

Oliver's thick budget proposal showed that the Commission took in $71,759,978 and spent $61,735,071 in the 1960 fiscal year that began July 1, 1959. It estimates that the Commission will take in $80,892,906 and spend $73,109,000 during this fiscal year that began July 1.

### Wants a 'Cushion'

An appropriation of $83,100,000 a year for 1961 through 1963 would allow a "cushion," Oliver said. He said the Commission didn't anticipate spending that much but needed to have it officially appropriated if the federal government should make extra money available. It did that during the 1959 recession to speed up the economy and the state had to scratch up money to match the increased federal funds, he said. More than half the Commission's money comes from the federal government, largely to finance the interstate highway program.

The budget sheet shows that the Commission expects to take in $86,547,873 and spend $83,070,000 during the 1961-62 year. It expects to take in $83,355,291 and spend $82,880,000 during the 1962-63 year.

It hopes to get $42,874,967 in 1961-62 and $43,783,418 in 1962-63 in federal highway funds. It got $32,627,216 in 1959-60 and estimates it will get $34,000,000 this year, 1960-61.

### Revenue Rise Expected

The Commission anticipates taking in $32,367,000 in 1961-62 and $33,444,000 in 1962-63 from state highway revenues. By comparison, it took in $29,641,554 in 1959-60 and estimates it will take in $30,000,000 this year. The jump of more than $2,000,000 next year will be from revenues used until this year to pay off the "Mc-Math" highway bonds. They were paid off November 1.

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(See ALC on Page 2A.)

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Obviously the Chinese were not alone in opposing Khrushchev. They were supported, apparently, by dissidents from western countries, including West German communists, by the leadership of Red North Vietnam in Asia and by the Yugoslav-hating Albanian Communist leadership.

World War III can and must be avoided. The Chinese retorted that it was an illusion for Communists to think they can get along with "imperialism"—meaning the capitalist West.

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The appearance of the two articles at the same time seemed an indication of the toughest sort of bargaining in the Communist summit meeting which has been going on in Moscow since November 9, with Red chiefs from all parts of the world in attendance. On the disarmament question, at least, Khrushchev could demonstrate to the Red Chinese that he could present an uncompromising face to the West.

But Pravda also told the Chinese the principles of peaceful co-existence and prohibition of nuclear weapons as outlined in the Moscow declaration issued after a similar Communist summit in 1957 remained valid as the controlling principles of Communist policy today. Recent events, said Pravda, proved the Russian position to be correct.

### Peking Stooges Unhappy

There was little doubt this Khrushchev position has been under Red Chinese fire. The Peking People's Daily editorial Monday by implication accused the Russians of overestimating the strength of the Western camp.

Peking reminded the Kremlin it had agreed in 1957 that the "imperialists" were "the sworn enemies of the people," and that as long as "imperialism" existed "there will always be soil for aggressive wars." The answer, Peking insisted, was nothing less than incessant efforts to build up the military strength of the communist camp.

But Pravda—without mentioning anything about a Communist summit meeting—had this to say:

"The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has held and still holds to the Leninist principle of the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems and the general line of the Soviet Union's foreign policy.

"The principle does not deny class struggles. It does not mean reconciliation between socialism [communism] and capitalism. It presupposes intensification of the struggle for the triumph of the Socialist ideas, for the complete victory of socialism [communism]."

This passage had the tone of debate, since the Red Chinese have seemed to insist that peaceful co-existence as outlined by Khrushchev suggested a slackening of what the Communists call the class struggle—the struggle to expand communism throughout the world.

Although some kind of compromise—on paper—was considered likely as a result of the Communist summit, Pravda's statement on the heels of the Peking daily's tough-toned article indicated the debate was far from over.

# Weather-spying Satellite Is Successfully Orbited But Pictures Disappoint

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The 280-pound robot weatherman—Tiros II—rode into space atop a thundering Thor-Delta rocket. Its near-perfect circular orbit ranged from 406 to 431 miles above the earth.

Within hours, the drum-shaped satellite transmitted pictures snapped by the smaller of its two television cameras. Officials of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration expressed satisfaction at the time and said the larger camera would begin transmitting soon.

It did, but the resulting pictures appeared disappointing. It wasn't certain whether there was an equipment malfunction or whether the poor results were a temporary situation caused by an initial power drain.

NASA was hopeful the quality of prints would improve.

Almost 12 hours after the launch, NASA reported that Tiros is generally operating well.

### Camera Is Big Worry

"The only problem seems to be with the wide angle camera," the Space agency said in a statement.

"Wide angle pictures have been received * * * but these photos are not of the same good quality received from Tiros I.

"The cause of the poor performance of the camera is being investigated, and scientists hope to have an explanation within a day or so.

"Pictures from the narrow angle camera are of generally good quality."

The purpose is to use pictures of cloud cover over large portions of the globe in forecasting large weather systems such as snowstorms, making Tiros II the world's first working space weatherman.

The large camera takes photos covering an area 800 miles square, and the second camera snaps a zone 30 miles on a side in the center of the larger area. The enlarged photos taken by the second camera enable weathermen to identify cloud types But without the overall pictures of the large lens, it is difficult to pinpoint the exact portion of earth photographed by the small camera.

The first pictures relayed by the satellite were of a section of the Dakotas and northern Plains and their cloud cover.

### No Immediate Use

Dr. F. W. Reichelderfer, chief of the United States Weather Bureau, told newsmen in Washington that it was doubtful pictures received today would be beneficial in forecasting tomorrow's weather. He said it was too soon to make predictions because such factors as the position of the satellite at the time of exposure cannot always be read off promptly in a way that would allow immediate use of a given picture.

"If a hurricane had been developing this morning and had not yet been picked up, it might be picked up by the satellite," he said.

# Flash in Sky Stirs Furor In Midwest

By United Press International

An unidentified flying object (UFO) trailing a tail of light flashed across the pre-dawn sky of the Midwest yesterday and set off a storm of speculation from Des Moines to Dayton.

Government experts checked notes and couldn't agree on what it was they had seen.

There was no unanimous opinion on what caused some people to see a light "bigger than the moon" and seemingly trailing smoke or a comet-like tail.

Some said it might have been a rocket, a flying saucer or a satellite, as far as they could tell.

The best bet was that the bright lights were actually a shower of tinfoil dropped by a high-flying Air Force jet. Such "foil showers" can jam tracking radar observation and a tinfoil drop test was believed to have taken place over Carleton, Mich.

But the Air Force itself didn't buy the tinfoil theory. It leaned to the idea that the UFO was a giant research balloon launched yesterday morning near Sioux Falls, S. D., as part of the Tiros satellite program.

The balloon got caught in a jet stream, the Air Force theorized, and was whisked across the Middle West from west to east.

# U.S. to Orbit Man in Space Flight Within a Year, Dr. von Braun Says

New York, Nov. 23 (AP).—Dr. Wernher von Braun predicted today that the United States would have a manned space flight in orbit next year.

He said his predicted schedule depends on a series of successful manned ballistic flights powered by the Redstone Rocket.

"I have absolutely no reason to believe we will not have an orbital flight in 1961," he told a news conference. "I think we will."

He said the first ballistics flights, involving the firing of missiles in a 200-mile trajectory at a maximum altitude of 160 miles, were scheduled to begin in the first quarter next year.

The orbital flights contemplated later would involve placing a manned vehicle in orbit around the earth.

Von Braun, director of the Marshall Space Flight Center at Huntsville, Ala., said that the Redstone's failure at Cape Canaveral, Fla., Monday "was not very serious."

It represents "a slippage of a few weeks only" in this country's rocket program, he said.

Of the failure, he added: "We had a little mishap. Had there been an astronaut in the capsule, there would have been no injury."

He attributed the "mishap," on the basis of preliminary information, to a premature cut-off signal which made the rocket's escape tower separate from the rocket too soon.

"Things like this happen in rocket development," he said.

"The Mercury [man-in-space] program is not in any worse shape than any young missile program."

Von Braun described the United States space program as divided into four phases, as follows:

The first and second phases, tentatively scheduled for completion next year, include manned ballistics and orbital flights.

The third phase will involve use of a multiple crew space vehicle in orbit.

The fourth phase, possibly taking place in 1962, would involve a manned flight around the moon without a landing there.

He said landings on the moon might take place in 1970.

# Inside Today's Gazette

**The Missouri Pacific Lines is lowering the retirement age for its non-union employes from 70 to 65 but MoPac's Board chairman says that very few high officials will be affected (Page 1B).**


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## Ward Bond's Will Is Filed for Probate

Los Angeles, Nov. 23 (AP).—Actor Ward Bond's will was filed for probate today. It listed his estate as worth more than $10,000, named his widow as executrix, and bequeathed his favorite shotgun to his friend, actor John Wayne.

Bond died November 5 of a heart attack at Dallas.

The star of TV's "Wagon Train" left other guns and fishing gear to friends Ben Harrold and Avery Rennick. He gave Wayne an option to purchase Bond's interest in two Kern County, Cal., ranch properties totaling 400 acres.

April 27, 1961

The Rev. Colbert Cartwright
4724 Hill crest
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Bert:

I think you know that we are looking for a courageous and competent man to carry on Bob Hughes' work in the Alabama Council. The Council there is strongly based in religious work of an interfaith nature and the group would be happy to have another minister of Bob's caliber, although they would, of course, consider persons from other backgrounds.

Personally, I think that you ought to seriously consider taking on this job for several years. I feel this both because of your obvious ability and experience in this field and because I feel that a minister who undertakes such work for a time returns to the parish ministry with new insights and skills. Of course, this would perhaps not be true in yourcase, since you have in fact been doing this sort of thing in Little Rock for some years.

If by any chance you would not like to apply for the job, do you have other thoughts?

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

December 7, 1954

Mr. Fred Darragh
Route 5, Box 339
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Fred:

It certainly was good to visit with you folks out in Little Rock and see the fine representative board that you have. I was greatly encouraged by the whole visit to the Arkansas area for I believe that you have there an organization that is capable of doing real things. Would you please forward to me at your convenience the minutes of the two meetings plus a list of who was in attendance -- who the board members elected are and who the officers are.

Personally it was a real pleasure to meet with you and to get to know you, and I enjoyed very much our get-togethers at the Little Rock Club and the Press Club. You were more than kind and I deeply appreciate the friendship and consideration shown.

I am looking forward to my next visit to Arkansas with considerable anticipation.

Cordially yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organizations

FBR/rnf

P.S. Under separate cover I am sending you 25 copies of "Toward the South of the Future."

December 15, 1954

Mr. Fred Darragh
1401 East Sixth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Darragh:

The following people attended the Conference of Educational Leaders at Hot Springs, Arkansas, October 26th and 27th. It was this Conference which adopted the statement appearing in the November, 1954 issue of New South. We think you might wish to cultivate them for membership in your group.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence

L. M. Christophe
Little Rock

Lawrence A. Davis
Pine Bluff

Charles A. Hicks
Little Rock

Frank W. Smith
Little Rock

M. L. Harris
Little Rock

Edna M. Douglass
Little Rock

bc: GTH
FBR
CHP

December 21, 1954

Mr. Fred Darragh
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1401 East Sixth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Fred:

Thank you for your good letter and I shall look forward to receiving the minutes of your two meetings and a list of those who were in attendance.

I am glad to hear that Miss Mollie Heath Conn and Mrs. D.D. James have agreed to be co-chairmen of the membership committee. I think, too, it is wiser for them to wait until after the holidays to really begin their work.

Dr. Parrish's address is -- Dr. C.H. Parrish, Department of Sociology, University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky. Both he and I will be very pleased to come out for the full board meeting in February. It does take a little advance notice for Dr. Parrish to make such meetings so please advise him as soon as possible as to the exact dates and place.

I have been telling the folks here in the central office that I think the Arkansas group is one of the most forward-looking and progressive that we have in any state and that I am expecting great thinks to take place there -- not because the job will be so much more easy but because of the positive leadership that the board is showing.

Remember me to Harry Ashmore, Ed Dunaway, and my other friends there in Arkansas.

Wishing you a very Merry Christmas and the best of everything in the new year.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organization

FBR/rmf

# DARRAGH COMPANY

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

MANUFACTURERS
"Mill Fresh"
DARCO FEEDS

DISTRIBUTORS
"Time Proven"
BUILDING MATERIALS

December 17, 1954

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

We expect to have the minutes of our two meetings and a list of those who were in attendence ready by next week. I will make certain that you get a copy of these items as well as a copy of our constitution.

We had a meeting of the Executive Committee last Monday at Dunbar and Mr. Cartweight, our Treasurer, reported that we had almost $200.00 in the bank. Miss Mollie Heath Conn and Mrs. D. D. James have agreed to be co-chairmen of the Membership Committee but because of the Holidays they will not hold their first meeting until January. If all goes well we hope to have a Personnel Committee functioning in January and ready to accept applicants for the position of Executive Director.

We plan another meeting of the Executive Committee the second Monday in January and then we plan a full Board meeting early in February. At that time we would like to invite Dr. Parish to be with us. Would you please send me Dr. Parish's initials and address?

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Fred

FRED K. DARRAGH, JR.

FKD/ell

Memo from the Desk of . . .

**BROOKS HAYS,** Member of Congress
5th District, Arkansas

RECEIVED
12/30/54
Southern Regional Council

Dear Geo

For your information

& Merry Christmas

to the Mitchell

Tribe -

BH

# DARRAGH COMPANY

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

MANUFACTURERS
"Mill Fresh"
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December 21, 1954

The Honorable Brooks Hayes
214 Federal Building
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Hayes:

I was very pleased to get your note in regards to the Southern Regional Council. I know it is the sort of thing in which you usually show a great deal of interest and I feel sure we will be calling on you for assistance at a later date.

Although we have just had one organizational meeting we have managed to obtain a slate of officers and directors; also, we have two co-chairmen that are heading a membership committee and we have approximately $200.00 in the bank. I expect we will be in a position to hire an executive secretary early in 1955 and then we should be in a position to accomplish quite a bit more than is possible at the present.

Very truly yours,

Fred Darragh

FRED K. DARRAGH, JR.

FKD/ell

January 14, 1955

Mr. Fred Darragh
1401 E. Sixth Street
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Fred:

It's been quite some time since I had the pleasure of being out in Little Rock and I wish I could come out again soon, but our travel budget isn't too extensive so that's impossible at the moment.

How about dropping me a note and letting me know what's going on out there. I assume that your Executive Committee, or perhaps a continuing committee of the Executive Board, has been meeting from time to time since those organizational meetings which took place when I was there. Have you made a decision as to whom you are going to hire for the job of Executive Secretary? You mentioned that Mr. Walker was being considered for the job and we have heard good reports about him from people out that way.

Give my regards to Harry Ashmore and Ed Dunaway. Also to Mrs. Bates and Mr. Walker.

Warm regards,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organizations

FBR/rmf
cc:CHP

January 18, 1955

Mr. Fred Darragh
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1401 East Sixth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Darragh:

A reduced version of the speech-making at the Herald-Tribune Forum last Fall was reprinted at the request of the U. S. Information Agency for use abroad.

A few copies have been made available to the Southern Regional Council and I send one to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

January 20, 1955

Mr. Fred Darragh, Chman.
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1401 E. Sixth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Darragh:

I believe the time has come to spell out the understanding on the allotment of funds for state use between the central office and those states which do not yet have paid staff. You will recall that the original proposed budget was $15,000; of which $13,200 would be from the central office and $1,800 or more would be raised in the state. The fiscal year fan from October 1, 1954 through September 30, 1955.

Minor state organizational expenses (such as travel for the Board, stationery, secretarial help, etc., etc.) have been and will continue to be paid out of state alloted funds. The amount available for office furniture will remain the same but all other budgetary items (salaries, rent, travel, communications, etc., etc.) will be on a pro rata basis. Thus, if a state hired staff as of December 1, 1954 the prorated sum is ten-twelfths of each item; if staff is hired as of February 1, 1955 it will be eight-twelfths or two-thirds.

To be fair with the state organizations sums to be raised locally will be on a pro rata basis too, though the central office strongly urges each state to raise the originally specified amount or even more. We do not have an understanding with the Fund for the Republic on all of this but will interpret it to them in our next quarterly report.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/rnf
Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence
cc: CHP

January 27, 1955

Mr. Fred E. Darragh, Jr.
Darragh Company
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Fred:

Thank you for your letter of January 20th and I am pleased that you have a Personnel Committee organized. I will be on the lookout for the copy of the Constitution and the minutes of the two meetings.

I have been in communication with Dr. Parrish and he agrees that the 25th of February would be a good day to come to Little Rock. It will be possible for me to come, too, so you may proceed to organize the meeting for that date and be sure that both of us will be there.

Regards to my friends in Little Rock.

Warmly,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organization

FBR/raf
cc: CHP

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LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

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January 20, 1955

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Enclosed you will find a copy of the letter I wrote Dr. Parrish which explains fairly well what we have been doing during recent weeks.

The personnel committee is made up of five members with Reverend C. S. Cartwright as chairman. The only application he has received is one by Reverend Walker. We are sending out notice today to all Board members which lists the members of the personnel committee and we hope we shall have more applications soon and we will be able to process them.

Sometime ago I promised you a copy of the Constitution and minutes of the two meetings. We do have the minutes of the one meeting and I expect to have the Constitution and other minutes ready right away.

I do hope Dr. Parrish can come during February and that you will be able to be here also.

Sincerely,

Fred

FRED K. DARRAGH, JR.

FKD/ell

Encl.

January 20, 1955

Dr. C. H. Parrish
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Dr. Parrish:

Undoubtedly Fred Routh has told you of our attempts to get the Arkansas division of the Southern Regional Council under way. Since Fred Routh's visit with us when we held our organizational meeting we have had two executive committee meetings. We have selected a personnel committee which is now ready to accept applications for the position of Executive Director. Also we have two membership chairmen who will probably get their committee activated in early February. We hope to have a full Board meeting in February and the plans are to have this meeting a dinner meeting at the Dunbar Community Center. There will probably be forty to fifty people in attendance. Since you were not able to be with us at the organizational meeting we would very much like to have you here then and we also would like to have you talk to us at that time. We have two dates that have been cleared with the Dunbar Community Center management, one is Friday February 25 and the other is Friday February 11. The 25th date suits us better; however, if you could come on the 11th and not the 25th we would be willing to have our meeting on the 11th. If neither of these dates are suitable to you but you could come some other time please get in touch with me by telephone or letter and we will attempt to select a date that will suit you.

I am mailing a copy of the letter to Fred. Maybe you both can be here.

Sincerely yours,

FRED K. DARRAGH, JR.

FKD/ell

cc: Mr. Fred Routh

February 25, 1955

Emmett Murphy

Mr. Fred Darragh
1401 East Sixth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Darragh:

This man and I have some pleasant acquaintance, and he wrote and asked me what the Arkansas job was all about. His University of Chicago people had told him of it. I have answered thus carefully, I hope. Good and acceptable person, but emphatically I interfere in no wise with Arkansas' own decision.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

GTH

Please return to

1 Rem
answered

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March 2, 1955

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Thank you for your note recommending that we inspect the airport terminal at Mobile. I haven't been to Mobile in a number of years so I haven't seen their Municipal Airport.

The Board of Directors which we sent you a couple of weeks ago omitted three names. They are as follows:

Mr. Mike Willis
Route 6, Box 438
Little Rock, Arkansas

Mrs. E. D. Galloway
820 Prospect
Hot Springs, Arkansas

Mr. J. R. Booker
Century Building
Little Rock, Arkansas

A corrected spelling of Dr. Elliott name and address is as follows:

Dr. Johan Elliott
204 East "C" Street
North Little Rock, Arkansas

As you know we are anxious to add some Catholic people to our Board and I wish you would send me a few names of prominent Catholic lay people and clergy that are participating in other states with the Southern Regional Council.

You probably recall that the Arkansas group elected Mrs. Daisy Bates, 1804 Bishop Street, Little Rock, Arkansas, as the other ex-officio member of Southern Regional Council Board. You might consider this letter as official notification of that fact.

When you write Dr. Parrish give him our best and tell him we hope his next visit to Little Rock is a longer one.

Sincerely yours,

Fred

FRED K. DARRAGH, JR.

FKD/ell

March 23, 1955

Mr. Fred Darragh
1401 E. Sixth St.
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Fred:

Enclosed is the form drawn up at the request of our Executive Committee which we ask you and all state chairman to sign regarding the employees of each state organization. Would you please fill in the names of the two new people, put your John Hancock at the bottom and send it to George Mitchell.

I think the two people your personnel committee has chosen are both highly qualified people, and I had the pleasure of meeting Nat Griswold when I was down in Austin, Texas for a meeting with Tom Sutherland.

Would you please send both of them copies of the Arkansas constitution and by-laws.

My regards to my many friends in Arkansas.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organizations

FBR:rnf
enclosure

March 28, 1955

Mr. Fred K. Darragh, Jr.
1401 East Sixth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Darragh:

Many thanks for the form for Mr. Griswold and Mr. Mercer, duly received.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Loyalty Form to KS

# DARRAGH COMPANY

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March 25, 1955

MAR 28 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

You will find the form filled out which I am mailing to you at the request of Fred Routh. We expect Mr. Griswold and Mr. Mercer to start working for the Arkansas Council right after the fifteenth of April.

Very truly yours,

Fred Darragh

FRED K. DARRAGH, JR.

FKD/ell

Encl.

cc: Mr. Griswold
FBR
CHP

FILE COPY

April 6, 1955

Mr. Fred Darragh
1401 East Sixth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Darragh:

With the several states which are getting started with paid staff after October 1, 1954 (Arkansas among them), there is the problem of what amount this office should expect these particular states to raise on their own before September 30, 1955.

Our standard offer to the state groups made originally in Memorandum #1, was for assistance from this office at a rate of approximately $13,200 during the period of October 1, 1954 - September 30, 1955; each such assisted state being required to raise on its own a minimum of $1800 in that period. Obviously, as Arkansas will not have received twelve months assistance it will hardly be required to raise $1800 on its own.

It seems to us right to fix Arkansas' minimum on a pro rata basis month for month of aid. That works out at $150 per month for the period from April 15 - September 30, 1955, or a total of $825.

Under the terms of our grant from the Fund for the Republic, renewal of SRC aid to a state organization for the period October 1, 1955, to September 30, 1956 will be conditioned upon the raising by such state organization of the required amounts. So I am thus stating formally that it will be necessary for the Arkansas Council on Human Relations to raise $825 before September 30, 1955.

If you begin with paid staff later than April 15, the amount would be proportionately less, though we wish you to get going as soon as possible.

Dues and contributions are the ordinary sources of the amounts raised by the state groups. We consider that the $2.00 you will be sending in to SRC as subscriptions to New South for each of your members who pay dues to you will count as money that you raise.

I send an extra copy of this letter for you to send on to Mr. Griswold.

I would appreciate a confirming reply from you that it is clearly understood in the Arkansas Council on Human Relations that this must be raised before September 30, 1955.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

April 18, 1955

Mr. Fred Darragh
1401 East Sixth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Darragh:

By our records, no ex-officio member has as yet been elected from the Arkansas Council on Human Relations to SRC's Board. (Though of course you, as chairman, are already ex-officio a member of SRC's Board.)

You recall that under SRC's by-laws each state organization affiliated with the SRC is expected to choose two persons to serve as members of SRC. These "two persons from each affiliated state organization shall be the chairman of such affiliated organization and one additional member elected by the members of such organization," (Article II, Section 1A2).

The chairmen of state organizations are on the Board of SRC as long as they are chairmen, and "ex-officio members elected by their affiliated state organizations shall hold membership in the corporation for not more than two consecutive four-year terms, or portions thereof," (Article II, Section 1B).

If we are right, please confirm. If you have no one elected, please attend to the matter at the next available proper meeting of your group, and notify us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
cc: Mr. Nat Griswold

May 5, 1955

Mr. Fred K. Darragh, Jr.
Darragh Company
Little Rock Arkansas

Dear Mr. Darragh:

We did get off yesterday a check to your treasury for $1200. Katherine Stoney worked through the proposed budget approvingly.

Glad Ed Stone is available and helpful to you there.

I will be glad to try to straighten out quickly whatever you write me about later on. Griswold sounds like an efficient fellow. And I believe you and he will make the Arkansas Council a bang-up job. Arkansas has a chance and a duty to lead the whole South.

Had the pleasure of seeing Brooks Hayes a week or so ago in Washington, and we both spoke warmly of you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
cc: KS

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April 28, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

APR 30 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

On April 18 you wrote me asking whether we had elected an ex-officio member to represent us on the SRC Board. We elected Mrs. Daisy Bates at our board meeting in February. I mentioned this in a letter to Fred Routh when I was telling him of some other matters and he probably missed notifying you. // note

You have probably received a letter and a wire from Nat Griswold about sending us some money. As Nat no doubt told you in his letter we are getting under way and we obtained an office space late yesterday. We had an executive committee meeting Monday where we discussed your letter regarding financial aid during the next five and one-half months. I believe we understand your letter clearly; however, there are a few matters I would like to discuss with you in a longer letter and I will try to get that letter off to you sometime next week.

I thought you might like to know a good friend of yours by the name of Ed Stone is going to be one of our board members in Arkansas.

Sincerely,

Fred Darragh

FRED K. DARRAGH, JR.

FKD/ell

FILE COPY

June 15, 1955

Mr. Fred Darragh
1401 East Sixth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Darragh:

That which we had hoped for from the beginning is now possible -- an integrated, full-time staff in each of the twelve Southern states. As a consequence of the reallocation of certain funds (an additional $2,500 per state) we are now in position to assure you of assistance from SRC in the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1955, which would enable your state organization to cover the entire salary at $5,000 of an Associate Director for those twelve months.

In addition there is sufficient money to cover the salary of a full-time Associate Director by your state organization for the remaining months of the current fiscal year; thus you can assure prospective candidates of at least fifteen months employment.

It would be our requirement that the starting salary paid to the Associate Director be the same as was the starting salary of your Executive Director.

Your Executive Committee or Personnel Committee should seek qualified candidates for the position as quickly as possible. We do not mean to imply that speed is more important than quality. Before final commitments are made for employing an Associate Director the Central Office must give its approval according to our agreement with the state organizations.

Arkansas already has an able Associate Director on a half-time basis; we would approve of his being made full-time. In the event that this is not possible we will be glad to negotiate with you on any other arrangement which might be best.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
State Organizations

FBR/eab

cc: Mr. Nat Griswold
FBR
CHP

# Arkansas Council On Human Relations

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
211 IZARD ST.

*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*


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CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. *Associate Director*
IDA M. KNOX *Secretary*


MEMORANDUM

23 Aug 55

To: HCF

Subject: New South Subscription –

From: FBR –

Our state people say that it takes quite a time for New South to start to new subscribers from the time they join – the state group sends in the subscription – and the subscriber gets his first copy of "our maggie."

They suggest that we start subscriptions with the current – not the pending – issue of New South. We usually have sufficient copies on hand to do so, I understand – Can we comply?

All going well thus far –

as ever
Fred

27 September 1955

Mr. Fred Darragh
1401 East Sixth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Darragh:

On October 29, 1954, Dr. Mitchell wrote all state organization chairmen stating that the Southern Regional Council would require of each state organization a statement at the end of the fiscal year certifying that they had not engaged in political activity.

In compliance with the request, will you please fill in the enclosed memorandum, sign it, and mail it at your earliest convenience to Dr. Mitchell. These will be filed as part of the permanent record of the state organizations affiliated with the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/ys

FILE COPY

October 4, 1955

Mr. Fred Darragh
1401 East Sixth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Darragh:

The Fund for the Republic has approved a grant to the Southern Regional Council for the second fiscal year, October 1, 1955 - September 30, 1956. The total grant for this second period is $150,000, of which we regard $25,000 as available for the central office in Atlanta. We will carry through on the commitment in Memo #1 to provide for your state $10,500. In addition to that, as notified to you in Fred Routh's letter of June 15, 1955, we can cover an extra $2,500 (by carry-over from last year's money) to enable the employment of an associate director on a full-time basis. The two sums together are $13,000.

Of the $13,000, $5,000 is payable for the basic salary of an executive director; $5,000 for the basic salary of an associate director; and $2,500 for secretarial help. Which is to say that $12,500 is committed to salaries. Of the remaining $500, approximately half must cover social security, bonding, and required insurance. Thus we can supply to you toward local operating expenses in this fiscal year only $250.

That is a considerable leap at one time we know toward self-sufficiency, but it is all we can do. And the obvious answer is a strong and effective finance committee for each state.

In order for SRC to meet its commitment to the Fund for the Republic, it will be necessary for your organization to raise, from sources other than SRC, in this fiscal year, a minimum of $3,500. As heretofore, unless this amount is independently raised, it will not be possible for SRC to aid your organization in the third grant period.

It was said above that we have available for your organization a total of $5,000 toward the basic salary of an associate director. We are willing to consider state by state the use of some part-time consultants for fulfilling this function if that should seem desirable.

Arrangements for salary checks, monthly reports, and other details will continue in this fiscal year as in last.

Let me know if you have questions as to these figures.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

FBR
GSM/eab

cc: FBR
CHP
RA

October 24, 1955

Mr. Fred K. Darragh
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Darragh:

We have this day received notification from the Arkansas Council on Human Relations of a change in its Constitution, Article VI, Section I, changing the language to read "The Board shall consist of 15 to 45 members..." from "The Board shall consist of 15 to 30 members...", this action being taken at the annual meeting of the Arkansas Council at Little Rock on October 17, 1955.

Approval of this change is hereby granted by the Southern Regional Council as provided in Article IX of the Arkansas Council Constitution.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/ys

cc. Nat Griswold

Arkansas
Council On Human Relations

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
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**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD
*Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR.
*Associate Director*
IDA M. KNOX
*Secretary*

October 21, 1955

FBR

OCT 24 1955

MEMORANDUM

To: George S. Mitchell

Subject: Arkansas Council Constitution Change

From: Nat R. Griswold

o.p.

Attached is corrected copy of the Arkansas Council Constitution. Please note change in membership number for Board of Directors, page 2, Article VI.

November 8, 1955

Mr. Fred K. Darragh, Chairman
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1401 East Sixth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Darragh:

The Executive Committee of the Council at its last meeting on October 28-29, 1955 approved an arrangement whereby the Chairman of each affiliated State Organization would be asked to nominate a member from his particular state to serve on a Finance Committee for the Southern Regional Council. It was agreed also that each state council would receive one half of the funds raised in its particular state by this proposed SRC committee.

The Executive Director has asked that I write to you and solicit your co-operation in selecting such a person from your state to serve on this proposed committee. The SRC Finance Committee must be formally a committee of the Board of Directors of SRC. But it is agreed that by no means all of the members of the committee need be members of the Board. So you are at liberty to suggest anybody in your state who could be helpful and who likely would be. We have no concern as to the race of members of this committee, and hope that some states will name persons from one group and others from another group.

It is very important that we proceed speedily to get an SRC Finance Committee into action.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA:rh

December 6, 1955

Mr. Fred K. Darragh, Chairman
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1401 East Sixth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Darragh:

Just to remind you that we are still waiting for your Council to nominate a person to serve on the proposed SRC Finance Committee.

We are fully aware that this is not an easy job, however, we would appreciate your taking care of this matter at the earliest possible time. It is important that we get this Committee started as early as possible.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA:rh

c.c. Fred Houth

February 16, 1956

Mr. Fred K. Darragh, Chairman
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1401 East Sixth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Darragh:

An area meeting of the SRC Finance Committee has been set for 2:00 P.M. Friday, March 9, 1956, at Dillard University in New Orleans, Louisiana. The meeting will be held in the conference room of the president's office in the administration building.

As yet the Arkansas Council has not sent us the name of a person selected to serve on this committee. However, we are urging that you send some representative to this meeting. It is very important that the finance committee proceed with its organization and plans for raising funds for the Council and its affiliates.

The travel expenses of a representative from your council will be paid by the Southern Regional Council.

Please let us know as early as possible whether or not a representative from your council will attend this meeting.

Sincerely yours

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA:rh

c.c. Mr. Nat Griswold

August 6, 1956

Mr. Fred K. Darragh, Chairman
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1401 East Sixth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Darragh:

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, at its meeting July 20-21, approved a plan for tailor-made allocation of funds to state organizations for the third grant period. Central Office staff was authorized to modify, by not more than 25%, the allocation of funds proposed in Memo # 1. The Executive Committee's action was based on a desire to maintain presently employed professional staff.

The grant to the Arkansas Council for the third grant period (October 1, 1956 - September 30, 1957) totals $10,000; this entire amount is set aside for the salaries of the Executive Director and the Associate Director. Salary for clerical help for the coming fiscal year must be raised by your state organization along with other operating expenses.

This proposal is dependent upon your state organization raising the required minimum of $3,500 for this current fiscal year; you will recall that the required minimum for the next fiscal year (1956-57) is $6,500.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

cc: Mr. Nat Griswold

October 4, 1956

Mr. Fred Darragh
1401 E. Sixth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Fred:

You will recall in your telephone conversation of some time back, that I expressed the hope that we could place the Arkansas Council on Human Relations on provisional status because it has not met its minimum fund raising requirements, rather than cut offits funds as of October 1.

The Executive Committee of Southern Regional Council took such action at its recent meeting. The resolution passed reads:

We reaffirm the action taken at the Mammoth Cave meeting, August 16 to 18, 1955, in which the Executive Committee recognized its responsibility in requiring the states to meet their pro rata share within each fiscal year, and that in 1956, the staff be given power to use its discretion as to states which might have this extended one month: that will be October 31st.

This means that you have a period of 30 days of grace in which to raise the balance of the minimum requirement for the past year. It means that during this period, your staff will continue to receive salary checks from SRC; but note that the period of grace ends October 31. North Carolina raised $16,000 the last month of the past fiscal year.

We wish you luck in your attempt to do it during this month of October.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

cc: Nat Griswold

FBR/bsc

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| | | | Southern Regional Council<br>63 Auburn Avenue N.E. Atlanta, Ga. | |

*Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to*

**NIGHT LETTER**

October 11, 1956

Mr. Fred Darragh, Chairman
c/o Mr. Nat Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Isard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

FILE COPY

These are trying times in the South. The forces which oppose the progress of Democracy stride across the region in twenty league boots. They are fully aware that Arkansas is a key state. The Board of Directors of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations can be no less alert but must be more dedicated than those who would drag the state back into the past. To the members of the Board this calls for a reassessment of priorities. How much do we really believe in what the ACHR is trying to do? Are we willing to let a handful of wilful men destroy the gains already won and the promise of the future?

SRC regards the staff of the ACHR as among the finest in the South. This is demonstrated by the allocation of funds for the 1956-57 fiscal year. We do not believe that the state Board has less faith than we in the staff or program. The Board can best demonstrate its faith by meeting its responsibility of fund raising. Other states, some with lesser programs, have met their quota.

-Continued-

| DOMESTIC SERVICE | |
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| NIGHT LETTER | |

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# WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

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| | | | Southern Regional Council 63 Auburn Avenue N.E. Atlanta, Ga. | |

*Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to*

To: Mr. Fred Darragh, Chairman

October 11, 1956

Page 2

If we care, the job can and will be done. We will prove in Arkansas and in the South that a Democratic form of government is capable of granting first class citizenship to all its people or is unworthy of their support. With the current world crisis and the threat of communism we dare not fail.

FREDERICK B. ROUTH

ARKANSAS DIVISION
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Little Rock, Arkansas
October 23, 1950

Dear Co-Worker:-

Your recently elected officers of the Arkansas Division of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., have called a meeting of the organization for Friday, October 27th, at 2:30 P.M., in the Y.M.C.A. building a6 6th and Broadway, in Little Rock.

Mrs. M. E. Tilley of the home office in Atlanta, Ga. is to be with us. There are many things to be discussed in this meeting, among them will be a report on the Federal Housing Project and a report on the hospital situation in Little Rock, as it pertains to facilities for Negroes.

This is to be the first regularly called meeting of our state organization and we hope the attendance will indicate an interested and a ctive membership.

Please make every effort to be present and if possible bring some friend or acquaintance, who may be interested in our program, with you.

Sincerely yours

Arkansas Division, of the
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,

Chas. C. Walker

Chas. C. Walker, Secretary

W. W. Wilke

W. W. Wilke, President

Ark, Div.

TRUSTEE BOARD
Mr. N. R. Bradford, Chairman
Mrs. M. W. Bradford, Secretary
Mr. Bernard Little
Mrs. H. Anthony
Mr. W. C. Gilkey
Mrs. Leona Dorton
Miss. Fannie Lee
Mrs. H. A. Powell
Mrs. V. Arnold

"The Church That Cares"

First Congregational Church

CHARLES C. WALKER Minister

9th at State Streets Phone 2-2445

Parsonage: 1216 Chester Street Phone 2-6846

Little Rock, Arkansas

October 21, 1950

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

The president of our recently organized Arkansas chapter, the Reverend W. W. Wilke, has suggested that I write you a short note in order that you may know that we are anticipating your visit with us with some amount of expectancy and enthusiasm.

This will be our first meeting. Much business will probably be discussed. However, we do feel that we dreadfully need guidance and warmth of spirit for motivation for tasks ahead. Therefore, we shall lean heavily upon your words of experience.

The enclosure is to be mailed to all members and friends. And if our dreams for this meeting come through, we feel that there will be an appreciative audience and much will be accomplished.

Thanking you for your thoughtfulness and anxiously awaiting your visit with us on Friday, October 27, I am

Sincerely yours,

Charles C. Walker

Charles C. Walker

c
c
w
enclosure-1

December ten, 1953

Mrs O G Dawson
Post Office Box 912
Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Dear Mrs Dawson:

Mighty kind of you to write and to have kept on trying to get something going in Little Rock and in Pine Bluff. I have been after Ocie Lee Smith and Harry Ashmore to revive the Arkansas Division.

Mrs M E Tilly has written out or is going to write out to her Methodist ladies in Arkansas to find out what week in January or February she can suitably come and meet with them. When dates are agreed she expects to go and on that occasion it would be wise to try to draw together the friends of the interracial cause in and around Little Rock and see if we can get going again. We miss young Scott Hamilton don't we?

Warmest regards to you and to many friends of yours and mine.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

Post Office Box 912
Pine Bluff, Arkansas
November 25, 1953

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

It was a pleasure to have you visit Pine Bluff, our college and club meeting early this year and we hope that you and Mrs. M. E. Tilly will find it convenient to visit us soon.

We have tried to organize a Southern Regional Chapter in Pine Bluff during the past two years but have not been successful. Considering approaching events, we believe that Mrs. Tilly could help us arouse interest among the women which will enable us to organize an interracial chapter which is really needed .

There is a Pine Bluff Council of Church Women which is not interracial. The president is Mrs. R. N. Burks, 208 Harding Avenue, Pine Bluff, Arkansas. Through the kindness of Jewish people and Rabbi Sandman, the World Day Prayer Services were conducted in Temple Anshe Emeth, both services and attendance were interracial.

The Community Council is interracial, but concerns itself with Community Chest activities such as raising money in different drives. The president of the Community Council is Rabbi Henry Sandman, 2002 Linden Street, Pine Bluff, Arkansas.

The State Chairman of the Arkansas Division of the Southern Regional Council, Reverend Lewis H. Deer has been promoted to the Race Relations Department of the Disciples of Christ in Indianapolis, Indiana.

Yesterday, I talked with Mr. Henry S. Ashmore, Editor of the Arkansas Gazette and Mr. Ocie Lee Smith, Vice-Chairman of the Arkansas Chapter. All agreed that something needs to be done to encourage more interracial cooperation to promote harmony and good-will between the races. There is the impression that you will visit Arkansas soon. Mr Smith expressed interest in organizing Pine Bluff and we believe that both of you can help us.

Please give my regards to Dr. Harry V. Richardson.

With best wishes

Very sincerely yours,
Ethel G. Dawson
Mrs. O. G. Dawson

See file to
Thelma Stevens
3/15/54
eb

March 15, 1954

Mrs. J. Russell Henderson
110 North Cedar Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Henderson:

To save time here I have taken the liberty of sending you a copy of this letter in extenso to Mrs. Tillman in Tennessee.

Much the same plan for Arkansas? Couldn't you and Mrs. Cotton contrive to take each an appropriate part of the State? You don't have to try to block in the whole Commonwealth; ten or a dozen counties for each would do a whole lot of good, and we could try to fill the gaps later.

You would be in charge of talking with Mrs. Cotton, and arranging what may be workable.

I count on you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

cc: Miss Thelma Stevens

April 20, 1954

Mrs. W. F. Bates
125 Atkins Street
North Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Bates:

I greatly appreciate your helpful letter of April 12. You will by now have had Memorandum #1 with more details. It is a serious challenge to you and your friends in Arkansas, but I know you can and will bring into being a stable and effective program.

I have heard from Mr. Walker and from my friend Ocie Lee Smith and from Harry Ashmore. And with you and these others planning it, I feel sure that something good will come out.

Stability, reasonableness, effectiveness, local autonomy -- these are the watchwords.

Katherine Stoney and we appreciate your dues.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

RECEIVED
APR 13 1954
Southern Regional Council

125 Atkins St.
N.Little Rock, Arkansas
April 12,1954.

Mr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your kind letter, of several weeks ago, regarding my election to the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council. I have appreciated the honor so very much, although I have been an extremely busy person and have been slow in saying so.

Our state branch has been rather in-active since Rev.Deer moved away. However on receiving your important communication last Saturday, regarding the new developments in the Council, I took the liberty of contacting several of our members regarding a meeting of our state group. Mr. Ashmore and a few others helped set the date of April 23rd, here in Little Rock, as the time for a meeting. There I will present the news regarding the Ford Foundation grant, and I am sure the group will make plans for election of new officers, and take care of any other business that seems necessary.

Please let me extend my hearty congratulations over the large Grant which the Council has received. I am sure that is largely due to your untiring efforts. This should mean that the Southern Regional Council will be able to make an even larger contribution to the welfare of all the citizens in the area that it serves. I will appreciate a communication from you that will possibly give us some guidance in this re-organization meeting on the 23rd. Thank you very much.

Sincerely

Mrs. W. F. Bates
Mrs. W.F.Bates

P.S.Enclosed are $3.00 for my dues.

KS.
noted

April 20, 1954

Mr. Charles C. Walker
1216 Chester Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Walker:

How very kind of you to write. A friend in Alabama wrote in that we would not be busier, but we would get more done!

It will need your strength and that of your friends to get going in Arkansas a long lasting and self-supporting human relations program. This is the chance! I greatly hope that you will all take it up, and with sound planning set on foot the best that Arkansas can do.

Do write me what happens at the meeting this Friday.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

First Congregational Church
Charles C. Walker, Minister
Church Office: 9th at State Sts. Phone 2-2610
Parsonage: 1216 Chester Street Phone FRanklin 5-4512
Little Rock, Arkansas

RECEIVED
APR 14 1954
Southern Regional Council

April 12, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This is just a short note written to congratulate you for the recent gift ~~of~~ from the Ford Foundation of $240,000.00 to the Southern Regional Council.

I know that you alone deserve much of the credit for such news because of your indefatigable spirit and constant alertness.

Inasmuch as I am one of the members who join with you in working for the best relationships among all peoples, I certainly want to pledge myself to do whatsoever I can in this great work.

May God bless you and may you live long!

Sincerely yours,
Charles C. Walker
Charles C. Walker

P. S. We here in Little Rock are scheduling a meeting for Friday, April 23rd. Perhaps after that date we shall have something definite to mention.

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LUGGAGE
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CRYSTAL
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June 16,1954

RECEIVED
JUN 18 1954
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell,
63 Auburn Ave.,NW
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

The enclosed editorial may be of interest. My wife and I leave on June 25th for Europe. We are celebrating our 25th wedding anniversary. Do you know of any groups or persons in either of the following countries that are engaged in activities similar to the SRC. I expect to spend a week each in London, Amsterdam, Brussells, Luxemburg, Switerland and Paris. I would like to meet and talk with such people.

I leave from Rock Hill on the 22nd. With best wishes

Cordially,

Bob

A.R. Suritz

RECEIVED
JUN 1 1954
Southern Regional Council

GSM saw Suritz in Little Rock half hour before he (Suritz) left for abroad. No opportunity to offer names.

August, 1954

C. H. Parrish brought back word that M. Lafayette Harris, President of Philander Smith, should be brought into the Arkansas movement. Parrish regarded him as a man of unusual ability

GSM

September 14, 1954

The Honorable Richard Irwin
Attorney General of Florida
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Dick:

You will recall that this past May I was a candidate for U. S. Congress from the Miami area, and lost to our good friend, Dante Fascell. At the present time I am working for the Southern Regional Council as Assistant Director for Program Development.

We are interested in what the various states are doing in filing briefs before the Supreme Court of the U. S. regarding the recent decision of desegregating the public schools. We believe that Florida has taken an important step in agreeing to file such a brief and are interested in the results of the survey that was recently done in the Sunshine State. My good friend, Dan Larson, head of the Government Department at the University of Miami, assisted you in making this survey.

I would very much appreciate it if you could send us a copy of the survey so that we may note what Florida is doing in a future issue of our publication, New South.

My best personal regards,

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director for
Program Development

FR/eab

November 2, 1954

Dictated October 29

Mr. W. W. Holland
Cotton Plant,
Arkansas

Dear Mr. Holland:

Again, all I can say is that if we could sit down together I am sure we would find ourselves in agreement on almost every point. I am so sorry that there is all this distance between us. If you get any opportunity to come over to Atlanta, do come to see us here in the Council.

Emphatically, I do not push aside all the burden of chicanery and cruelty in the past and in the present. I try my best to be sensitive to it at all times.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

RECEIVED
10/28/54
Southern Regional Council

Cotton Plant, Ark.
October 27, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta Ga.

Dear Brother Mitchell

I thank you so much for your reply under date of October 8th. As I think of your every word, encluding the copy of your address I am concluding that "Life is worth living." Amidst all of our perversities, behind the clouds the Sun is certainly shining. May we have faith to hope and work. My delay in acknowledging your reply has been due to my waiting to get ideas and expressions from some others.

I am willing to admit that in a great measure I am almost alone in my contention that we will NEVER get to the glorious heights of Divine eminnence untill we shall have become transformed and renewed in spirit. That cannot take place until we recognize the wrongs we have committed and the terrible havoc of life that has been played. Your very striking statement: "Let's start from here." If we have traveled in the utterly wrong direction for 300 years, may I ask, in starting from here, how shall we strike a right road untill we make an honest study of the way we have come?

Your statement: " The strain of the Supreme Court's decision can be answered by an honest democratic process of integration."

The word 'process' there indicates a requirement of time, not an act of transition. The Courts decision calls for an integration of 'children' (not old people) How in the world will we be able to integrate children into a peaceful fellowship while they are under parents who stand out in open opposition to and defiance of such a glorious affiliation? I want to impress the absolute necessity of these parents accepting a salvation that requires the transforming process of being REGENERATED AND BORN ANEW.

"Whites and Negroes, in small groups, in Southern communities, should work together and agree on a method of implementing the Court's decision in that community." So you suggest. Up to this time I have not heard of a single case of such an inter-racial council. I have used every diplomacy to council with some of my white frinds and outstanding ministers. They are altogether too evasive. They absolutely do not want to face the issue.

May I refer you to the great evangelistic campaigne conducted by Dr. Billy Graham, during which thousands accepted "The Hour Of Decision". My heart bled as I considered the apparent fact that your white people were NOT DECIDING to bring the Negro into the circle of justice in legal actions, in religeous culture and moral uplift. If those decisions had been of a GODLY foundation

your state of Georgia would not be declairing against desegregation, and using every effort to build up a wall of obstruction against it.. The cause of this movement is that your white people have not honestly studied the fact that our national evil situations today, encluding this awful juvenile delinquency, the the rape of your women and little children, the forced hospitalization of the thousands of mentally ill, the blood-curdling slaying of whole families--these and others-- much of the causes are from the grave miss use of the liberties of "White Supremicy".

It is not my purpose to be harsh, My purpose is to present my candid vision of the psychological effects of EVIL. I have every confidence that if some independant, courageous leader of your ~~ke~~ people would go on the cross in this direction, there would come about a revival in the hearts of your people, and there would be a definite reaction on the part of my people.

Communism would never have been born had the white man not taken too unrighteous an advantage of his privelege and power.

Well, why all this babble about integration? Desegregation?

I do pay tribute to the great efforts, and accomplishment of your Southern Regional Council. I read the striking story of your Mrs. M.E.Tilly, in some of our magazines a few years ago. In the last few months I saw a report of your organizational proceedure, with officers in each of our Southern states. It is very encouraging to observe your fine liberal movement. We give high honor to Mrs. Tilly for the quite dangerous sacrificial efforts she made that my people should get justice in our country.

Why all this babble about integration? As our CHRISTIAN white people travel , if they had taken note of the rediculous want of reasonable preparation for the comfort and accomodations at our buss stations, all over the South; the want of provision for dining service, rest room accomodation, cleanliness and reasonable space of our waiting rooms, (at many places, NO waiting room nor ~~p~~ place to get food, while you have spacious, comfortable provision.

Is it reasonable, in this stage of our economical and educational status, to feel that we can possible be content to scrouge back to the rear of a buss, behind white people who we see do not come up to so many of our own people?

Our school boards have not bothered themselves to see to it that we are provided with competent teachers that are capable and interested in personal development of our youth. We have a definite knowledge of the fact that our teachers, as a whole actually have not had the opportunity to prepare themselves for the momentous task of lifting youth to the true dignity of life, and the christian standards of life required in the advance of this age .

Your people are suffering a tremendous loss of spiritual life, and the lofty road to "The Celestial Hills", because of their indifference of the Negro's moral growth. The method by which they have contributed to the evolvement of a "COLORED" race of America has not redowned to their honor. May God keep and bless you.

N. W. Holland

October 8, 1954

Mr. N. W. Holland
Cotton Plant
Arkansas

Dear Mr. Holland:

I am impressed by the point of your letter. Anyone who knows the South knows that it has often and long, though not everywhere to anything like the same degree, been the Negro's lot to experience the degrading oppressions to which you refer.

As a matter of procedure for getting things around to the kind of South we would all like to see, it seems to me not wise to make much allusion to the events or the circumstances of that old burden of unfairness. Historians have the task of making that evaluation and, surely, religion teaches us that God makes that evaluation.

Meanwhile, it behooves us all to push ahead from where we are. And one of the things that most enables progress is the great mercy that the Negro people harbor out of their experience so small a measure of embitterment.

I send you, as showing my own views, a talk I made a few days ago to a Negro group and for the radio here in Atlanta.

I am sure that if you and I could sit down together, we would have some fruitful conversations.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

RECEIVED
10/7/54
Southern Regional Council

Cotton Plant, Ark
October 6, 1954

The Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Council:

I am just writing to say: I do not see why that under the strain of this heated and dangerous desegregation controversy the whole South should not have presented to it a vivid reproduction of the horrible (some nameless) crimes which it has committed upon the bodies and against the very souls of the Negro people.

I think the white youth and children should hear, afresh, this story of the Black peoples subjugation. Now that they are facing this new effort on the part of this nation to rectify its neglect of the Colored people, these children should have a definite knowledge of what has actually transpired in these past three hundred years.

How that the 'christian ' church has sanctioned and condoned and even given its actual cooperation in the execution of this criminal record.

I am making this suggestion with all due respect to our living population of this day: It is rather an unpleasant intimation that many of us are the actual decendants of criminal parents. That's an awful assumption. But when we think of the great wave of crimes of our youth; the criminal assaults upon the women and even children; the serious wave of insanity producing shocking figures; these justify some very serious consideration. There is a cause back of all this. And that cause should not be continually covered up to save our souls from spiritual shock.

I do hope I may have your simple statement of your feeling about this suggestion. I am a Colored farmer; a retired rural teacher and minister.

Sincerely yours,
N. W. Holland
N.W.Holland

November 19, 1954

Mrs. W.F. Bates
125 Atkins Street
North Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Mrs. Bates:

It was good to have you with us at the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council last week. We were so interested to hear about the steps which are being taken to reorganize an Arkansas division of the Southern Regional Council.

We in the Council's central office stand ready to offer all assistance possible to you, and to others who are providing the leadership in its efforts. This letter comes to ask that you let us know the dates of organization meetings so that Mr. Routh and Mr. Parrish, our Directors for State Organizations, can include Arkansas in their schedules. We will also appreciate having the names, addresses and telephone numbers of the other people who are participating in making these plans for Arkansas.

With sincere good wishes,

Yours cordially,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant Director
for
Program

GTH/rn
cc:CHP

December 7, 1954

Mr. Harry Ashmore, Editor
The Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Harry:

It surely was a pleasure to be out in Arkansas and meet with all you folks. I particularly appreciated getting to know you and Fred Darragh on a personal basis. The meetings at the Little Rock Club and the Press Club, plus the pleasant evening at your home, were among the highlights of this trip. I told Harold Fleming the story you requested me to regarding the Captain from Mississippi who is in charge of the Negro troops. This brought a loud guffaw.

Have you given any further consideration to accepting the vice-presidency of SRC? I recognize the legitimacy of your situation but we could use a person with your insight and foresight as a vice-president of this organization.

I look forward to seeing you either on my next trip to Arkansas, your next trip to Atlanta, or wherever we happen to be on a co-existence basis.

Cordially yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organization

FBR/rnf
cc: CHP
FBR
GTH

December 13, 1954

Mr. Harry S. Ashmore
The Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Harry:

Although I was delighted by the Board's action electing you Vice-President, I decided not to add my personal pressure to all the rest in urging you to accept. I think you know how much I would have liked the arrangement.

My regret that you didn't accept is greatly tempered by my pleasure at the news of your election to the board of the Fund for the Republic. The only people who have any right to be gladder than we are are the management of the Drake Hotel, who must forsee unlimited future revenues. In short, regrets, cheers, and much respect for your sound reasoning.

I was glad to get the good news of forward movement in Arkansas from Fred. It sounds as though the movement is in the hands of the non-midgets, including yourself, who can do something really effective with it. And as I predicted, Fred returned with glowing accounts of the good fellowship to be had in Little Rock, at the hands of you and your friends.

I hope we can get together soon in Atlanta, New York or someplace for a prime bull session. Among other things, I'd like to bring you up to date on the latest convolutions of the Pierce-Swanson-Maclachlan non-collaboration.

Regards,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rnf

December 13, 1954

Reverend Charles C. Walker
First Congregational Church
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Reverend Walker:

Most kind of you to write.

I am just back in and haven't heard all the things you've got going in Arkansas, but I am most anxious to learn the whole story.

It will take years of hard pushing to do the things we want to do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Ans

# First Congregational Church

Charles C. Walker, Minister
Church Office: 9th at State Sts. Phone 2-2610
Parsonage: 1216 Chester Street Phone FRanklin 5-4512
Little Rock, Arkansas

RECEIVED 12-6-54 Southern Regional Council

December 3, 1954

Dr. George S. Michell, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I just want to say "Thanks" for sending such a splendid representative as Mr. Fred Routh to assist us in reorganizing this local chapter, the Arkansas Council of Humna Relations.

It was a challenge and an inspiration to be associated with him while he visited our community.

With God's help and your continued interest, maybe the good people of Arkansas may still lead out in cementing better human relations during these days of deep intense frustration and tension.

Thanks again, I am

Yours very truly,
Charles C. Walker
Charles C. Walker

CCW/

January 31, 1955

Mr. Colbert S. Cartwright
Pulaski Heights Christian Church
Hillcrest and Spruce
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Cartwright:

In George Mitchell's absence I am taking the liberty of answering your letter of January 27th. I am glad to find that you have been appointed chairman of the Personnel Committee and that the Committee has received several applications for the job of Executive Secretary. It is my personal belief that the person you choose as Executive Secretary should come from Arkansas and should know the state rather well. After all, the work is to be done with the people of Arkansas and they would relate more quickly to a local person. I believe, too, that it would not only be possible but desirable for Arkansas to have a Negro as Executive Secretary. We do not believe there should be any requirements on race but that the person best qualified should get the job. We are always pleased, however, to find qualified Negro people being employed in responsible positions. If you would care to write to another group and ask for available people, you might write to NAIRO (National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials). Mr. John Field, Secretary, NAIRO, 565 North Erie Street, Toledo 2, Ohio. In writing them I would explain the nature of the work that you expect the Executive Secretary to do and the qualifications and competencies you desire in an Executive Secretary.

I remember with pleasure my visit to Little Rock and remember the contribution you made to the meeting that night. I look forward to seeing you and the other folks out there on Friday, February 25th, when there is to be a meeting of your Executive Board. I have written Fred Darragh and told him that both Dr. C.H. Parrish and I will be out for this meeting.

Good luck in the significant job you are doing as chairman of the Personnel Committee.

Sincerely,

FBR/ruf
cc: CHP
FD
GTH
FBR

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

PULASKI HEIGHTS CHRISTIAN CHURCH
HILLCREST AND SPRUCE : TELEPHONE 3-8149
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

January 27, 1955

JAN 31 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have been appointed chairman of the personnel committee of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. We plan to have our first committee meeting next week.

We have notified our membership of the appointment of the committee and asked for recommendations. Several applications have been received. However we are anxious to let it be known in a wider circle that we are seeking an executive director.

Do you have any suggestions for our committee as to how we should proceed? Can you suggest how we can get the knowledge abroad that we are seeking someone? Do you have any concrete suggestions of persons we should consider?

Sincerely,

Colbert S. Cartwright

Colbert S. Cartwright

ank

February 25, 1955

Mr. Emmett Jefferson Murphy
Institute of African-American Relations, Inc.
732 Twenty-Third Street, N. W.
Washington 7, D. C.

Dear E. Jefferson:

True that the Arkansas Council on Human Relations is looking for an Executive Director. We will be supplying the greater part of the funds for that Council as well as for eleven others in Southern states. The budget which we have suggested to state groups contains $5,000 for the salary of the Executive Director, and $2500 toward the equal salary of an Associate. Plus sums barely enough to pay for a clerk and some rent and a desk and a telephone and some travel. Each state outfit has to raise some money, beginning with a little and going up, in the third year, to around $6,000.

Each outfit has set up its own Personnel Committee, and is doing its own engaging. We have a veto power over people the states propose to pick, but we have been careful not to tell them who they ought to take.

So, all I can say is that it is up to them to do what they want, and they can be expected to do a careful job of choosing. So far as I am concerned I would like to work with you, but the whole business is up to the Arkansas group.

Presumably, each one of these state shows will have subsidy aid for three years, and thereafter will be on its own.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Mr. Fred Darragh
FBR
CHP

Copy of incoming enclosed.

C
O
P
Y

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS, INC.

732 - 23rd Street, N. W. DIstrict 7-5971 Washington 7, D. C.

February 20, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

One of my professors at the University of Chicago just sent me a notice that the Arkansas Council on Human Relations is seeking a man for Executive Director. I have just written a letter to Rev. Cartwright to tell him I would like to be considered for the job. I don't know that you will be doing any of the selecting, but I am sure thatyour opinion would be listened to.

I am very interested in the job for a multitude of reasons. One big reason is that I want to get back to the South to see if my talents would be of any help. I can never quite rid myself of a slight feeling of guilt over not using my education, training, and ability where I come from. Another reason is that, although I expect to continue my contact with African affairs, I would like to do it from a footing in the South. In my present job, which I find very satisfying, I am almost completely out of touch with the South, its affairs, and its problems, and I feel left out of history. Another reason is that I think the job would be more materially satisfactory: salary, cost of living, style of living, sociability with the people, etc. And another reason is that I think I could do a good job satisfying both to myself and to the people for whom I would be working. I am pleased with the job I am doing for the Institute, but I think I could do an even better job for the Council.

If you have any contact with this business, I would appreciate it very deeply if you would think about my application and recommend me if you agree with me that I would do a good job. I don't know all the details of what would be involved in the work, but from the brief description I have I am very anxious to consider it further and to be considered for it. I listed you and Guy Johnson as references, so you might be contacted soon in any case, if no one has yet been found.

I enjoyed very much seeing you here, although I wish you could have stayed with us longer.

Very sincerely,

/s/Murphy

Emmett Jefferson Murphy

Air Mail Special Delivery

March 10, 1955

The Rev. Mr. C.S. Cartwright
Pulaski Heights Christian Church
Hillcrest and Spruce
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Cartwright:

We received with interest your letter concerning the employment of Nat Griswold and Christopher Mercer by the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

I have talked this over with George Mitchel and C.H. Parrish and we all have complete confidence in the judgment of your committee and fully approve of your selection of staff.

The contract with Mr. Mercer should specify that he is to work half-time at a salary of $5000 per year and will receive one half that amount for his halftime work. In the event that he does not accept the position, I note you recommend Mr. Walker. Both Dr. Parrish and I were very favorably impressed with Mrs. Hakewood, too.

It was a very gratifying experience for both Dr. Parrish and me to sit in on your committee while it was actually screening candidates and we were much impressed with the professional job you were doing.

Cordially yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organization

FBR?rnf
cc:CMD

8 March 55

GSM —

I called Carrick on this and both he and I have confidence in the judgment of the Arkansas personnel committee, but knew you'd want to see this and participate in our decision. Grace has also read it.

Fred

High Priority

PULASKI HEIGHTS CHRISTIAN CHURCH
HILLCREST AND SPRUCE : TELEPHONE 3-8149
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

March 7, 1955

Dr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Routh:

Our Personnel Committee met last Saturday afternoon. Nat Griswold came up from Austin, Texas and met with us.

The result of the interview was that the committee unanimously agreed to recommend Nat Griswold for the position of executive director. At the same time we decided to recommend Christopher Mercer, Jr. as the half-time consultant. We are under the impression that we are authorized to employ such a half-time person at a salary of $2,500. Correct us immediately if we are wrong.

We found Mr. Griswold a fully dedicated person, a vital person, one who is keenly alert to the problems and opportunities in the area of race relations. His experience with the Friends will be extremely valuable in this work. He is a native of Arkansas and knows the state well, and many people. He strikes us as having good organizational ability.

Christopher Mercer, jr. has not indicated as yet to us that he will accept the half-time job. However we believe he can make a genuine contribution. He makes a splendid appearance, a perfect example of the young educated Negro of today. He is committed to work in race relations and has an excellent spirit of firmness of stand combined with love and understanding.

We have found that the references of both of these men appear to be accurate appraisals.

The committee will recommend Charles C. Walker for the half-time position if Mercer should turn us down. I believe you have already given approval to Walker, and we are anxious to get your approval of these other two as soon as possible. We are planning to make our recommendation to the executive committee around March 14.

PULASKI HEIGHTS CHRISTIAN CHURCH
HILLCREST AND SPRUCE : TELEPHONE 3-8149
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS



Griswold's work is of the type which demands that he pretty carefully schedule his time for several months in advance. Particularly has he set up institutes in June. However he has discussed his leaving with one superior there and it was that person's thought that if they could find someone right way to take Griswold's place the new person could pick up things and conduct the institutes. Griswold is aware of the importance of beginning as soon as possible and I am sure will make every effort to get on the job here. He is hoping to get here by April 15.

I am enclosing materials about Griswold and Mercer and hope that they will be sufficient to obtain from the Council a positive answer very quickly.

in "Degree" File

Sincerely,

Colbert S. Cartwright

Colbert S. Cartwright

*Memo* . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . FRED B. ROUTH . . . .

22 March 55

Rae —

Please take care of this

for me —

Danka —

Fred

Letter to
Christopher
Merset
Darragh
} 3/23/55
rf

FBR

*Memo* . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

March 21, 1955

Dr. Mitchell:

Now that Arkansas has hired two people -- should they be sent:

✓1. complete sets of Memos 1-11?

✓2. loyalty statement? to Fred Darrough

✓3. meeting at Camp New Hope?

✓4. ltr re joining NAIRO?

★5. copy of suggested by-laws for state organizations?

suggest they get Ark copy from Fred Darrough -

GSM copy FBR

should attend to.

*Memo* . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . KATHERINE STONEY . . .

March 18, 1955

TO: GSM ✓
FBR ✓
GTH

Mr. Fred Darraugh called the office on March 16 to say that the Arkansas Council had employed as Exec. Secty Mr. Nat Griswold at a salary of $5,000. for full time and as Assoc. Exec. Dir. (or Secty.) Mr. Christopher C. Mercer, Jr. to work part-time at a salary of $2,500.

Both are to begin on April 15th.

Noted - GSM

PULASKI HEIGHTS CHRISTIAN CHURCH
HILLCREST AND SPRUCE : TELEPHONE 3-8149
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

March 17, 1955

Mr. Fred B. Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

The executive committee met today and unanimously approved the selections of the personnel committee. That is, Nat Griswold, 2106 Nueces Street, Austin 5, Texas; and Christopher C. Mercer, Jr., P. O. Box 426, Pine Bluff, Arkansas. Both of these men have indicated their willingness to serve.

The executive committee raised the question of contracts, and would like to obtain from you any information which you have along this line. Do you have a suggested contract, or certain agreements you would recommend?

Mr. Griswold indicates that it is likely he will be able to get away by April 15, so it looks as if we may be in business soon.

Any orientation materials you can send to both of these men ahead of this time would be helpful.

Sincerely,

Bert

Colbert S. Cartwright

P.S. Thanks for the promptness of your action in approving our selections.

Cotton Plant, Ark.
June 2, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

JUN 6 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Christian Church of America will fail God in this crucial period of legal and political and racial controversy if it fails to SPEAK OUT for the divine principal of just plain, simple human justice.

By this expression I do not mean that the church should demand immediate and forced integration. I think in a former letter to you, I made that quite plain as to my personal attitude. But for this section of southern idealology that speaks out for definite eternal segregation, that is just too bound to bring on a continued conflagration of feelings.

I am very sorry that the church failed God in the very introduction of slavery. Following that, it failed God when in the 1840 s it failed God in its withdrawal from the national church and instituted the SOUTHERN church. And while the white people of the South are making a definite effort to come to the development of the Negro, in a very pronounced way, the Church, as such, is still all TOO silent.

I am very sorry that the Negro leadership of our nation feel the necessity of meeting in your city to fathom out methods of overcoming the vociferous defiance against the very, even modulent request of the Supreme Court of our nation. That is a serious affrontary to our national unity and solidarity.

I fear for the sincerity of the christian minister who sings the songs of Zion, offers to lift his voice to God and stands behind the sacred rostrum to preach the Word of God, while leaving the Negro on the outside of his worship, loving the Negro "In his place"--down beneath and outside the fold of his (the white man's) soul's longing, is simply FAILING GOD.

Thanking you for your former very kind and interesting expression of your efforts to "Bring Christ to The Nation, I beg to remain,

Very truly yours,
N. W. Holland
N. W. Holland

P.S. This is just a simple voting statement that you you need not answer. Thanks.

June 7, 1955

PERSONAL

Mr. Harry Ashmore
The Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Harry:

At a meeting we had at Chapel Hill the other day, Griswold and Mercer came over. We were all pleased with them. A businesslike pair who will do a good job.

I put in my cordial thanks to you for steering our little rowboat.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

cc: HCF

# The Arkansas Council on Human Relations

## An Introduction

Incorporated
July, 1955

**HUMAN**
**BI-RACIAL**
**EDUCATIONAL**
**NON-POLITICAL**
**NON-DENOMINATIONAL**

An Organization . . .
Of All-Arkansans
For All Arkansans

211 South Izard
FRanklin 4-4521

Little Rock
Arkansas

# THE ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

## ▶ *Its Constitution*

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations came into being in December, 1954, by the organization of the Arkansas members and friends of the Southern Regional Council of which it is an affiliate. The Southern Regional Council is the successor to the southwide Commission on Interracial Cooperation founded in 1919 by beloved "Dr. Will" Alexander and, as such, continues as an organization of Southerners, themselves interested in solving the problems of the South.

ACHR has its own Board of Directors and Executive Committee which determines program and policy for Arkansas. Its paid staff consists of an Executive Director, an Associate Director, and an Office Secretary. All are native Arkansans.

## ▶ *Its Goal*

It is an organization of Arkansans of all races and creeds that seeks "to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunities for all peoples" in Arkansas. Through democratic processes at the local level it seeks to make continued progress in race relations sure and smooth. Its efforts are directed toward an Arkansas "where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where a common citizenship will work in democratic understanding for the common good; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where all can feel confident of personal safety and equality before the law; where there will exist no double standard in housing, health, education, or other public services; where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed."

## ▶ *Its Focus*

It supports all efforts toward abundant life for all people—economic, domestic, recreational, religious life. However, the decisions of the Supreme Court, May 17, 1954, and May 31, 1955, requiring the desegregation of public schools, have created a situation in local school districts which serves to focus the present major activities of the Council. It undertakes to aid local communities of Arkansas to actualize the spirit and letter of those decisions. It is committed to the view that the people of each community with integrity can achieve this without enduring bitterness.

## ▶ *Its Base*

The Council approaches its work from certain baseline axioms with reference to the Supreme Court's decisions.

1. These decisions are both legally just and morally right: "Segregation of children in public schools on the basis of race even though the facilities may be equal," is unconstitutional; "state and local laws requiring or permitting such discrimination must yield to this principle" of the constitution; and local school districts must "make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance with the May 17, 1954, ruling" requiring desegregation.
2. The social and psychic adjustments which groups and individuals must make in obeying these decisions call for the energetic cooperation of all good citizens and institutions to the end that these adjustments may be made with the minimum of pain and rancor.

## ▶ *Its Way*

Each school district's decisions are its own and in some particulars are peculiar to it. Consequently those decisions can only be made wisely by the community itself. The Council has no ready-made solutions. It suggests methods of procedure, basically democratic methods, for arriving at solutions. It brings resources—findings of research, experiences of other communities, survey instruments, consultants.

Basically, it recommends deeds rather than words. Experiences now available all point to this fact: human behavior in actual interracial contacts is consistently better than avowed attitudes. A man can despise the symbol for another man (words, pictures, stereotypes) when he cannot despise the man in person. When confronted with persons all of us tend to behave like humans, if not like Christians. What Baltimore learned through integration of the schools has a wide application: "Most of the parental fears of integration can be dispelled through the actual experience of integration." So, the Council suggests that each community begins the process of actualizing the courts decisions by giving to its citizens bi-racial experiences, particularly through interracial committees of schools, churches, women's organizations, civic groups. Such committees working together can find answers to local community problems and insure smooth transition to new relations. The Council itself provides its members just such experiences.

## ▶ *Its Services*

The staff and state office is a service agency: a clearing house of literature and films, funded experience and facts from research, suggestive of action for local groups; a source of counsellors for officials and school administrators, speakers and consultants for conferences and commissions; a center for ideas and information; an agency for correlation of the efforts of individuals and organizations now working for better human relations in Arkansas.

## ▶ *Its Hands*

For its effectiveness, the Council depends on its individual members throughout the state working through various organizations and institutions already functioning for intergroup relations. It encourages only a loose organization of these members for the purpose of fellowship and consultations. These members can be the liason between the state office and local groups, arranging for the available services to be used at the community level. These services are offered to churches, schools, libraries, women's organizations, radios, newspapers, teachers, parents, farmers, youth groups, civic clubs, labor unions, professional organizations. The Counicl recognizes that these groups must take the responsibility for working out local solutions. They are the ones who can do well this job of improving relations and providing fuller opportunities for all the people. The Council hopes its help may be transmitted through these hands of persons in local communities.

## ▶ *Its Spirit*

While the Council has a point-of-view on human relations — a point-of-view which it seeks to make clear at all times— it fosters a climate of opinion in which people of different views may work amicably toward a better life for all Arkansans. It recognizes no individual or group has the complete answers to complex social changes which confront us. It seeks the creative energies of all individuals and groups that together they may find the *best* answers. It accepts the faith of all high religions, faith in men as the children of God and brothers of one another.

## ▶ *Its Members*

The Council welcomes as members and contributors all who share these fundamental aims and who wish to join others in realizing them.

### OFFICERS

Fred K. Darragh, Jr., Chairman ..... Little Rock

Rev. C. C. Walker, Vice Chairman ..... Little Rock

Rev. C. S. Cartwright, Vice Chairman ..... Little Rock

Perry Taylor, Treasurer ..... Little Rock

Mrs. Dorothy Otis Wyre, Secretary ..... Conway

### BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Mrs. L. C. Bates ..... Little Rock

Mrs. W. Floyd Bates ..... Little Rock

J. R. Booker ..... Little Rock

Wiley Branton ..... Pine Bluff

C. A. Christophe ..... Pine Bluff

~~Miss Mollie Heath Conn ..... Little Rock~~

Dr. Tilman C. Cothran ..... Pine Bluff

Mrs. O. G. Dawson ..... Pine Bluff

Dr. Johan Eliot ..... Little Rock

Mrs. Kyle Engler ..... Fayetteville

Mrs. E. D. Galloway ..... Hot Springs

Rev. F. T. Guy ..... Little Rock

Mrs. Vivian Hegwood ..... Little Rock

Mrs. J. Russell Henderson ..... Little Rock

Dr. Georg Iggers ..... Little Rock

Mrs. D. D. James ..... Little Rock

~~James T. Karam ..... Little Rock~~

Mrs. Bruce D. Moore ..... Little Rock

Mrs. Guerdon D. Nichols ..... Fayetteville

Miss Emma Scott ..... Little Rock

Dr. Stephen Stephan ..... Fayetteville

Ed Stone ..... Little Rock

Clarence T. Thornbrough ..... Little Rock

Walter Trulock, III ..... Sherrill

Rev. E. B. Williams ..... Little Rock

M. W. (Mike) Willis ..... Little Rock

Sherman Zinn ..... Little Rock

### STAFF

Nat R. Griswold, Executive Director

Christopher C. Mercer, Jr., Associate Director

Mrs. Velma Powell, Secretary

— Not too active.

August 8, 1955

Mrs. Richard E. Amacher
900 McNutt Street
Arkadelphia, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Amacher:

You are quite right: your letter ought really to reach Griswold, and I have sent it on to him.

A very able young fellow, Mr. Christopher Mercer, is Associate Executive Director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. He has been a lawyer at Pine Bluff and is now full-time with the Arkansas Council. I am in hope that it will work out for him to be your speaker.

If every you are in Atlanta, do come to see us; we would like to get to know you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Mr. Nat Griswold

and original enclosure gg 8/3/55

*Memo* . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

10-7-55

F.B.R.

Please send this good lady whatever you mimeograph on the Hoxie situation.

HCF

Dud —
FBR
10-10-55

Apt 8

209 BOULEVARD

GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA

September 27, 1955

Dear Harold,

I have just read the account in the New York Times Magazine for September 25, of the situation in Hoxie, Arkansas. If ever there were an opportunity for the S.R.C., this is it. Are you in there?

I spent most of yesterday in Court, at the trial of Counsil Blye, a Gainesville Negro charged with bare assault. The alleged assault was against an officer of the law. The jury was hung! There will be a re-trial next Wednesday. Counsel is the Negro who has applied for admission to the University of Florida as a special student. The trial was conducted in an exemplary way. Alachua County gets a good mark. So do the jurors who held out. I predicted that the first vote among them would be three to three. I could tell by their faces who would vote for conviction, and who wouldn't. I haven't heard the vote, but I am really proud.

I had a visit from our two new Florida Directors. I hope things will really soon get under way.

With best wishes to all in the office, and hoping to hear from you about Hoxie,

very sincerely

Nina Howell Starr

Mrs. Nathan C. Starr

Ack 10-7-55

# ARKANSAS COUNCIL HUMAN RELATIONS

**Oct. 17 & 18**

*Affiliate of Southern Regional Council*
*Atlanta, Georgia*

## 1955
## *Annual Meeting*

**Gardner Memorial Methodist Church**
**18th & Schaer Streets**
**North Little Rock, Arkansas**

## PROGRAM

**"Developing Community Responsibility for School Integration"**

**Monday, October 17**

Mr. Powell

6:00 p.m. Registration

6:30 p.m. Dinner. Fred K. Darragh, Jr., Chairman
Introductions
Announcements
Business

7:30 p.m. PANEL DISCUSSION. Dr. Johan Eliot, Chairman

"America, The Beautiful" ..... Audience

Invocation ..... Rev. J. Hodge Alves

Presentation of Subject ..... Irene Osborne

Comments and Questions ..... Panel Members Virgil T. Blossom, Tilmon C. Cothran, Mrs. Kyle Engler, Mrs. William J. Massie, Mrs. George G. Meyers, Paul E. Parks.

8:20 p.m. Discussion "66"
Audience huddles in sixes
Formulation of Questions
Questions for Irene Osborne

9:20 p.m. Summary ..... Frederick B. Routh

9:30 p.m. Adjournment

9:30 Board Meeting —

**Tuesday, October 18**

7:30 - Get up -

9:00 a.m. Opening Session .....
Rev. Charles C. Walker, Chairman
"What Now, Arkansas" .....
Frederick B. Routh

(Session to follow plan made by Steering Committee after Monday meeting.)

11:30 a.m. Adjournment

Long in the past.

of some generations -

## WHO'S WHO

*Miss Irene Osborne*—is on leave from the American Friends Service Committee for six months' work with Southern Regional Council. Her recent notable service has been with the Community Relations Section of American Friends Service Committee in Washington, D. C., where she worked so very effectively with private community organizations in preparation for school integration. She will be in Arkansas through Friday, October 21, this time and, we hope, will return for another week next year.

*Rev. J. Hodge Alves*—Minister, Christ Episcopal Church, Little Rock.

*Virgil T. Blossom*—Superintendent of Schools, Little Rock.

*Dr. Tilmon C. Cothran*—Department of Sociology, A. M. & N. College, Pine Bluff.

*Dr. Johan Eliot*—State Department of Health, Little Rock.

*Mrs. Kyle Engler*—President, Arkansas Council of Church Women, Fayetteville.

*Mrs. William J. Massie*—Negro Council of Parent-Teachers Association, Little Rock.

*Mrs. George G. Meyers*—Chairman, Department of Christian Social Relations, Woman's Society of Christian Service, Little Rock Conference of the Methodist Church; Member P.T.A. Program Committee.

*Paul E. Parks*—Executive Secretary, Community Council, Little Rock.

*Frederick B. Routh*—Assistant Director of Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia.

*Rev. Charles C. Walker*—Minister, First Congregational Church, Little Rock.

PROGRAM COMMITTEE:

Rev. C. S. Cartwright
Dr. Johan Eliot
Mrs. Erma P. Kelly
Miss Emma Scott
Rev. R. K. Young Bethel AME church; Little Rock -
Mrs. Vivian T. Hegwood, Chairman

HOSPITALITY COMMITTEE:

Mrs. Bruce D. Moore
Mrs. Velma Powell
M. W. (Mike) Willis, Chairman

## Quotes From Supreme Court Decisions

"Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other tangible factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal edcational opportunities? We believe that it does." (1954)

"We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." (1954)

"The opinions of that date (1954), declaring the fundamental principle that racial discrimination in public education is unconstitutional, are incorporated herein by reference. All provisions of federal, state, or local law requiring or permitting such discrimination must yield to this principle." (1955)

"But it should go without saying that the vitality of these constitutional principles cannot be allowed to yield because of disagreement with them." (1955)

". . . the courts will require that the defendants make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance with our May 17, 1954, ruling. Once such a start has been made, the courts may find that additional time is necessary to carry out the ruling in an effective manner." (1955)

## Quotable Quotes:

"The policies of proscription, segregation, and disfranchisement that are often described as the immutable 'folkways' of the South . . . , are of a more recent origin. The effort to justify them as a consequence of Reconstruction and a necessity of the times is embarrassed by the fact that they did not originate in those times. And the belief that they are immutable and unchangeable is not supported by history." *Strange Career of Jim Crow,* C. Vann Woodward.

"Up to 1900 the only law of this (Jim Crow) type adopted by the majority of Southern states was that applying to passengers aboard trains. And South Carolinao did not adopt that until 1898, North Carolina in 1899, and Virginia ,the last, in 1900." *The Strange Career of Jim Crow,* C. Vann Woodward.

"The number of registered Negro voters in Louisiana in 1896 . . . was 130,334, and in 1904 . . . was 1,342. Between the two dates the literacy, property, and poll-tax qualifications were adopted." *The Strange Career of Jim Crow,* C. Vann Woodward.

"The evidence is overwhelmingly against the view that race is a factor which determines level of intelligence." *Race and Psychology,* Otto Klineberg.

"The conclusion is justified that, as the environments of two diferent racial groups become more and more alike, the differences in test scores (intelligence quotients) are reduced and tend to disappear completely." *Race and Psychology,* Otto Klineberg.

"Most of the parental fears of integration can be dispelled through the actual experience of integration." *Desegregation in the Baltimore Schools.*


## OFFICERS

Fred K. Darragh, Jr. ..... Chairman
Rev. C. C. Walker ..... Vice-Chairman
Harry S. Ashmore ..... Vice-Chairman
Mrs. Dorothy Otis Wyre ..... Secretary
Rev. C. S. Cartwright ..... Treasurer

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Mrs. D. D. James ..... Little Rock
Jimmy Karam ..... Little Rock
Mrs. Bruce D. Moore ..... Little Rock
Mrs. G. D. Nichols ..... Fayetteville
Miss Emma Scott ..... Little Rock
Dr. Stephen Stephan ..... Fayetteville
Ed Stone ..... Little Rock
Perry Taylor ..... Little Rock
Clarence R. Thornbrough ..... Little Rock
M. W. (Mike) Willis ..... Little Rock
Sherman V. Zinn ..... Little Rock



STATE OFFICE
211 South Izard
Little Rock


***the South of the future***

toward which our efforts are directed, is a South freed of stultifying inheritances from the past. It is a South where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where a common citizenship will work in democratic undertsanding for the common good; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where all can feel confident of personal safety and equality before the law; where there will exist no double standard in housing, health, education, or other public services; where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed; where, above all, every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and self-respect, in recognition of his creation in the image of God. —From "A Statement of Policy and Aims of the Southern Regional Council"

November 7, 1955

Mrs. J. Russell Henderson
110 North Cedar
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Henderson:

That is all right, and I will be at Fort Worth for the evening of November 30th and the morning of December 1st, providing the planes fly.

If you will have someone write me when and where I am to be, I will unroll the machinery of getting there and back.

Nice of the Woman's Division to cover the travel.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Little Rock Conference — The Methodist Church
110 North Cedar
Little Rock, Ark.

NOV 2 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We will run the risk of the plane not arriving. The Woman's Divison has arrnaged for us to have one specialist at their expense. So you can be assured of getting your way paid.

I think I told you we have you on the program for the evening of the 30 of Nov., and to help us on a panel the next morning. I shall send you information later as to how you will get from plane to camp, etc.

Yours sincerely,

E. Henderson

Mrs. J. Russell Henderson

Re: workshop Camp Carter, Fort Worth, Texas

October 24, 1955

Mrs. J. Russell Henderson
110 North Cedar Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Henderson:

Happy to come to be available for your meeting Wednesday evening, November 30th. I am promised to be in Atlanta the afternoon before, which means that I would have to depend upon the plane to get me to Fort Worth. I never like to do that because every now and then the planes don't fly. But where I can only travel by plane, I am willing to agree to come, providing those organizing the meeting understand that my arrival is contingent upon the planes.

It would also be necessary for your meeting to find the bare expenses of my getting over and back.

If this is all right, I will come.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Woman's Society of Christian Service

*Little Rock Conference* *The Methodist Church*

110 North Cedar Street
Little Rock, Arkansas
October 21, 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

OCT 24 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The committee responible for planning one of the regional workshops for World Understanding to be held at Camp Amon Carter near Fort Worth, Texas, would like to have you come and draw your maps and tell your story of the development of the south with its cultural patterns.

Our workshop is scheduled for Nov, 30 and Dec. 1 and 2. We would want you for the evening of Nov. 30, and possibly the next morning.

Would you please let me know as soon as possible as to whether it will be possible for you to be with us at that time.

Yours truly,

Ernestine Henderson
Mrs. J. Russell Henderson

Mrs. J. Russell Henderson,
Fort Worth Woman's Society of Christian Service,
110, North Cedar Street,
Little Rock,
Arkansas.

November 22, 1955.

Dear Mrs. Henderson,

I've bought a ticket on a plane on DAL that gets to Fort Worth about 5 P.M. the afternoon of Wednesday, November 30. Would like a bed to sleep on that night, and suggest you be good enough to reserve one, at a medium grubby hotel (I don't need or understand that Texas variety of 20 dollars a minute place), and I'll be contented there, and will show up bright and early Thursday morning. When and where?

I've booked back from Dallas (best I can do) about 4.30 the afternoon of December 1st.

Yours sincerely,

GSM:rl.

Little Rock Conference — The Methodist Church

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have your letter of November 22 and am sure you have received my card telling you the person who is to be notified of the time of your arrival in Ft. Worth. We are expecting you to stay at Camp Carter. What do you mean, you'll show up bright and early Thursday a.m. You are going to be the show Wednesday night, you know! Have you down for the map talk at 8:00 that evening - as well as the panel on Thursday a.m., on Building Bridges of Understanding in the Community.

See you Wednesday evening.

Sincerely,

Ernestine Henderson

Mrs. J. Russell Henderson

NOV 28 1955

RECEIVED DEC 14 1955

110 North Cedar
Little Rock, Arkansas
December 11, 1955

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

May I tell you again how much we appreciated your coming to our workshop at Camp Amon Carter and doing such an excellent job for us.

Outside of the two workshops in the southeastern region of these United States this one was one of the most difficult. It proved to be more difficult when some of our Conferences made no effort to select their best leadership to attend. We felt much "resistance" on the part of some of our women from the central and northwest Texas areas, and strangely enough from some out of Oklahoma. At least we provided them with some new experiences (some of the Oklahoma women even went into town to stay) and maybe it will bear fruit in the months ahead. We were pleased with most of the plans for the follow-up.

With every good wish for a happy holiday season for you and yours,

Yours most sincerely,

Ernestine Henderson

Mrs. J. Russell Henderson

Mrs. Earl D. Cotton,
2023 Schiller,
Little Rock,
ARKANSAS.

December 14th, 1955.

Dear Mrs. Cotton,

Many thanks for check, all duly received. And Mrs. Henderson wrote me a nice note, and everybody had a good time all around.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

GSM:rl.

September 17, 1956

Dr. Gilbert Porter
449 West Georgia Street
Florida State Teachers Association, Inc.
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Gil,

Many thanks for your letter of September 13, to attend the annual meeting of the National Council of Officers of State Teachers Association at Hot Springs Arkansas. I would like to come very much, but unfortunately I will be tied up with work at our state organization on September 28, 29. The Georgia Committee on International Co-operation is holding a state-wide work shop for lay-leaders. This work shop will be directed by John Hope and his group of consultors. As director of the state organization, I must be present.

Once more thanks for the invitation and my regrets for being unable to attend.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/bms

FILE COPY

FILE COPY

EDITORIAL
Taken From: The Christian Century
Volume LXXIV, Number 40
October 2, 1957

## HATS OFF TO THE WOMEN OF LITTLE ROCK

YOU HEAR IT over and over: "Just another resolution--what of it?" The belittling implied may be justified in some cases, but it definitely is not so far as the statement issued the other day by the concerned and resolute churchwomen in Arkansas' capital city is concerned. And so that others may join us in hailing the action taken by those women, we present it in full:

> The Council of Church Women of Little Rock and North Little Rock in called session September 9, 1957, go on record expressing our great concern over the situation which has developed in our communities. It is our Christian conviction that enforced segregation of any group of persons because of race, creed or color is a violation of Christian principles. The national and state bodies of the denominations which we represent are all on record with statements saying that the Supreme Court rulings regarding segregation in the public schools are in keeping with Christian principles. We reaffirm these statements of our denominations.
>
> We believe in the right of dissent and the right of those persons who disagree to follow due process of law and order in efforts to change laws with which they disagree. We believe it is the obligation of every citizen to uphold what is the law of the land, and that citizens of this state have a right to expect their elected officials to use their offices to carry out obedience to the supreme law of the land. We are shocked and dismayed that the governor of our state has placed military troops within our community to defy the order of the federal court instead of upholding the law of the land. We feel the use of troops and the failure of these troops to disperse the curious and rabble-rousing crowds that have gathered at Central High School have produced tensions. This situation, we believe, would not have arisen had the board of directors of the Little Rock public schools been allowed to carry out their plans for compliance with the law of the land.

Editorial - 2.
Hats off to the Women...

We deplore the un-Christian acts of some of our citizens expressing hatred of others, which have made the headlines in reports around the world. We believe in the sincerity and good will of the majority of citizens in our communities. We are well aware that what is happening here affects the world mission of the Christian church and endangers the effectiveness of those who represent us in mission posts throughout the world. We want our Christian friends around the world to know that, as churchwomen and Christian citizens, we want to take our share of the blame for failure to create a climate that would have made it impossible for such a situation to develop. Our experience in race relations in our communities in recent years, however, convinces us that, though many of our citizens may not desire desegregated schools, they do believe in justice and right for all citizens, and in following a course of action that would be in keeping with the spirit of democracy of the Constitution of the United States, and with the principles of the Christian faith which we profess.

We call upon the Christian citizens of our communities and of our state to join us in (1) Praying to God the Father of us all to forgive us for our failure to live as children of one Father, and praying for his guidance and wisdom for us all, and especially for those on whom rests the responsibility for the solution of the immediate situation before us. We issue this call to prayer to all who will join us wherever they are at 12 noon Thursday, September 12, in a special time of prayer and meditation; (2) Expressing our confidence in the support of the actions of the boards of directors and the administrators of the public schools of our communities in their efforts to comply with the law of the land; (3) Treating every person as we would like to be treated; (4) Refusing to be a party to any act or word or idle rumor which will give rise to tension between groups in our communities; (5) Refusing to listen to persons seeking to arouse hatred and setting group against group.

October 7, 1957

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL. EFV: February 18, 1958

A random report on EFV's Little Rock trip, February 14-16, 1958.

~~Conversation with Nat Griswold indicated the following:~~

Harry Ashmore takes the view that Superintendent Blossom is trying to mosey through the present tension situation until the heat is off and gives him a bit of credit for good intentions. There is some indication that Harry feels this is all that can be expected of Blossom due to the fact that there is no positive support from the Federal Government, the State Government, or any effective local support nor any general community support. Nat and other members of ACHR judge Blossom's intentions more harshly.

Ashmore, in his address to the ACHR Board, indicated his feeling that there had been a massive default of leadership during the interim between the Supreme Court's decision and the Little Rock incident. He blasted particularly the lack of Federal Government policy in planning for desegregation. He feels that the failure of the recent Senate Committee to quis Attorney General Rogers on Little Rock meant there was some deal with the Department of Justice regarding the handling of the Little Rock situation. The City Council has no heart for making a show of initiative when the troops are finally removed due to the close results of the most recent elections.

Ashmore recognizes that the Central High situation has deteriorated greatly. He feels that the School Board is losing control of discipline problems but has done so in the face of an organized campaign whose shots were called by the White Citizens Council and its "affiliate" the Mothers' League. The hopeful sign is supposed to be that the Board has not asked for Negro withdrawals. Frankly, Ashmore is surprised at how well the Board has held out in the face of the failure of community support.

Nat reports that they have inside information indicating that the

School Board has been planning for two months to get the Court to grant further delays; toward this end any voluntary or other suspension would show that discipline has been made unmanageable by the desegregation moves thus far. He feels also that the committee of twenty-five organized by Brookes Hayes will be used to support the moves for delay. The good intent aspect of this move is to put the supervision of desegregation, including community preparation, directly into the hands of the Federal Court. Nat feels that the business community generally supports Faubus' general position.

Most of the statements before the ACHR Board were at some point self-contradictory. The clearest example of this was in the remarks of Mr. Forrest Rosselle who, I believe, heads the State Teachers Association. He declared at the outset that there were no political solutions and it was too bad all approaches to the problem thus far have relied on the argument that integration was judicially inevitable. He recognized that the majority does not accept the inevitability argument. He then went on to "strategy" in that all remaining issues should be thrown into the court as soon as possible to prove that integration is judicially inevitable. This would include direct acts by the School Board in assigning pupils and actually calling in the Sovereignty Commission for support to see that the issues are fully joined.

As to the situation in Central High School:

There were many ~~situations~~ indications of the near-complete deterioration and a great deal of support for the position that the Negro children had as little white student support as Minniejean has indicated. Nat feels that part of the reason for this is the near-complete lack of adult positive position within the school. It is inconceivable to him and others that the white kids cannot recognize the inherent unfairness in the rules laid down for Minniejean.

The approach of the teachers in general is to remain "neutral". Certainly there are several who want to respond more positively than this, including one who almost daily phones Daisy Bates and another in touch with a Friend who is a member of ACHR. There were moving reports of at least a few teachers' reactions as they watched a gang tossing snowballs at a car coming to pick up one of the Negro students. At least one woman teacher did break under the strain of anticipating a brick being thrown through the car window. Actually only snowballs, pebbles, and mud were thrown, but the temper of the gang led her to cry out tearfully as she fled the room "that's a junior mob out there". There were numerous indications that very little contact has been made with the Negro students and their parents outside of those developed by Daisy Bates, although a number of supporting letters have been written to the parents and children involved. It seems to EFV that this is a continuing need and that some better mode of expressing moral support must be developed which will not, however, interfere with the necessity for keeping an organized and clear cut channel of communication with the students (meaning primarily Daisy Bates' efforts).

There have been no significant attempts to reach the "good egg" white students. Individual decent white students have suffered reprisals. This is particularly true of the boys. It is obvious that there is not sufficient moral base, popular support, strategy, administrative interest and support, and community stimulation to give these good white students a sufficiently firm base on which they can make a stand. EFV pointed this out to several individual ACHR'ers and indicated that they could ill afford to be stymied by the lack of official cooperation. It seems to him that the situation has gone so far that other techniques must be developed immediately for reaching within the current social structure of Central High.

Evidently the Little Rock Friends Meeting is greatly concerned about these matters and would be willing to lend itself to this kind of activity if such a channel seemed advisable. Two of their members are on the Board of ACHR and seem to be fairly solid folk. Another Friend from Fayetteville is also on the Board.

It is reported that the guards within the school are just observers who report to the school authorities and who exercise no initiative in enforcing discipline.

Other matters:

The press reported one aspect of the NAACP charter-pulling for tax ~~exemption~~ reasons which had escaped EFV. The NAACP had either actually paid the taxes or had a letter indicating that the matter was properly and legally handled due to the Court case and the Association's presentation there. The letter indicating that there was any compliance with the law for practical and legal purposes came from the special assistant in the Attorney General's office over such matters. This view and Faubus' view had not been reconciled as of the time of Via's visit.

William Penix, a lawyer member of the ACHR, says that no positive action or statement can be expected from either the Arkansas or American Bar Association. He feels that there has been a great change in the three years since the Court's decision, citing personal acquaintances who have so changed. He says it is entirely possible that they (Arkansas Bar Association) might even call the Supreme Court unconstitutional, and to shore this position by referring to the ABA Journal's lead article which decried the use of troops in Little Rock. # Bishop Brown indicated that the situation was so serious that the church would have to go into politics, or at least provide some base for political leadership, to exercise ~~itsequeik~~ itself positively in the current desegregation controversy. He will have a book on the Little Rock situation published sometime in the summer.

Nat remarked that there is some desegregated housing in Little Rock within a few blocks of Central High in neighborhoods which are evidently friendly. He has talked with realtors and others and feels that future desegregation in housing will be blocked by the realtors. This position was frankly stated by a leading realtor who has the reputation for being "a leading liberal Jew". He claims that desegregation would be bad for business and in any case the answer is to let the real estate people plan communities including the location of churches and schools and who should live in the communities.

The Arkansas Council's meeting had to be off the record in order to get the attendance and speakers it desired. In spite of bad weather there were few cancellations and most of the people stayed for the entire program. The ACHR has not whipped the problem of either finding those activities about which it can talk openly nor ways of talking about other more confidential operations. The result of this is that they do not serve as fully as they might as a focus for leadership and that there are some feelings that the organization is impotent on the part of even its own members and perhaps especially in the Negro community. They are overly defensive and afraid of attack, but in a situation which is indeed tense and in which there are on-going organized efforts to ferret out good eggs. I feel that the question should be raised as to whether or not the situation demands that they be a bit more ready to accept a few public knocks. The distressing Southern pattern of stranding the NAACP as the only public front-runner is operative to such an extent in Arkansas that an ordinary citizen might well ask who else is interested in the attainment of democracy for all.

It should be quickly added, however, that I was most impressed with the general calibre of the Board and convinced that some of its members, with Nat, have been doing important things and that the Board as a whole showed amazing resilience by living through the last few months and responding quite

positively to the most pessimistic picture of Arkansas affairs that was presented to them by Ashmore and panel on Friday evening.

President Lawrence Davis indicated a real concern for what he termed an inclination to use violence ~~on the part of certain sections of~~ by some groups within Negro communities. His observation had support from other members of the group, including other Negroes. SRC'ers will recognize that this concern coincides with EFV's observations regarding Atlanta. Davis thinks that this inclination is particularly apparent among younger Negroes who have been informed as to what their rights are and who will not respond to either traditions, their elders, or authority, and who see physical retaliation or aggression as the proper way to make a stand. His thinking was that this condition was particularly evident in Pine Bluff where the traditions within the Negro community, a kind of forthright independence, would ~~breed~~ lend some support to such a posture. There were several observations that the deteriorating situation in Little Rock was leading some in the Negro community to adopt an outlook similar to that described.

The Arkansas Council, perhaps more than most others, needs materials and incidents indicating positive action throughout the South, especially since the original Little Rock incident, and those which show that the nett effect of Little Rock has been far from bad.

One item of business that came up regarded the adoption of a by-law providing for either chapters or affiliates (see FBR's memo and suggested by-law wording to the state groups). Their commission studying the possibility of having local groups recommended that both kinds of local group be allowed under the by-laws. This mean they would have both chapters and affiliates; my instinct was to warn against this since it was clear they would have at least three classifications of membership.* Some were interested in the possibility of having an unlisted membership category, but the final concensus was that this

* See remarks on last page

would afford little protection from investigation. In any case they should be writing to SRC for such experience and advice as we have along these lines. They will not report out a recommendation until their next executive committee meeting.

Several members of the Board indicated that they received more than one copy of New South. I could only explain that it was true that some people received extra copies for distribution, but I have my doubts whether this is the case in this instance.

Attached to this report are the following items: a mimeographed sheet relative to the "Bennett amendment"; the FOR magazine answering "The Deep South Says Never"; and a pamphlet compilation of the editorial position of the Arkansas Gazette in the Little Rock school crisis.

*after conversation with FBR - February 16, 1958

Fred did recommend the possibility of both kinds of locals -- the ACHR did not have this impression when I asked what SRC stand was. The premises of ACHR were different from those leading to FBR's suggestions. Some ACHR'ers felt they could have a protected membership category, that affiliates would be loosely tied and if they went into political activity it would be "easy" to sever relations. FBR sees chapters as the weak units and affiliates as the strong (e.g. Atlanta) -- this is not the ACHR view and EFV also feels that some of SRC's thinking regarding what would have been a proper centralization regarding the old state groups to SRC applies within the states. Furthermore, ACHR was considering chapters, affiliates, and cooperating agencies; membership would be with ACHR, with a local group, "non-existent", and receiving and not-receiving New South. I warned of administrative difficulty. I believe a majority felt that there was no effective way to hide membership, that chapters could work closely with and be responsible to ACHR, that other groups could be worked with without any tie whatsoever. EFV thinks problems of chapters for ACHR is quite different than Georgia -- ACHR would be respected as the creator of locals. My main push was that they not the administrative mechanics and that the reasons they were giving for multiple classifications were not the factors really to determine structure.

A final note: I would be leary of any move that encourages ACHR any further "underground".

I'm also sorry, as I told ACHR, for putting my foot into a policy matter without sufficient grounding.

SUMMARY OF ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS BOARD RETREAT
February 20-21, 1959

PROGNOSIS

I. As to litigation and legislation (Dean Barnhart)

Mr. Barnhart used as his "text" the title of this year's ACLU report, "The Past Is Prologue." He made three important points:

A. The 1954 Supreme Court Decision regarding schools is more firmly established as law than ever before. The Little Rock decision of September, 1958, and the Norfolk decision of January, 1959 spell out in detail the determination of the Court.

B. U. S. Attorney General Rogers has made the point that it is a federal constitutional right to go to a non-segregated school - or at least a non-segregated school system.

C. Five patterns of "legal" resistance have developed:

(a) Interposition and nullification - which envisioned a confederal rather than a federal system of government. This has collapsed with the end of massive resistance in Virginia. Even Kilpatrick of the Richmond News-Leader now recognizes that interposition has no validity.

(b) Legislative attempts to "handcuff" litigants. These include anti-NAACP acts and so-called anti-barratry acts. Generally, these are being struck down as they come before the federal courts for review.

(c) Private school acts and tuition grant acts. Originally the states hoped to close down only the affected schools and replace them with private schools financed by tuition grants. The Norfolk case makes impossible the closing down of only the affected schools; as to tuition grants, the basic question is, does this constitute state action; and the answer will undoubtedly be "yes." If so, tuition grants for the purpose of circumventing desegregation

decisions will be held unconstitutional.

(d) Pupil assignment acts. In some ways these are the most troublesome to deal with. The Alabama pupil placement act was declared "constitutional" on its face by the Supreme Court. However, if its application is discriminatory or if after a period of time no qualified Negro pupils who apply for admission to "white" schools are accepted, the application of the act will be declared illegal and the Court, as in the case of Virginia, may use the act to assign qualified Negro pupils to specific schools.

(e) Administrative remedies. Many of the states have hoped to draw out indefinitely the desegregation of schools through the use of complicated, slow moving administrative remedies. By demanding that these remedies be exhausted before pupils are allowed to go to federal court to challenge state policy many states have sought to slow up the process. The courts have been and are capable of seeing through this delaying tactic.

II. As to the public school system (Mr. Coleman, ATA)

A. Negro teachers are concerned first with what's good for Negroes in general, and good for the state as a whole, rather than what is good for Negro teachers. Though they are conscious of job security, this is not their first concern.

B. The Negro teacher no longer believes he is right in passively accepting the Southern pattern of intergroup relations. He does not feel that he should encourage his pupils to accept old patterns for current or future living.

C. There is almost no middle ground left for Negro teachers. They are being forced to take sides, often by the segregationists; the side they take is usually in favor of acceptance of the Supreme Court Decision.

D. Teachers would prefer to be professional educators rather than crusaders, even during the current crisis.

E. The greatest difficulty facing a number of teachers is seeking to honestly answer questions of the children about belief in constitutional rights, law and order, and human dignity.

III. As to allignment of forces (Mr. Hadley)

A. Public opinion in Arkansas is not the most important factor now. Opinion is mixed and so long as only the schools in Little Rock are closed the rest of the state is not concerned with finding ways of complying with the court decision.

B. Public opinion in the rest of the world is the important factor now. Little Rock has done irreparable damage to the good name of the United States throughout the world. It has provided the Communist propagandist with the best anti-American weapon he has yet found for use among non-white peoples.

C. Arkansas is being hurt badly by this controversy. People do not yet realize the scope of the damage. Businesses and industries are not coming to Arkansas at the same rate as they were before September, 1957. The people of Arkansas are being used as the political tools for the ambitions of two or three individuals.

D. Dedicated people must continue to speak the truth -- to call a spade a spade as often as possible. The only way to offset the misinformation being spread by state sources is for articulate people on the local level to speak out.

IV. As to change in climate (Miss Basham)

A. There are a number of discouraging things on the Arkansas scene, particularly in Little Rock:

(a) The School Board is about to default on a school bond issue, with the apparent intent of then being forced to rent or sell public school property to Rainey High School (the segregated private school).

(b) The City Board of Directors has been trying to pass a unified housing code. The States' Rights Council has turned up in large numbers at the hearings and heckled the City Board of Directors. The States' Rights Council is opposing vociferously the unified housing code.

(c) The local TV outlet will not carry many of the network shows which they feel are unfavorable to the segregationists point of view. There is local censorship of many nationally carried programs.

(d) The lost sense of humor is a disheartening thing. People in Arkansas no longer can laugh at themselves or the situation.

B. Encouraging things: There are a number of organizations in addition to the Arkansas Council which provide some hope for the future:

(a) The Urban Progress Committee. This group of businessmen and influential citizens recognize that eventually they will have to deal with the school question.

(b) The Chamber of Commerce. Granger Williams, new president, said in his inaugural address that the situation could not go on as it is. Businessmen are privately saying that some change must be brought about.

(c) The Urban League is still functioning, though out of the Community Chest. When it advertised for a new Executive Secretary three qualified applicants came forth. A local man was chosen.

(d) The League of Women Voters. The League of Women Voters is much concerned about public school developments. Next year's agenda will include something about the public school situation.

(e) The Woman's Emergency Committee

(1) It is the only organizational voice openly speaking out against Faubus, the Attorney General, and certain legislative acts.

(2) It is growing in strength and now has over 1,200 members.

(3) It is now under attack; under the Bennett ordinance demands are being made for a list of its membership and contributors. It will fight this attempt.

(4) Regularly, it sends out "fliers" to 2,000 Little Rock businessmen, to all members of the legislature, and to the governor.

(5) It is all white for strategic reasons. Negro leadership is known to be pro-integration; this is an attempt to show that responsible white people also believe in public education, even more than segregation.

V. Meeting as a committee of the whole (Saturday morning)

A. Organisational questions

(1) The question was raised as to whether Arkansas Council could develop functioning committees on a state basis. The group consensus was that this could and should be done.

(2) The question was raised, should efforts be made to create more local organizations? The group consensus was that this would be helpful; that Board members as well as staff members should undertake to organise local chapters throughout the state.

B. Special projects involving the strategic use of the $2,500 anonymous gift. A number of special projects were considered:

(1) Seminars for key groups - i.e., ministers, student workers, etc.

(2) Special speakers for public events

(3) Merit employment projects

(4) Attempts in involving national leadership

(5) Surveys in Little Rock dealing with economic costs of the controversy and educational costs of closed schools.

(6) Cooperation with other organizations, particularly the Arkansas

Council on Children and Youth which will hold the state conference preparing for the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth.

VI. Fred Routh reviewed the above and added that there are signs of significant change in the region. He pointed out that the big problem was getting the state government off the necks of local communities; that local communities must have the right, without state interference, to comply with court decisions. It was noted that in Norfolk the decision of the State Supreme Court of Virginia upheld the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. Routh said that most of the state courts had integrity and would make the right decisions when the arguments were presented to them in such a way that they could not be ignored.

The governor of Florida, Leroy Collins, has called for some desegregation in the Sunshine State and the school board of Dade County has responded by ordering desegregation of the Orchard Grove school in Miami next fall. When Florida rejoins the Union this will narrow the field to the five hard core states of Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, and Mississippi.

It has become evident even to the ardent segregationists that there is no longer a solid South, and that the South no longer commands the national political power it once held. In the hard core states desegregation will probably come first in New Orleans and Atlanta, two metropolitan cities in the area. New Orleans has already desegregated its buses, its parks, and the LSU branch. Atlanta has desegregated its golf courses, its buses, and its airport facilities. In both cities suits testing the validity of school segregation are now in federal courts.

The struggle is by no means over. The months and perhaps even years ahead will call for the continued action of consecrated people who believe in government under law and a society which accords equal recognition to the human dignity of all people as children of God and citizens of the United States.

February 23, 1959

Mrs. Velma Powell
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 W. Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Velma:

Enclosed are two copies of my summary of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations Board Retreat, February 20-21, 1959. I hope this is helpful to your purposes. The extra copy is for the office files, if you want to keep such information in your office files.

I have told Harold about Jay's interest in having a publisher confer with him on his proposed book. Harold will pass this information along to a friend of his who knows a number of publishers and I hope you will be hearing from one of them in the not-too-distant future.

I certainly enjoyed my visit to Little Rock and the opportunity to renew acquaintances with the good folks on your Board. In spite of the uncertainties of the future, I am convinced with Burke that "all that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that good people do nothing." In Arkansas the good people are doing something, and I believe that evil will not and cannot triumph.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosures

Chas. Effrig MO-3-6603
Gen. Publishing FR.4-5103

**ANNOUNCING . . .**

Ark Comd

**— Tenth Biennial Edition —**

# ARKANSAS DAILY LEGISLATIVE DIGEST

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## (January 12 - March 12, 1959)

(Reports continue thereafter through 20 days allowed for Governor's final action on bills.)

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# ARKANSAS DAILY LEGISLATIVE DIGEST

**112 EAST SECOND STREET**

**TEL. FR 4-5103** **LITTLE ROCK, ARK.**

WOMEN'S EMERGENCY COMMITTEE
TO OPEN OUR SCHOOLS
P. O. BOX 122, PULASKI HEIGHTS STATION
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

July 29, 1959

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Thank you so much for sending us "The Davis Report and the Truth about the Public School Situation in the District of Columbia" - Report No. L6. If they are available, we would appreciate receiving five additional copies of this report.

We understand you have copies of a reprint from the Nashville Tennessean "Little Rock at a Standstill". If possible, we would be most grateful if you could send us approximately 25 of these.

We are always indebted to you for your continued support and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Vivian L. Brewer

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer
Chairman

VLB:igs

Mailed 7/31/59
25 "Little Rock at a Standstill"
5 copies L6

P.R.

Advisory Committee Meeting
Lafayette Hotel
Little Rock, Arkansas

July 29, 1959

COMMITTEE FOR THE PEACEFUL OPERATION OF FREE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

STATEMENT BY CHAIRMAN
J. Gaston Williamson

Ladies and Gentlemen:

This is the first meeting of the Advisory Committee of the recently formed organization known as the Committee for the Peaceful Operation of Our Free Public Schools. As Chairman, I wish to thank each of you, and others who could not attend this meeting, for agreeing to serve on this Advisory Committee which presently has 132 members. There are also others who will be asked to serve whom we have not yet been able to contact. We contemplate an Advisory Committee of some 150 members representative of the religious, labor, business, professional and civic groups in our city which, we believe, will support our Little Rock School Board in its efforts to reopen our public high schools.

You have been asked to serve on this Advisory Committee for a purpose that can be simply stated. You have been asked to contribute your names, your time, your advice and, as needed, your financial support to an organization that is dedicated to reopening the closed high schools of our city, and to seeing that they remain open to serve all of our children. In this process, we are committing ourselves to the preservation of public education in Little Rock.

A few years ago, a commitment for this purpose would have been as non-controversial as a declaration against sin. This is no longer so. It is not my purpose to explain to you why the defense of public education in our city has become an act of courage. I am sure you all know the reasons as well as I do. We in this organization simply state that the reopening of our high schools, and beyond that, the preservation of our public school system, is a vital necessity to the future of this community in any terms you care to measure it - moral, economic, social - choose your own yardstick.

We say that all of our public schools must open in September, and that every citizen must be assured that they will remain open. But that is not all. We say that they must be opened in compliance with constitutional law - as that law has been determined by the only court competent to do so under our Federal Constitution.

We further say that all of our public schools must be reopened and kept open in an atmosphere of order, peace and tranquility in which no child will go to school under threat of violence, or under armed protection against such threat.

These are the beliefs of the organization with which you have taken your stand.

The Little Rock School Board, chosen by the people of our city, states that it can open our public schools and meet the requirements of federal law without lowering the educational standards of our schools and with minimum change in our social practices. Our city government, which we, the people of Little Rock, have elected, states that it will support our School Board. But our School Board will need more than that. It will need the active support of private citizens - of people like you and me - if it is to do the job that we feel must be done.

This city is fast approaching another crucial September, another time of testing and judgment. We have been there twice before and have been found wanting.

In September of 1957, our City was humiliated by military occupation - first by the National Guard troops of our Governor and later by troops of the United States Army. This extreme action by the state and federal governments - military intervention in our city's business - solved nothing. Integration was not implemented. Neither was it halted. For purely political reasons, our School Board, which had been elected overwhelmingly by the people of our local school district, were needlessly denied the right to solve our local problem. Central High's school ground became a political battleground. And Little Rock, Arkansas, was held up to scorn around the world, to the great comfort and delight of the Communists.

In September of 1958, we evaded the problem by taking on an even more extreme step. We closed down our four public high schools. We denied many of our children any education at all. We forced those who found substitutes to do so at great monetary expense and at the even greater personal price of leaving home. We split families, we alienated neighbors, we divided our city class against class. We made Little Rock a bad name all over again - and we solved nothing.

These things have happened not because most of the people of Little Rock wanted it that way. These things have happened because most of the people of Little Rock have not stepped forward to do anything about it.

When our people did decide to act in the recall election, they acted effectively. They announced in terms no one could mistake that they supported the policies of the present School Board, and endorsed their determination to reopen our closed schools.

We face a choice between two basic courses of action (1) either we will reopen our public high schools within the constitutional limits as they have now been determined or (2) we will have no free public high schools at all. That has been our obvious choice all the time, but for two years we refused to face it. Instead we were misled by repeated assurances that our schools could, and would, be operated on a segregated basis under an assortment of plans which were constitutional. Such plans have, and will, continue to fail.

The latest plan, announced yesterday by Governor Faubus, should be given the thoughtful consideration it deserves. It is predicated

upon the assumption that we cannot have free public schools on a completely segregated basis. However, aside from the fact that a large number of students would be required to attend school many miles from their normal attendance areas, this plan advocates the operation of Central High as a segregated school, admittedly based on a racial test alone. The Supreme Court has made it crystal clear that no citizen shall be denied entrance to any public school because of color. It is my personal opinion as an attorney, and I believe the opinion of a large majority of the lawyers in our city, that this plan would not meet the constitutional test, and would not be considered by the Courts a good faith attempt by the School Board to comply with the Court orders under which they must act.

We may not agree with the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, but they are a part of the law of the land and will so remain until changed by constitutional process. It is currently considered politically popular to denounce the Supreme Court. This practice will get votes, but it will accomplish nothing more. It is not going to open our schools in September, and it is hardly an appropriate preface to any plan to do so.

A world of people are going to be looking at us in September. What they think will be determined by what we do. A lot of people are going to see us here at home. Our schools are scheduled to open on September 8. On September 10 through the 12, an estimated 25,000 Shriners will attend a National Convention in Little Rock - folks like us visiting here from all over the country. On September 12 and 13, Billy Graham will be preaching the Gospel here - and being heard by his followers all over the world.

What will these visitors, and the vast audience beyond them see and hear?

Will they see a city that - like every other in our country - is providing a public education for its children? Or will they see a city that is wracked by dissension and possibly even violence? What we, and only we, the citizens of Little Rock do in the weeks immediately ahead, will give the world its final answer.

It may be politically popular for outsiders to intervene in our local affairs. But this course of action resulted only in the closing of Little Rock's high schools, to the open delight of many people over the state. Many find it easy to support a move to close someone else's schools, as long as their own remain undisturbed. It is the people of Little Rock who must decide whether we want public schools in Little Rock, and we should be allowed to do so in peace.

There are those among us who, for various reasons, will not send their children to public schools except upon a completely segregated basis. We shall not criticize their honest convictions.

There will be private schools in our city and public schools elsewhere to which they may send their children without doing violence to their own conscience.

But the recent high school registration has clearly demonstrated that the majority of our citizens, for various reasons, prefer free public high schools of our own, even if it may involve some degree of integration. The honest convictions of these people are also entitled to respect. Their children should not be denied an education of their choice by those who prefer a private school.

It will be the purpose of our organization in the coming weeks to call upon our citizens to take a public stand in support of our School Board in its endeavor to reopen our public high schools. We shall seek such support from organizations as well as individuals. Only through the open support of a majority of our citizens can we insure the peaceful operation of free public schools in our city.

September 9, 1959

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer, Chairman
Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools
P. O. Box 122
Pulaski Heights Station
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Brewer:

The article in Sunday's Arkansas Gazette concerning your committee's study is most interesting.

Could we please have several copies of this report?

Thank you and best regards.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

September 14, 1959

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer, Chairman
Women's Emergency Committee
To Open Our Schools
P. O. Box 3244
Pulaski Heights Station
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Brewer:

Thank you for the prompt reply to my request for your recent report.

However, the promised release, which I would like very much to see, was not included in the letter or the package. I would appreciate receiving one.

Again, thanks, and best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

# WOMEN'S EMERGENCY COMMITTEE
TO OPEN OUR SCHOOLS
P. O. BOX 3244, PULASKI HEIGHTS STATION
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS


September 11, 1959

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention: Mrs. Ed A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information

Gentlemen:

We appreciate very much your letters of September 9 with regard to our recently completed survey, Little Rock Report: The City, Its People, Its Business.

We are happy to send you the six copies as suggested by Mrs. Albright and assure you we'll gladly provide others if this does not cover Mr. Constable's request.

We enclose also for your information the release issued on September 6 concerning the survey.

With gratitude for your cooperation and help, - and very best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Vivion L. Brewer

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer
Chairman

VLB:igs

Enclosures

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

Dear Paul Rilling -

Please send 24 copies of the Emory U. Professors' report which gives private and public school costs.

Thanks

10/23/59
S.M.

Ruth Arnold
"Alabama" Council
on H.R.

October 23, 1959

Mr. Roy Reed
Arkansas Gazette
3rd & Louisiana
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Reed:

At the request of Ruth Arnold at the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, we enclose a copy of our Report No. L-11. We trust this will be of help to you.

Sincerely,

Sarah Miller

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

October 22, 1959

Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

We would like to have 9 copies of the SRC Leadership Report L-11, dated October 12, 1959.

Please send the tenth to:

Mr. Roy Reed
Arkansas Gazette
3rd & Louisiana
Little Rock, Ark.

Mr. Reed is doing some work for ADL and Oscar Cohen suggested this report to him.

Sincerely,

Ruth

Ruth Arnold

10/23/59
S.M.

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

May 23, 1960

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John Constable:

Under separate cover we are mailing to SRC two thousand copies of James Dabbs's Brotherhood Sunday speech.

In a letter to us dated March 23, 1960, Paul Rilling wrote that SRC "would be happy to buy 2,000 copies which might make it possible for the Arkansas Council to manage the deal".

A sample is enclosed. We think it's a fine job.

Sincerely,

Ruth Arnold

Ruth Arnold
Office Secretary

Enc.

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

May 25, 1960

Miss Ruth Arnold
Secretary
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Miss Arnold:

In answer to your several letters:

First, we took the liberty to renew our subscription to the Arkansas Gazette last December when it expired. I believe it will continue until December of this year. We have found it useful in the past and still clip articles of interest.

Second, the copy of Mr. Dabbs' speech was not enclosed in your letter, but I don't think it is necessary that we see a sample copy before receiving the bulk order.

Third, our NEW SOUTH subscription clerk is checking the names mailed in and I am certain the list will be straightened out in short order.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

P. S. If you have suggestions of newspaper people valuable to our mass media list, we would welcome them.

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

Dear John Constable —

Before we renew your subscription to the Arkansas Gazette we would like for you to indicate whether or not you find it has any value for your purposes.

Sincerely,

Ruth Arnold

Office Secy

June 2, 1960

Miss Ruth Arnold
Secretary
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Miss Arnold:

Thank you for your letter concerning the Arkansas Gazette. The research secretary did send a letter asking a year's renewal of the Gazette with the bill to come to us; but apparently, you had already renewed the subscription and so they never billed us I now find out.

In any case, we would like to continue with our subscription for at least three months. Would you be so kind to inform the correct person at the Gazette and they can bill us for charges.

We do appreciate the Arkansas Council's gift to us for the additional six months as well as the original subscription.

The copies of the address by Mr. Dabbs have arrived and I expect we will make good use of them.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

*Women's Emergency Committee*
FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS
P. O. BOX 3244 FOREST HEIGHTS STATION
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

December 13, 1960

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Field Director, Southern Regional Council
Rm. 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Rilling,

Attached are 25 copies of our Christmas letter which our members are sending out with their Christmas cards.

In the future we will try to be more prompt in sending our material to you. We apologize for being late with these.

Sincerely yours,

Pat House

Mrs. Byron House, Jr.
Chairman

PH:dm

836 Highland
Fayetteville, Ark.

January 5, 1961

Dear Mr. Rilling,

Would it be at all wise to have a woman director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations? I doubt it, but the only person I've been able to think of as a successor to Mr. Hughes is Dee Potts, Y.W.C.A., 2230 Witherell, Detroit 1, Mich. After finishing college Dee served as a "Danny grad," under the auspices of the Danforth Foundation, here at the University. From here she went to Houston where she was in Y.W. work for several years before going to Detroit. She has had years of experience in difficult situations, has a world of energy, has traveled widely both in and out of the U.S., has great compassion for persons and has herself experienced the lot of the impoverished since she was born in West Virginia, the daughter of a coal miner.

Perhaps my even suggesting Dee is a wild idea as she is "married" to the Y.W.C.A.

Good luck in your search.

Sincerely,

Thelma Engler

February 1, 1961

Mrs. Kyle Engler
836 North Highland
Fayetteville, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Engler:

Thank you very much for your suggestion of Dee Potts for the Alabama Council job. It look now as though both the Alabama and Georgia jobs have been ably filled. We are getting some more information on Miss Potts to keep on file for future vacancies. She certainly sounds like an excellent prospect.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

April 4, 1961

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer
Route 1, Box 314
Scott, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Brewer:

Ruth Arnold has asked me to do something in the way of an endorsement of the role of the Arkansas Council. If the enclosed does not meet your needs, feel free to alter it some way or let me know if you need something longer or different.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm
Enc.

October 24, 1961

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc
Room 1224 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Norman:

Thank you for your good and informative letter of October 12. Insofar as I now know I can speak at your Annual Meeting on February 3. I may have some thoughts, as I get nearer the date, regarding the topic but for the present I accpt the one you offer.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

(7)

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

FATHER ALBERT S. FOLEY, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
DR. CARL LANDES, Vice President

DR. A. D. GRAY, Vice President
DR. R. D. CROCKETT, Secretary
REV. J. C. WILSON, Treasurer

NORMAN C. JIMERSON, ~~REV. ROBERT B. HUGHES~~, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

October 12, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council
Rm. 201, 5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I enjoyed very much our chat on Wednesday, October 4th. I hope that I will be able to keep you and the staff at SRC informed about our activities. I will want to make another trip to the Tri-Cities area soon. Hopefully I will be able to spend several days there on my next trip. At that time I will carefully check the exact dates and the step by step moves made to improve the employment picture at Ford and will write a memo for you about the employment picture and the Tri-Cities area.

Paul and I discussed our Annual Meeting to be held on Saturday, February 3, 1962. Would you be able to speak at this meeting on the subject, "An Analysis of Program Activities for State and Local Cahpters"? The Board suggested that the general theme of our Annual Meeting should be the future prospects for Alabama Council. They hope that we can map out a plan of activities and goals for the next five years. We hope you will be able to attend this meeting so that you can help us plan for the future. I know it will benefit our members to get better acquainted with you. We can discuss further the topic for your talk. You would, of course, have freedom to discuss any ideas that you feel would be helpful to the members of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. I talked with Paul about the Annual Meeting and he may have some ideas as to what our needs are. I felt that the trip to Atlanta was most helpful. Paul did an excellent job of planning my day. It was very helpful to talk with Paul about our Council.

Sincerely,

Norman Jimerson

Norman C. Jimerson, Rev.
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

Dictated by Rev. Jimerson; signed in his absence.

November 17, 1961

Reverend Albert S. Foley, S.J.
Department of Social Sciences
Spring Hill College
Spring Hill Station
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Father Foley:

We are enclosing a check for $25.74 covering your expenses in attendance at our Annual Meeting.

We very much valued your attendance and participation as well as that of the other state council presidents who were here.

The invitation to you and the other presidents noted that we could not pay your transportation costs. We had hoped that in some cases at least these would be paid by your state council. As a matter of fact, I had earlier discussed this with Norman Jimerson.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD;mbb
Enc. check $25.74

cc: Norman Jimerson

November 1, 1961

Father Albert S. Foley, President
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc
Room 1224 Comer Building
Birmingham, 3, Alabama

Dear Father Foley:

We are very pleased that you will be with us next week. I look forward to becoming better acquainted with you.

Having read your report on the administration of justice in Alabama, both in draft form and in its printing by the Commission on Civil Rights, I am greatly interested in your intention to expand the study. We have been recently developing some ideas for research into this problem and perhaps while you are here there may be an opportunity for you and James Moss, our Research Director, to talk and compare ideas. I frankly doubt, however, that we can be of financial assistance to your projected Alabama study. We have had a long standing policy against subsidizing research except in connection with our own publications program. In view of the extremely limited funds we have available for research I think this is the only practical policy for us.

I hope that we can be of aid to you in connection with the workshop discussed in your letter of October 30, though again I must point out that the Council is not a grant making organization. We have, however, had in the past success in engaging able people to serve as consultants at workshops throughout the South and we do, whenever possible, supply them appropriate and requested materials.

There are possibilities here, in other words, which are certainly worth discussing.

We shall make hotel reservations for you and inform you in advance.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

PR
PA


# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director


"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Spring Hill College, Mobile,
October 30, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Dunbar,

You may recall that in writing my acceptance of your recent invitation to attend the SRC meeting November 8 and 9 in Atlanta, I said that I would have to clear it with my superiors. I am happy to say that they have granted methe necessary authorization to attend the conference and that I shall be happy to participate in the sessions at that time according to the program that you sent me.

PA

I would appreciate it very much if you would let me know what hospitality arrangements are usually made for your membership. If hotel reservations are involved, I would like to ask you to make reservations for me for those two nights of November 8 and 9.

At this time, I would also like to state that our administration has approved the projected offering of a six weeks human relations workshop next summer as part of the summer school offerings. I have been wanting for years to schedule one of these workshops locally but have not been able to do it up to this time. I have conducted these six-weeks workshops in Los Angeles under the joint sponsorship of Loyola University, American Jewish Committee, National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1953 to 1957. I also conducted these six-weeks' operations in San Antonio at Our Lady of the Lake College under the joint sponsorship of the College and the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1957 to 1960. This past summer I conducted two graduate courses at Fordham University in New York, one in interreligious relations and the other in interracial relations that were the equivalent of a summer workshop.

This coming summer our plans are for a workshop designed along the lines of these previous operations with the special adaptations necessary for our own Southeastern

situation. Though our plans have not been worked out to the last detail, we know that we will need some support from agencies interested in the betterment of human relations in the region. I would like to be able to present a petition to the Southern Regional Council for some grant-in-aid to cover the expenses that we will have in bringing in visiting consultants for this workshop. In Los Angeles and San Antonio as well as in New York, the local availability of some outstanding authorities in this field made it possible for us to conduct the workshop effectively without the added expense of travel and hospitality for the visiting consultants. However, as you are readily aware, this type of authority is not available locally. We will have to bring in from Atlanta, Nashville and other points, the consultants that will be necessary for the effective operation of the program.

I would like to request that Southern Regional Council set aside a grant-in-aid in the neighborhood of $1,000 or $1,200 to assist us in this program.

I trust that I will be able to discuss this matter with you at greater length when I see you next week in Atlanta.

With best wishes and warmest regards, I remain

Sincerely as ever,

Father Albert S. Foley S.J.

Father Albert S. Foley, S.J., Ph.D.
Department of Sociology

ASF:jms

PR-
PA-
pls write & return to me for reply


# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director


"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

October 23, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Dunbar,

Many thanks for your invitation to the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council to be held in Atlanta on November 8 and 9. I am deeply honored that the executive committee has authorized you to invite me as president of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

As I shall be on my way to Philadelphia to address the Northeastern Regional Convention of the National Student Association, I will be able to fit SRC meeting into my schedule quite well. I am to be in Philadelphia for November 10.

I am happy, therefore, to accept your invitation and to say that I will be in attendance at the meeting at the Atlanta University on November 8 and 9, I assume that my routine request for permission to extend my leave of absence by these two days by the officials to whom I have sent the routine request.

I am planning on making a presentation to the Conference of Alabama Sociologists and Anthropologists who will meet in Birmingham on December 9. This presentation will be concerned with my pilot survey on the administration of justice in Alabama, a copy of which is enclosed. I would like to interest these sociologists from all over the State in an expanded investigation of these matters, and I am wondering whether there would be any chance of requesting a grant in aid to ake care of routine expenses for this project. We could do a very effective and exhaustive job for an estimated $2,500 and could do, of course, a proportionately less asequate job for $2,000 Or $1,500.

Would you be so kind as to let me know what procedures

I should follow in submitting a request like this to the board through you and your staff?

Thanking you for your kindness and assuring you of our deep gratitude for the Southern Regional Council's constant support of our work with the Alabama Council on Human Relations, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Father Albert S. Foley S.J.

Father Albert S. Foley, S.J., Ph.D.
ACHR State President

ASF:jms

# Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director


"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

file

January 15, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Within a few days I will be sending out a newsletter announcing again the Annual Meeting of the Alabama Council on Human Relations to be held at Tuskegee on Saturday, February 3rd.

We are delighted that you are going to be our featured speaker. I will be sending you a copy of my next newsletter.

Sincerely,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

Ark
Gen

November 19, 1962

Mrs. Irene Samuels
c/o Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Irene:

It was so very pleasant seeing you again in Little Rock recently and I appreciate your thoughtfulness in arranging a pleasant social situation which enabled me to meet a number of people I needed to know at one time and place.

As I am leaving SRC, it appears that this was my last trip to Little Rock for some time. Thanks to you, the trip was a pleasant farewell visit.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

ark Gen. LWD ✓
MM

Box 314, Route 1
Scott, Arkansas
December 9, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Our thanks to SRC for the generous check covering my travel expenses to the November meeting. Joe and I are very grateful for having had this experience - and especially for having made so many new friends. Special greetings to all the staff and our very best wishes for a wonderful Christmas and the very best New Year - up to now!

The Arkansas Council has had a sad week, depressed by the results of the school board election last Tuesday -- but we hope we have learned well some lessons it tried to teach us -- notably that splits in groups serve only to help defeat both factions. Ozzell Sutton and his organization had worked very hard for Dr. Jackson and the small Negro vote was very disappointing and difficult to explain. But, as he says, they are not so disheartened that they won't try again. And after all, Dr. Jackson was second in the three man race, with the avowed segregationist third.

Our executive committee meets this week and we shall be talking about you. Thanks again for all your kindness to us.

Most sincerely,

Vivion

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer

*Women's Emergency Committee*
FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS
P. O. Box 3244 Forest Heights Station
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
April 15, 1963

ask LWD ✓
Gen ML ✓
SB ✓
return to PA ✓
MM

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I thoroughly enjoyed your visit to Little Rock. Just sorry the 'budget' doesn't allow longer and more frequent visits - for we can learn so much from these exchanges.

In the excitement of actually getting to talk to you, I forgot to give you the enclosed copy of a speech that Ruth thought you might want to consider for partial publication in THE NEW SOUTH.* Realize it has some political statements that would have to be edited out, but it surely has a lot for careful thought also.

what would be left?

You met Henry Woods at Ruth's. He is associated with the law firm of McMath, Woods, Leatherman and Youngdahl.

Come see us again soon.

Sincerely yours,

Irene

Mrs. John M. Samuel

Maggie - would Banks be interested in this?

Enclosure

Can't use — Maggie

* or Lawrence - maybe on L-Report.

MM

Gen

Arkansas Gazette.
LITTLE ROCK
ARKANSAS

ESTABLISHED 1819

ARKANSAS' LEADING NEWSPAPER

May 1, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for Robert Shelton's story on songs as a civil rights weapon. It got here in plenty of time. I'm still working on the story.

Sincerely,

Roy Reed

Roy Reed

Gen

METHODIST STUDENT CENTER
730 West Maple
Phone 2-8089

MINISTERS
A. W. Martin
James E. Loudermilk

# Wesley Foundation

University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Arkansas

METHODIST CHURCHES
CENTRAL
Dickson and Highland
WIGGINS
205 West Sixth
TRINITY
Garland and Sycamore

May
Twenty-nine
1 9 6 3

Mr. Nat Griswold
1220 W. Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Enclosed you will find a copy of the minutes of the last Fayetteville Community Relations Council meeting. I am encircling a paragraph that is pertinent to you. You will note that we are making some plans to make use of your talents this summer.

In addition to what you find in the minutes, may I ask you to help in an interracial leadership training "class" for some community residents who have expressed a desire for this sort of thing.

We have just gotten word about the N.S.A. meeting in Atlanta on July 15 - August 12. Could you send us the application blanks and other information about this meeting. I understand that the Southern Regional Council has a hand in the sponsorship of this meeting on civil rights, along with the United States National Student Association. I don't know much about the U.S.N.S.A., so could you please give me information about it that would be helpful in explaining to students the purpose of this meeting in Atlanta.

We look forward to seeing you this first term of summer school, although I will be gone the first part of June.

Cordially yours,

Jim Loudermilk

Jim Loudermilk

JL:cak
Enclosure

Paul Anthony:
Because our information is so limited we send this on to you, hoping you can call NSA office promptly and get an answer to James L's request.
Nat

We received only one application blank.

Gen

June 3, 1963

Mr. Jim Loudermilk
Wesley Foundation
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Arkansas

Dear Jim:

We have asked the NSA Southern Project office to send you application blanks and information about the summer conference.

SRC is not a sponsor, but we are serving as advisor. The conference will be primarily concerned with young people who have been participants in "action" situations; giving some attention in depth to history, economics, community structure, etc..

I am sure any applications recommended by you will receive serious attention.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm
cc: Connie Curry
Nat Griswold

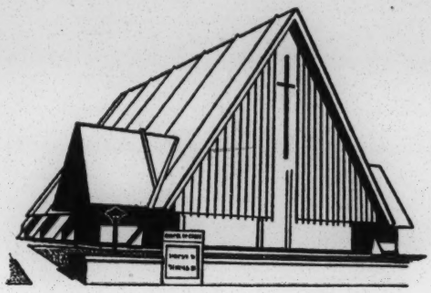
Add

Gen


# Wesley Foundation

University of Arkansas
730 West Maple

*Ministers:*
*A. W. Martin*
*Jim Loudermilk*


Local Churches:

Central
*Dickson and Highland*

St. James
*Willow and Center*

Trinity
*Garland and Sycamore*

Wiggins
*205 West Sixth*


July 10, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

Nat Griswold has referred several copies of your SRC Newsletter to me on various occasions. I have found these of great use to me in my work with students and within the Fayetteville Community Relations Council. I serve on the services committee of the latter.

Would you please place me on the mailing list of your newsletter, to help us on the Fayetteville work in human relations.

Cordially,

Jim Loudermilk

Jim Loudermilk

JL:cak

MM

ask Gen

MRS. JOE ROBINSON BREWER
BOX 314 ROUTE 1
SCOTT, ARKANSAS

July 20, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Ever since we came home in June, I've meant to write to you to tell you how sorry I am to have missed your visit with ACHR this spring. I just hope you will come back when I am here — and that, d.v., I'll see you in Atlanta in November.

I've been most interested to read the SRC news sheet - and the various publications. So much is happening these days, so much that I don't ever catch up on reading — and may have faulty recall of what I do read — so if I've had some sort of hallucination, forgive me.

We had an interesting membership meeting of ACHR at Aldersgate a week ago today — of which you must have had or will have a full report from the staff. My own small part in it was an introduction for the reports of four members of a panel - my subject being - "Our Image in Europe" — obviously because of our recent trip. The little I said was so kindly received that I wondered if anything in it might be of interest to Margaret Long — or did I dream that she once asked for any suggestions for New South? — At any rate, I've tried to write down what I did say - and am sending it along, with full assurance that my feelings won't be one bit hurt if it gets tossed in the waste basket. I mean this sincerely.

MRS. JOE ROBINSON BREWER
BOX 314 ROUTE 1
SCOTT, ARKANSAS



As always, we are most grateful to SRC for your help - financially and otherwise. At the moment we are most especially pleased to have gained those matching funds- and say a hearty Thank You! In truth, the present atmosphere at 1220 West Capitol is so optimistic about finances that it scares me a little but then, I was brought up in a bank and so am a dotted line person.

Which reminds me that Bert Cartwright and I had letters from a Professor Jewell L. Gresham of Great Neck, N.Y. representing SOUTHERNERS FOR UNITY — but giving no other names or references. I have wondered if you are familiar with their organization and might have given them our names. His letter came too late for me to join in the Washington Post ad anyway - but I have wished he had given us more information - more specific information, ~~anyway.~~ naming names, for instance.

My warm (and this would be so regardless of this weather) regards to all my friends at SRC — and best wishes -

and Joe says Hello —

Sincerely,

Vivian

Pine Bluff Commercial 8-15-63

# Negro Leader Says Integration Cannot Be Delayed Any Longer

WHS

One of Arkansas' new Negro leaders declared last night that the timing of desegregation had ceased to be negotiable.

Ozell Sutton of Little Rock said he had told white negotiators in discussing desegregation at Little Rock: "I'm willing to help you work out all of the problems of doing it now—but let's do it now."

Sutton, a native of Gould, is associate director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, a biracial group which works for desegregation and Negro opportunity.

**Speaks at Meeting**

He spoke at a meeting of the Pine Bluff Movement at Amos Chapel Baptist Church.

There has been some disagreement among Pine Bluff Negroes about tactics of the Pine Bluff Movement since the movement conducted a protest demonstration at the city-county Library August 1 without having first requested a change in library policies.

Sutton said: "We must seek at all times to solve our problems by negotiations if we can. But ... the South must understand the urgency of doing it now ... if it is not possible to come to the table, then whatever we must do, we must do."

"I'm pretty patient," he said. "I'm 37 now, and I've been waiting 37 years."

**Special Assignment**

He said that Negroes had been assigned "a special task — the perfection of a democracy and the purification of a religion." He called for a government "of all the people, by all the people and for all the people."

"What we stand for, the white community wouldn't stand for 10 minutes," Sutton said. He gibed at Southern whites who claimed to love Negroes: "I don't know how in the world you can insist that you love a man, and yet refuse to sit down beside him."

He was scornful of Southerners who contend that the President's proposed legislation barring discrimination in places of public accommodation was an invasion of individual rights. "Since the mid-1880s, the Southern states have forced businessmen to segregate, but now they come along and say you can't pass this because it will invade our property rights," he said.

Sutton declared communsim to be repugnant and alien, and added: "Russia is not our number one enemy. Our number one enemy is our lack of a real, genuine functioning democracy."

Communism will cease to be a threat if such a democracy is established, Sutton contended.

He said that white vagrants and Premier Khrushchev could be served in any business place in Pine Bluff yet Negroes were excluded.

He accused Arkansas of squandering its human resources. "Arkasas is poor because I am poor," he said. He also said: "Booker T. Washington really had something when he asked, 'How are you going to keep a man in the ditch unless you get down there with him?' "

**Crowd Applauds**

Sutton was often applauded by the crowd of perhaps 250. Seventy-five dollars was raised in Sunday night's collection for the movement, it was announced.

## Arrests Discussed

The Pine Bluiff Movement trying to avoid having dem strators arrested at McDon Hamburgers at 1300 Main S Chairman Robert Whitfield movement said last night

Whitfield spoke at the meeting of the mover Amos Chapel Baptist Ch said a shift in strategy decided on at two mee last week.

It seems more "keep the press Donald's" than go to jail, Whit

He impli be goi rant r er gr lars le

*Memo* from **WILEY A. BRANTON**

PAC
file SRC
Linda
VI

~~WHO~~

40

11:00

Ja 1-1173 file
Cerk. Comm

August 27, 1963

Mrs. Vivion Brewer
Box 314, Route 1
Scott, Arkansas

Dear Vivion:

We have been compiling suggestions for new members of the Council to present to the nominating committee. In doing so, your suggestion last year of Mrs. Terry has come to our attention. The Committee last year felt Mrs. Terry probably should not be asked at her age to take on the duties of a member, though her accomplishments and activities are certainly impressive.

It now occurs to us that Mrs. Terry would be an excellent candidate as a Life Fellow of the Council. You will recall this designation was established last year by the Council to honor distinguished Southerners. The procedure established was that of having members make suggestions to the executive committee, with the best of the suggestions referred to the members at the Annual Meeting. If you agree with us that Mrs. Terry should be considered as a Life Fellow, would you write a brief note to this effect to Les. It will not be necessary to send biographic information since we have the material you sent last year.

Hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Side
A.C.H.R

December 3, 1963

Mrs. Vivion Brewer
Box 314, Route 1
Scott, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Brewer:

I wish it were a later date, but you may plan for me to be with you on January 4.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

LOCKE MANUSCRIPTS

MRS. JOE ROBINSON BREWER
BOX 314, ROUTE 1
SCOTT, ARKANSAS

November 24, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I think it infinitely proper that the annual meeting of SRC was postponed. Truthfully, I have felt so shattered by the catastrophic tragedy two days ago that it was taking every ounce of courage I have to go ahead with plans to fly to Atlanta tomorrow. I knew I could contribute nothing to the meeting at this point and I was equally sure that I'd hear little of what was said; but I was steeling myself for the trip because I was to bear a personal message to you.

ACHR would like to have its annual meeting on Saturday, January 4, 1964, but only if you will come to us then to be the vital part of the program. We have talked of our need of you for many months, and this seems to be the time when we could draw in more of our members to hear you. Our idea is that our Advisory Council would meet that morning, and then we'd have a full membership luncheon at which you would be our speaker. This would be followed by a "report" session (and the usual business, of course) in the afternoon, during which I'm sure we'd want you to take further part. It is also probable that we'd have a reception that night honoring Bert Cartwright. I'm sure you know he is leaving Little Rock, and surely you know how desperately he will be missed.

Please do try to fit us in your busy schedule for January 4. When you say "Yes" we'll go into further details - but perhaps I should say that as of now there are none. It all depends on you!

I have just watched the funeral cortege on television, and do not have wits or heart to write further; but I do hope I have made clear how very much ACHR hopes to see you on January 4. Send us an approval as early as you can and we'll get busy on plans to make this the sort of day we'll all remember as the beginning of great and good things in 1964.

Most sincerely,

Vivian Brewer

Files: State Council on Human Relations
Arkansas
Cabinet #18

January 6, 1964

Mr. Fred Darragh
Route 5, Box 339
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Fred:

I didn't get a chance to see you again at the reception. Nat Griswold made a breakfast date with me, and took me to the air port.

When are you going to put that plane of yours down in Atlanta?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Ark. Gen.

M M

PA

The Panel of Americans
423 Shamrock Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas

January 17, 1964

file
Guers

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

It was a pleasure to hear you and get to be with you afterward at Ruth's house.

We are so thrilled about the success of our panel and would like very much to help get similar panels off the ground elsewhere in the South. The enclosed material will give you an idea of what we are doing.

Sincerely,

Sara Murphy

Clip in Race & R. Relations.

Research - ~~Misc~~

FROM:
Sara Murphy (Mrs. Patrick C.)

423 Shamrock Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas

THE PANEL OF AMERICANS
Little Rock, Arkansas

The Little Rock Panel of Americans was organized in the summer of 1963 with the help of Mrs. Paul Brown (812 West 61st Street) of Kansas City, Mo. Mrs. Brown, whose Kansas City Panel is going into its seventh year, has helped organized similar panels in St. Louis, Omaha, Philadelphia, Des Moines and Los Angeles. Ours is the first in the South.

I first heard about the Panel while attending the National Committee for Public Schools meeting in Washington, D.C., in April, 1963. Mr. Homer Wadsworth, president of the Kansas City School Board, told me about the Kansas City panel and said it had been a valuable aid in promoting community acceptance of school integration. He put me in touch with Mrs. Brown who came to Little Rock and helped us get started here.

The unique thing about this program is that it reaches the unconverted. The women go before church groups, PTA's, civic clubs and similar organizations, using the housewife-talking-to-housewife approach. They deal frankly with the problems of prejudice but use a warm and highly person approach. The Panel consists of a Catholic, Jew, (the two religious minority representatives) a Negro, sometimes an Oriental (the two ethnic minority panelists) and a white Protestant majority member, each of whom speaks for five minutes dealing with her experiences with prejudice. A moderator, who is in charge of the program, then opens a question period which usually turns out to be the most valuable part of the program because it sets up a dialogue with the audience.

Despite the seemingly casual "housewife" approach, real skill is required in setting up a program of this sort and Mrs. Brown's advice on technique was invaluable. We worked for about three months locating the right panelists, training them and helping them prepare speeches. We have some 20 panelists who are a part of the Little Rock Panel and we accept two bookings a week.

Our Panel is unsponsored and is a volunteer effort. We are not connected with other similar Panels although Mrs. Brown was a tremendous help to us and we are indebted to her for the idea. The first Panel of Americans program was started several years ago as a college students' program but I do not believe the university program is now active. Mrs. Brown, I believe, started the first women's group.

The Little Rock Panel has appeared before 18 groups, including the PTA Council, the Arkansas Council of Churches, the Rotary Club, the American Association of University Women, and the Council of Jewish Women. Some 15 more appearances are already scheduled for the spring, including six out-of-town ones including one in Memphis. Bookings are still coming in.

This kind of human rights education has tremendous potential, particularly in the South. We have encountered no hostility although we have had questioners disagree with us. I believe we have changed the thinking of some people.

THE PANEL OF AMERICANS
Little Rock, Arkansas

----------INFORMATION for PROGRAM CHAIRMEN:

What is the Panel?

The Panel of Americans is an unsponsored group of five women--Catholic, Jew, Negro, Chinese-American and white Protestant--who with a moderator present some of the problems and experiences they personally have encountered as members of different religious and ethnic groups. Each panelist speaks for five minutes and then a question period follows, making the program length approximately one hour.

Speaking informally, these women tell about themselves, their families, their beliefs and their own feelings about prejudice. They speak honestly, frankly, often reaching into some hidden area of your heart or mind. There is both humor and sadness in the stories they have to tell.

What is the Purpose of the Panel?

The Panel's purpose is to show the differences which exist among us as Americans and to present the experiences of these women in dealing with them. The Panel is a human relations program which seeks to promote better understanding among people of diverse backgrounds.

How do I Book the Panel?

You may call either Mrs. Patrick C. Murphy, 423 Shamrock Dr. MO 6-5646 or Mrs. Edwin Mendel, 5300 Crestwood Dr. MO 6-9436. The panel is available for any church, or civic group, P.T.A. or other organization which desires a program of this nature. It is also available for conventions and conferences. The program is suitable for groups of 50 or more. Travel expenses for out-of-town engagements are met by the sponsoring group. No other cost is involved in the Panel presentation.

How do I Introduce the Panel?

Here is a suggested introduction:

A group of women were discussing one day what they might do to bring about better understanding in the community. They hit upon the idea of working up a panel which would tell about themselves, their differences and their common bond as Americans. They call themselves the Panel of Americans and I would like to present them to you now.

Ark. - Gen. -

MRS. JOE ROBINSON BREWER
BOX 314, ROUTE 1
SCOTT, ARKANSAS

Sunday, April 12, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thank you and SRC for your visit to us. I feel it must help, in many ways. But in my absorption in ACHR's problems, I forgot to give you Joe's message, and I was roundly chided for that, so here it is: "You tell Paul to stay home and send Florence instead. He may be able to handle the situation, but I know she can." And you'll guess there were a few other reasons.

After talking with Pat Youngdahl and with Dr. Townsend, and brooding over my own personal problem, I've decided to make no break with ACHR at this time. Actually yesterday was the first time I felt any support at all and so it would shame me to quit. Besides, I feel a keen sense of failure and I'd like to dispel that if I can, for the good of my own soul.

Reading the quarterly report, I made all sorts of doodles all over it, especially on page 4 under C <u>In Politics</u>. The inaccuracies both in the facts and the emphases bother me greatly -- as does the statement on page 5 as to why I appointed the committees -- but I feel it best to let this sort of thing pass for now, so I shall file the report and thank Nat for sharing it with us.

I felt afterwards that we should have checked on your plane. I do hope you didn't have to wait, and if you did, that you had an addition to your lunch. There were many things I left un-said, but you must have had a plethora of our confessionals. Do you sometimes feel akin to Ann Landers?

I'll try to give you a report from time to time, and I do hope they - the reports - will be reassuring. I've made it a policy to stay out of the office since our annual meeting, but in due course I shall make one trip in to assay the effects of your visit. I'm confident I shall then be the <u>more</u> grateful to you.

Our best to all our friends there - and especially to you.

Sincerely,

Vivian

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

April 24, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Field Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul Anthony:

We do appreciate your concern for our internal tensions as witnessed by your visit to us April 11-12. Thank you for your note of encouragement just received.

While the stress of forces does not bear upon my mind constantly as it did earlier, we still lack a good deal of being liberated for full creative activities. Maybe this will come as time brings changes.

Again, thanks.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

OFFICERS-MRS. JOE R. BREWER, CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REVEREND GEORGE W. GUNN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • DR. G. P. FREEMAN, TREASURER • MRS. W. E. MORRIS, SECRETARY
STAFF-NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • OZELL SUTTON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • RUTH ARNOLD, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

May 13, 1964

Mrs. Marge Manderson
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Check L/M
supply exhausted
Done

Dear Mrs. Manderson:

Please send us 200 copies of the leaflets dealing with Titles 2 and 3 of the Proposed Civil Rights Bill of 1964.

In case Maggie Long hasn't passed the word, I'll be in Atlanta this weekend for the ACLU Southern Conference and plan to drop in at SRC Friday afternoon. Will you make sure Les, Paul, Vernon, and Florence Robin know? Thanks.

I look forward to meeting you.

Sincerely,

Ruth Arnold

Ruth Arnold

OFFICERS—MRS. JOE R. BREWER, CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REVEREND GEORGE W. GUNN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • DR. G. P. FREEMAN, TREASURER • MRS. W. E. MORRIS, SECRETARY
STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • OZELL SUTTON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • RUTH ARNOLD, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

file: Ark. Council on H. Rel. State Council

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Arkansas Council on Human Relations

REGARDING

Article appearing in Arkansas Gazette of June 1, 1964
(Reprint)
and distribution of same.

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Folder marked: "Lists-Distribution, 1964"

file - State Councils (Arkansas)
Arkansas Gazette 1-5-64

LWD

—Staff Photos.

## Council Leaders for 1964

Officers of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations installed Saturday include (from left) Dr. Garman P. Freeman, treasurer; Mrs. Joe R. Brewer, president, and Dr. William H. Townsend and Rev. George W. Gunn, vice presidents. Not shown is Mrs. Woodbridge E. Morris, secretary.

# South Faces Integration or Madness, SRC Director Tells Relations Council

By BILL LEWIS
Of the Gazette Staff

The executive director of the Southern Regional Council told the Arkansas Council on Human Relations Saturday that white Southerners have a choice only of integration or madness. He urged that race relations be returned from the courts and the streets to politics.

What has been so wrong in the South in the past, said Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar of Atlanta, a native of Virginia, has been that it has not been able to work out its one most important problem — race — through the channels of politics.

"It meant that we couldn't deal even with fringe questions of race relations," he said.

Arkansas has the opportunity within the next few months or a year of providing leadership possibly for all the South when it must adopt a voter registration law to supplant the poll tax, which is on the verge of being made unconstitutional.

The kind of voter registration law the state writes, Dr. Dunbar said, will be a matter of "the most crucial importance" to the state's people.

To Negroes of the state, the South and the nation, he said, the great issue of how to get along better with other people has to do with very practical things—survival, a decent place to live decent education that equips people for life, finding America for their welfare."

Mississippi, as did Arkansas a few years back, "has America by the throat." The whole nation can appreciate the leadership in Arkansas which prevented a constitutional crisis in

## Speaker and Guest

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar (right) is shown at the Council luncheon with Rev. Colbert S. Cartwright, who with his wife was honored by the Council at a reception Saturday night.

Emory University and worked for the Atomic Energy Commission before going to the SRC in 1959 as director of research. He became executive director in 1961.

He was introduced by Mr. Cartwright, who is leaving Lit

Southerners have a choice only of integration or madness. He urged that race relations be returned from the courts and the streets to politics.

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To Negroes of the state, the South and the nation, he said, the great issue of how to get along better with other people has to do with very practical things—survival, a decent place to live decent education that equips people for life, finding jobs and job opportunities equivalent to their talents, exercising one's duties as a voter, of "finding a room at the inn," or enjoying the accommodations and the conveniences of American society.

## Whites as Losers

Unless the old issue is solved soon, whites will have more to lose as a practical matter than the Negroes, who, Dunbar said, "have precious little to lose."

There is no way at all to maintain the Constitution and segregation, he said. As long as Negroes acquiesced it was possible in a fashion. But the Constitution depends on consent, and when 19,000,000 Negroes stopped consenting, there was no longer a practical way that segregation could be preserved.

The only question, he said, was how soon it was to go, and with what ease or difficulty.

"I think there is a crisis today in the American Constitution which every one of us needs to be deeply apprehensive of," Dr. Dunbar said. "If we do not solve the race problem and solve it well and soon, we risk damage to the Constitution, institutions and principles of this nation which may be irreparable."

## Mississippi Cited

He cited Mississippi as one state which has chosen to preserve segregation at the price of suppressing political constitutional liberties, at the price of having a society in which men fear to speak freely and who are under intense pressures to conform.

"Mississippi has chosen to raise a generation of young people that is disdainful of all that we mean by liberty," he said. "It is a horrible price that other states came close to paying."

He said the Constitution also was threatened by the slowness of Congress to "exercise its obligations in the No. 1 domestic problem of civil rights." This has been the top domestic problem for 10 years and throughout this time, Congress has "practically left the issue alone."

Failure to "seriously undertake the integration of Negroes" into the economic, educational and political life of the nation will create or further conditions in which one-tenth of the nation's people cannot reasonably be expected to have the same gratitude and confidence in our institutions as the remaining people have.

"We need to fear deeply the consequences of continuing to hold out from the main stream of American life one-tenth of our people," Dr. Dunbar said.

## America 'Lucky'

America has been "terribly lucky" that Negroes, as their demands began to arise, asked to be integrated, and not to be "moved out or over white people."

If the political system cannot be made to work in time, the nation will have created a strong minority "who cannot look to America for their welfare."

Mississippi, as did Arkansas a few years back, "has America by the throat." The whole nation can appreciate the leadership in Arkansas which prevented a constitutional crisis in Arkansas earlier. Dunbar mentioned "a band of amazing women," presumably the Women's Emergency Committee; two newspapers and such men as Harry S. Ashmore, Rev. Colbert S. Cartwright, Wiley A. Branton, Brooks Hays and Worth Long.

Because of the valor of these, Dr. Dunbar said, the liberal leadership can now take the offensive because leadership is now Arkansas's and the South's crucial need.

In some Southern states, notably Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee and Georgia, there seems to be a shift away from opposition to equality to one of neutralism, if not of actually favoring racial integration. These states to a degree have stopped the practice of "nigger politics," Dr. Dunbar said and he expressed the hope that others would follow suit.

Dr. Dunbar said he wished he could see in the civil rights movement the beginning of "more looking to state governments" for the satisfaction of demands by Negroes.

The Supreme Court's landmark decision on legislative representation "may see the doctrine of state's rights come into its own" by providing the opportunity of "creating state governments that are responsive to what the people want" and by giving urban—and thus Negro—voters a greater voice in state affairs.

## Changing South

The South is changing rapidly, Dr. Dunbar said, and this change poses a direct and immediate challenge to the civil rights movement. That challenge is that "we realize that the main issue no longer is merely civil rights but integration — the conscious, immdeiate, day-to-day goal of the civil rights movement."

Dr. Dunbar, who holds a political science doctorate from Cornell University, taught at Mount Holyoke College, Cornell University, Smith College and Emory University and worked for the Atomic Energy Commission before going to the SRC in 1959 as director of research. He became executive director in 1961.

He was introduced by Mr. Cartwright, who is leaving Little Rock next week for a new pastorage at Youngstown, Ohio. Dr. William H. Townsend of Little Rock presented to him and Mrs. Cartwright a silver tray in appreciation of their service to the Arkansas Council, on whose board Mr. Cartwright has served since its formation in 1954.

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer of Scott, president of the Council, presided at the interracial luncheon meeting at the Grady Manning Hotel.

**Speaker and Guest**

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar (right) is shown at the Council luncheon with Rev. Colbert S. Cartwright, who with his wife was honored by the Council at a reception Saturday night.

Ark-Gen

Mr.

Let's discuss

MR

MRS. JOE ROBINSON BREWER
BOX 314, ROUTE 1
SCOTT, ARKANSAS

June 17, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I can imagine you have more than you can say grace over this week, but I want to get this request on your desk before I forget it.

The president of the Little Rock chapter of A.A.U.W. called me yesterday and said she had been contacted by their national representative to the Women's Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Commission. An effort is being made to collect names of WOMEN especially in the South - but even as far afield as California - whom they could contact in the event of any adverse developments in any locality following the passage of the Civil Rights Bill. I am attempting to make up a list for her, but know you could give me a much, much broader one.

I have the list of members of SRC, of course, and can take names from this -- but your more intimate knowledge of personalities and situations would make your selections far more valuable. Any help you can give AAUW on this will be appreciated deeply by them -- and by me.

I do hope great and good things come out of the staff meeting this week. It was too bad that this conflict gave ACHR a rather meager representation at the annual dinner of the Urban League last night -- to hear Whitney Young --. They had only 189 there, a keen disappointment to them -- but it was an enthusiastic meeting.

All best wishes -- and to all my friends there - and many thanks for your help.

Sincerely,

Vivian

Arda - Gen.

June 22, 1964

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer
Box 314
Route 1
Scott, Arkansas

Dear Vivonn:

We are working with AAUW and will do everything possible to be of help to them.

Our state staff meeting was a good one, I think. Nat seemed in much better shape than earlier.

Hope to see you soon. In the meantime, best to you and to Joe.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Ark - Gen.

February 4, 1965

Mrs. Ruth Arnold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Ruth:

While I don't know the particulars about the Brandeis Fellowships (except that they sound mighty good), I see no reason why you shouldn't apply. Hope it isn't too late, but don't know that either.

Feel free to list any or all of us here as references. Les is the reference of most value, of course, and I feel certain he would recommend you well.

About ACHR staff attendance at the meeting, I dare not comment.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Ark - Gen.

March 26, 1965

Mrs. Ruth Arnold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Ruth:

It's good news to hear you have found a position where your considerable talents can be used.

Our very best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Ark. - Gen.

March 31, 1965

Mr. Herbert C. Rule
721 West 3rd Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Rule:

Paul Anthony, with whom you spoke yesterday, has asked me to write you that the movie FACE OF THE SOUTH is available, and is being shipped to you by the Anti-Defamation League today. It should reach you by the 6th or 7th of April. ADL will bill you for the charges (which are very minor).

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Activities

COPY MADE BY ADL

December 29, 1965

Father Walter B. Clancy, Chairman
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Father Clancy:

I just ran onto a mimeographed copy of something gotten out by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and a HHFA booklet which it refers too. The mere fact that I have had it in my possession for some months as Chairman of the Alabama Advisory Committee without ever reviewing it is apalling, particularly when it is a field I am particularly interested in personally.

It makes me wonder if the above reaction is indicative of one of the following:

(1) Questionaire without personal contact are deadly and doomed?

(2) This particular questionaire is approached in too technically a fashion?

(3) If we get what we need it must be broken down into smaller doses?

What are your reactions?

Sincerely yours,

Moreland Griffith Smith, FAIA
Director
Urban Planning Project

MGS/pf

F

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

18 May 1966

Mr. Edwin Stanfield, Director
Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Ed Stanfield:

This confirms the date for your visit to Arkansas, June 10.

We plan to have you meet with our Board and a few others 4:00 to 6:00 P.M. Hopefully, before then you will have had time to talk with the staff, the chairman of our Board, and chairman of the Finance Committee.

The Board members plan to have a dinner with their wives at 6:30 pm followed by an after session in the home of one member. We expect you for all these.

Let us know when you will arrive.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

Nat R. Griswold
Executive Director

NRG:cit

P.S. Actually, after June 1, Ozell Sutton will be Acting Director. You may wish to clear any details with him.

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*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

File - State Councils
Ark. C.H.R.

June 22, 1966

Mr. Ozell Sutton
Associate Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Ozell:

I did know of your decision to leave the Arkansas Council and I cannot tell you how sorry I am of it. I hope, of course, that you have made the right decision and wish you all possible good luck.

It is difficult for me, however, to concentrate on whether or not you have made the right decision since I have hoped for sometime that you would be the new director of the Arkansas Council, and regret losing you just as we got you.

I, too, hope we can continue the closest possible relationship.

Every good wish.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

(1)

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

Rec'd 6/22/66

20 June 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

You probably have learned by now that I plan to leave the Arkansas Council on Human Relations and take a position with the Community Relations Service. Of course, I have mixed emotions about leaving, especially now, but when everything is considered, I think my decision is wise.

No public statement about my plans has been made as I want to get ACHR's financial situation secured before an announcement is made. I expect to go either July 15 or August 1. I can choose between a regional directorship or field representative, and I have decided to take the position of field representative and work out of Little Rock. Therefore, I will be around to do what I can with ACHR.

It has been rewarding both personally and professionally to be associated with you the last five years. You must know that you and all SRC have my best wishes for a successful and rewarding work.

Sincerely,

Ozell Sutton

Ozell Sutton
Associate Director

OS:cit

cc: Edwin Stanfield
Vernon Jordan, Jr.

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File
Ark. Council
~~Prison Reform~~
Cr ref
~~Ark. Council~~
Prison Project

August 17, 1966

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Associate Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Mr. Coleman:

Thank you for your letter of August 12 and the kind comments you make regarding our Prison Project.

I was very much interested to learn that there are a number of groups in the Little Rock area which have shown some interest in the area of prison reform. Is it possible to get representatives from each of these groups together to meet and talk about what can be done in Little Rock? If this is possible, I would be available to meet with them there at a mutually convenient time. Let me know what develops.

Sincerely,

John O. Boone, Director
SRC Project on Corrections

JOB/mmj

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

12 August 1966

Mr. John Boone, Director
Criminal Rehabilitation & Prison Reform Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Boone:

Your presentation to our group last week on prison administration and criminal rehabilitation gave me some valuable information.

Since I have been back, I've had a discussion with Nat Griswold our Director to explain to him as best I could your program and how our Council might be of help.

Considerable public interest, intensified by publicity on whipping of prisoners, appeal of prisoners to federal courts for defense of their rights, and farming our prisoners to deer hunters' camps, has been aroused.

Some research has been done by the Legal Defense and Education Fund in connection with litigation. We have access to this. A number of groups have shown interest -- Arkansas Council of Churches, several church bodies, and the human rights groups.

We would like indication as to the focus of the research which you contemplate and how ACHR can participate best in it.

Sincerely,

Elijah Coleman

Elijah Coleman
Associate Director

EC:cit

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Ark. General

FUTURE PLANS AND EMPHASES OF THE ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Presented to the Board of Directors Saturday, September 10, 1966

By Elijah Coleman, Acting Director

I suggest that for the remainder of this year our main emphases should be placed on public relations and organizing local councils. I am working now on establishing affiliates in El Dorado, Camden, and Arkadelphia. In the near future I plan to organize in Texarkana, Marianna, Forrest City and Hot Springs. If we can set into motion autonomous, well organized, and goal directed groups, our program for 1967 can be more effectively carried out throughout the entire state.

During 1967 I feel that our central emphasis should be on working with problems of the Negro poor in this state. ACHR should follow and benefit from the national trend of focussing every effort to bring the poor into the mainstream of American culture. Federal funds, information, and consultants are abundantly available, and I feel that we should take every advantage of these services. It is important that we inform the poverty community of their rights under the several federal programs and under the provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The following include the major issues with which we will concern ourselves:

1) Welfare programs: procedures, rights, benefits, injustices.

2) Establishment of child day care centers. An organized local affiliate can be of great help in setting up and profitting from these centers.

3) Participation in the SRC Paperback Book Distribution Project. I believe that it is extremely important for our relationship with SRC to participate and cooperate with their various programs. Making more adequate reading materials available to disadvantaged persons will be relatively more simple if we can arouse the local affiliates to meet this need.

4) Year round voter education programs.

5) Housing situation of the poor. Urban renewal plans, public housing availability and their integration.

Two further emphases include the Arkansas Judicial System and Employment Practices.

Arkansas Judicial System

1) Research needs to be done on the situation of Arkansas penal farms. In this effort we can expect cooperation of SRC's Criminal Rehabilitation and Penal Reform Project.

2) We should research and expose injustices in every level of Arkansas' judicial structure.

Employment

1) We should plan to do extensive research and investigations into the hiring practices of several large firms. Although it is not the purpose of the Council to seek and secure employment for those who are unemployed, we do have concern for the employment of minorities with those firms with which minorities do a large share of their business.

Of course, the Council should maintain constant vigilance on the progress of school integration throughout the year. I foresee our dealing with unexpected issues during 1967, but I have outlined our major concerns and research areas. We shall attempt to structure our programs on a quarterly basis, and presently quarterly reports to the Board.

Zimmerman Lith. Cincinnati, O.

Always Friendly

HOTEL TAFT

TELEPHONE
NEW HAVEN 7-1121

# Hotel Taft

OPPOSITE THE FAMOUS NEW HAVEN GREEN

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

E.S.

MS - file

Ark. Council

Nov. 30, 1966

Dear Paul Anthony:

Had a long relaxed session with Mr Woodward yesterday. He encouraged me to write "your own story" of events. He thinks people are still much interested in an Arkansas that produces a Fulbright and elects a Rockefeller! He sees no reason why publishing should be too much a problem.

S. Carmichael was here recently. Woodward did not find much in him. He finds Bayard Rustin makes sense. He tried out a thesis he now has to get my reaction: that the second reconstruction has come to an end. He thinks the Johnson admin. must get something different going in the anti-poverty program and program for city development.

CRAIG LAVIN, MANAGER

Zimmerman Lith. Cincinnati, O.

TELEPHONE
NEW HAVEN 7-1121

Always Friendly

HOTEL TAFT

# Hotel Taft

OPPOSITE THE FAMOUS NEW HAVEN GREEN

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

This ended the peculiar forces on the South. It also divided the Negro leaders and the white leaders. It killed the civil rights act of 1966. I did not get what he thought would happen in the South. He has an article to be published in Harper's (January) that may explain more, interesting?

Thanks for your prompt support to me. I feel now that I can really dig in.

Sincerely

Nat

CRAIG LA VIN, MANAGER

~~Bring up Jan. 1, 1967~~
file
Ark. Council

December 30, 1966

Mr. Elijah Coleman
Acting Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Elijah:

This will confirm the fact that I look forward to being with you on January 14th. Likely, I will arrive that morning and leave in mid-afternoon. However, when my schedule is set, I will send it to you.

Every good wish.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

28 December 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

This letter comes as a reminder of a conversation I had with you sometime ago concerning your participation at our annual meeting as a speaker.

At that time our program had not been completed. Our program now schedules you to be our luncheon speaker at 12 noon, Saturday, January 14. Our meeting will not have a theme as such, however, we are giving much emphasis to equal employment opportunities. Our evening speaker will be Stephen Shulman, chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Since those persons in attendance for the luncheon meeting will be made up mostly of ACHR members, Advisory Council and affiliate leaders, you will be free to discuss any topic.

We look forward to meeting with you here.

Sincerely,

Elijah

Elijah Coleman
Acting Director

EC:cit

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*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

Ark. Gen.

*From the Desk of . . .*
RUTH ARNOLD

Dear Paul —

Pat Owens (new member of SRC) asked me yesterday why I didn't apply for the Brandeis Human Relations Fellowship. I can't think of a reason unless only two years of college is insufficient background. Do recommendations get made thru SRC? Is it too late? Any suggestions? I have

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

2

*From the Desk of...*

RUTH ARNOLD

yet to hear directly from the director of ACHR about staff meeting so I don't expect to see you later this month.

Best wishes,

Ruth Arnold

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

2

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

ARKANSAS

T.H.
HCF
KS
FR

Ark.

October 14, 1954

George Mitchell, October 14, interviewed Mrs. Floyd Bates, Treasurer and sometime Chairman of the Arkansas Division. She was in Atlanta for a church women's conference at the Biltmore Hotel, and requested me to come out.

I gave her copies of Memos 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, & 6. She had seen most of these before, but was glad to get the entire set.

Said Mr. Walker had arranged a small meeting of friends of the Arkansas Division, which she thought was to have occured October 13th and 14th.

Harry Ashmore had said flatly that he was unable to be the chairman and give that much time to the Division, but he would be glad to sign a letter to go out to people in the state, asking them to be associated with the group.

Tentative plans have been made to call the organization the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. I talked to her about the idea of consultants scattered over the state, and she liked it.

She is an able woman, balanced, entirely on the right side, and can be exceedingly effective. Personally, I don't know why she shouldn't be the chairman.

Suggested that on the analogy of Alabama they engage some young minister and arrange for his assignment within his denominational hierarchy, so as to preserve his church seniority. She thought that most promising and would look into it.

They have been thinking about making a chairman of a business man in Little Rock. Surname beginning with "D", who would probably be pretty good.

I emphasized with her that SRC would not attempt to dictate policy or program for the Arkansas Division; our wish was to establish within the state an organization which would take root and grow independently.

Offered the services of Fred Routh for a week or so to move about the state and assist them in getting organized.

GM

January 7, 1955

Mr. Harry Ashmore
The Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Harry:

We have managed to get several informed opinions on C.C. Walker -- all favorable.

An able Congregational minister here in Atlanta has known Walker and his work over some years and gives him very high marks. He describes Walker as a man who has refused to be a fundraising reverend poobah in the Negro community, but has elected instead to do a job for his congregation and his community. According to the same source, Walker acquitted himself well in Mississippi and is well thought of by everybody but the stuffed shirts.

George Mitchell also made some inquiries, with similar favorable reports.

All told, we like what we hear about the guy, and if your local researches have positive results, we would cast our vote aye.

Hope the New Year wassailing and Ike's Democratic conversion have filled you with zest for 1955.

Regards,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rnf

# Brotherhood Aid Cited In Segregation Problem

Houston Chronicle 2-17-56

Congressman Brooks Hays (D., Ark.) Wednesday night declared that a religious atmosphere of brotherhood and fellowship would do more toward solution of international problems and the South's own segregation hot potato than any specific legislation enacted in Washington.

The tall, lanky Arkansas congressman, a veteran of 12 years in the House, told an Inter-faith Brotherhood dinner meeting of the First Methodist Church Men's Bible Class that he has frequently advocated the calling in of Negro leaders in the South to help solve the segregation problems.

He was introduced by Dr. W. Kenneth Pope, pastor of First Methodist Church. Other speakers were Father James Nelson, associate pastor of the St. Mary's Catholic Church and Rabbi William S. Malev of Beth Yeshurun.

Rep. Hays, who delighted a capacity audience of more than 400 in the church banquet room with droll Arkansas stories, also addressed the Downtown Rotary Club in the Rice Hotel Thursday.

He said the Democratic majority in Congress is giving President Eisenhower more cooperation than a Republican majority would.

He foresees another Eisenhower-Stevenson contest.

A member of the House foreign affairs committee, Rep. Hays supports Eisenhower's Formosan views and believes the shake-up in Soviet government affairs is a Russian admission of internal trouble "and a development in which we can take some comfort."

He believes there is less danger of war with military men "at the top of Russian government than with the old Bolshevik crowd in control."

May 23, 1955

TO: KS

These minutes came in from Arkansas.

Will you do some thinking on their budget and tell me how it seems to come out?

GSM/eab
Encl.

FILE COPY

May 23, 1955

FOR ARKANSAS DOPE FILE

The Arkansas Gazette for Sunday, May 8, 1955, reveals the following details in re Nat Griswold and Christopher Mercer:

> Griswold is an ordained Methodist minister who doesn't use "Rev." before his name because he thinks titles can obscure the man. He was working at Austin, Texas as Peace Education Secretary for the American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker organization, when he was hired by the Council.
>
> Griswold was born and reared near Sparkman and he returned there for a brief effort at farming in 1951 and 1952. From 1929 to 1942, he was an associate professor of religion at Hendrix College at Conway. From 1942-1946, he was supervisor of community activities at the Relocation Center near McGehee for persons of Japanese origin.
>
> Mercer, 31, an attorney at Pine Bluff, will work for the Council on a half-time basis.
>
> He is a native of Pine Bluff and attended Arkansas AM and N College there before entering the University of Arkansas School of Law in 1949. From 1946 to 1941 Mercer taught school and was principal at a consolidated school at Menifee (Conway County). After a year at Fayetteville, Mercer taught one year at Marked Tree before returning to the University in 1951. After another interruption, he received his law degree this year.
>
> Mercer is president of the Pine Bluff Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. His law partner is Wiley A. Branton, chairman of the Legal Redress Committee of the Arkansas Conference of Branches of the NAACP.

Atl. Const. Dec. 19, 1958

# Little Rock Strife Plotted By Reds, Negro Testifies

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. (AP)—An Arkansas legislative committee ended its probe into alleged subversive influences in Arkaknsas' racial crisis Thursday after hearing testimony of a southwide Communist conspiracy to promote racial friction.

Rep. Paul Van Dalsem, co-chairman of the special education committee, said he felt evidence introduced by Atty. Gen. Bruce Bennett and 10 witnesses "proved conclusively the Reds had a hand in the Central High School situation and other racial troubles" in the state.

Bennett, who conducted the proceedings, echoed Van Dalsem's opinion.

Van Dalsem said the hearings, in addition to accomplishing the direct purpose of exposing subversion, would "educate the people of Arkansas so they might not be so easily misled by Communist and Communist-front organizations.

"Arkansas people think of communism as something that happens in New York or Washington," Van Dalsem said.

The committee instructed Bennett to prepare a finding of facts for presentation to the group later. Van Delsem said further

Continued on Page 10, Column 4

# *Communists Plotted Strife In Little Rock, Negro Says*

Continued From Page 1

hearings and a more detailed investigation into Communist operations in Arkansas might result from a study of Bennett's report.

Four witnesses appeared before the committee Thursday.

Manning Johnson, of New York, a Negro ex-Communist turned Red fighter, outlined what he called the Communist plot to control American Negroes.

Johnson said he became familiar with the plan when he was a party member from 1930 to 1940. He termed subversion of the Negro and creation of racial unrest in the South the No. 1 aim of the Communists in the United States.

Guy Bannister, a former FBI agent, told the committee details of the international Communist conspiracy and how the Southern plan fitted into the overall scheme.

Two Little Rock newsmen, Rusty Ralston of Kark-TV and Herbie Byrd, of KVLC, testified about an alleged secret meeting of the Arkansas council on human relations which they covered on an anonymous tip.

Both said they were not admitted to the meeting and Nat Griswold, council executive director, refused to tell them what the meeting was about.

Bennett sought throughout the hearing to tie the Arkansas council to various red-front groups through the southern regional council, of which the Arkansas organization is a branch.

The attorney general went on the stand himself, as he has on each day of the three-day hearing, and introduced evidence that the council on human relations had received $2,500 from the southern regional council at the height of the Little Rock integration crisis in 1957.

Bennett said the council on human relations had placed $31,810 in a bank since January 1955. "And there is no record of where that money came from, nor how it was spent," Bennett said.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

February 23, 1959

MEMORANDUM

TO: HCF

FROM: FBR FBR

:

As you know, I have just returned from Little Rock. While there I learned that the new school Board is moving to oust the three top school administrators at Central High - the principal and two assistant principals for boys and girls. The assistant principal for boys who testified in the Federal Court hearing that discipline was not being maintained in school as it should be is the real target of the ouster movement. He is interested in publishing a book telling all the facts about the Little Rock situation. As you probably know, Virgil Blossom is writing a book which will be published by Harper's in the spring. If it is comparable to the statements made by Mr. Blossom it will be a cover-up of many important factors in the situation.

Assistant principal for boys, Mr. J. O. Powell, has begun writing a manuscript and has completed several chapters. He needs our help in finding a publisher. It is my belief that this would be a real service, not so much to Mr. Powell, but to Little Rock and other communities in hard core states which face school desegregation some time in the future.

It is my hope that Adam Yarmolinsky might be advised. Mr. Powell's address is:

Mr. J. O. Powell
700 North Buchanan Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

- : -

April 12, 1960

HF & LWD

Paul Rilling

Little Rock situation

1. You will be interested to know that Grainger Williams in Little Rock has tried very hard to persuade the Chamber of Commerce to play a constructive role in relation to the sit-ins. His efforts have met with stonewall rejection.

2. Nat reports that there is talk among some of the downtown merchants of possible reprisals against the Negroes if the sit-ins are renewed.

3. Dr. Harris, president of Philander Smith college and SRC board member played a very negative role in relation to the student demonstrations. He went on record against them publicly and made every effort to discourage the students from demonstrating.

4. Our members in Fayetteville, including several faculty members, report that the situation concerning the desegregation of the University has regressed during the last two years. At one time some Negro students were housed in the college dormitories. This practice has been officially discontinued and all Negro students must find private housing in the Negro residential area, some distance removed.

December 6, 1960

HCF & LWD PR

Little Rock (Nov. 30 - Dec. 1)

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations seems to be in good spirits these days. Nat has accepted the matching fund that he fought so hard last year as a matter of course for the coming year and hopes to raise it. Their request for a further grant from the Rockefeller Brothers was forwarded to New York November 7 with an encouraging covering letter from Winthrop's administrative assistant. They have every hope of getting the grant and employing another associate director, Negro. Nat continues to run an operation centered primarily in Little Rock although considerable attention is given to Pine Bluff and to Fayetteville.

I met with Worth Long, one of the two key students in the Little Rock sit-in activities. The students in Little Rock carried out an abortive sit-in last March. There werearrests and the adults urged the students to quit further demonstrations pending the determination of the arrests and appeals. President Harris who has since moved to Atlanta appointed an adult liaison committee and extracted from the students a promise not to move without the approval of this committee. The students are extremely critical about what they feel has been a conservative and repressive position on the part of the committee. They have now declared their independence. The sit-ins began last week. They seem to be well coordinated and managed. The students are showing a good public relations sense and plan to carry out picketing and perhaps a boycott when they can deliver the adult community. The major problem at present is that the students are receiving very little coordinated support from the adult community which is showing its usual fragmentation and divisiveness. So far the sit-ins have been at Woolworth and McClellan's. There have been seven arrests. Six of these were carried over pending results of the appeal of the law under consideration. The seventh was slapped with a $500 fine and six months sentence because he was one of those arrested last March. The judge stated that other repeaters would be dealt with severely. There are two other stores, Walgreen's and Blass' which have lunch counters as well as other departments. There have been no activities at these two stores as yet.

The negotiations over lunch counters in Pine Bluff have reached an impasse. There have never been sit-ins here but the NAACP instituted negotiations some months ago in order to solve the problem "without sit-ins or other disturbances." There is no official committee here, but Nat has been able to implement an ad hoc committee which includes the president of the NAACP, a city councilman, the president of the United Church Women, Methodist and Episcopal white ministers, white and Negro attorneys, and at least one white business man who owns the building in which the Woolworth store is located and the Pine Hotel in PB. The publisher of the local newspaper is also a member of this committee. The committee has met three times and Nat has summarized the discussions. I will circulate these. There seems to be a general agreement that the economic boycott which has been the only tool used in PB by the Negro community has been "highly effective." There is no indication, however, that the business men are interested in changing their practices. The NAACP is led by a prominent Negro dentist. He is not interested in resorting to direct action procedures at this time.

Cartwright and the new Conference on Community Unity which is to be a permanent organization received a bad local press and has been severely castigated by moderates as well as conservatives. I brought back an actual copy of Bert's remarks and this is being circulated to you and Les. This new Com. Unity organization grows out of Thelma Babbitt's efforts in LR. Nat and a great many other people seem to feel that it can serve a useful purpose. It seems to be a strange sort of organization, however, with an action format but some prestige involvement. It seems unlikely that these two factors will continue to coexist in the same organization. Herb Thyssen, director of the Urban League, takes a very dim view of the new organization and obviously considers it to be competitive.

The Women's Emergency Committee is extremely upset by the fact that McMillan did not check in with them while doing his article on the Little Rock law enforcement situation. They feel that the omission of any reference to their committee shows either a clear slight or a rather superficial grasp of the situation.

Ark dope

December 12, 1961

Field Report on Trip to Little Rock, Arkansas, December 6-8

Circulate to JM, MET
cc: LWD files

During the visit I talked to Arkansas Council staff, to Roy Reed, reporter on the Arkansas Gazette; to Mrs. Vivian Brewer, former chairman of the Women's Emergency Committee; Worth Long, leader of the student protest group at Philander Smith College; Dr. Crockett, new president of Philander Smith; Ted Lamb, liberal member of the Little Rock school board; a group of parents of Negro children currently enrolled in formerly white schools. I also attended a meeting of the ACHR Executive Committee.

Little Rock seems to be in generally better shape than a year ago. The big news currently was the successful re-election effort of Ted Lamb over a local doctor. Lamb is the only outspoken liberal member of the school board and last March criticized Tucker, the chairman, and the majority members of the board for their slowness in fulfilling the moral obligation of the board. Lamb ran with the open support of the Women's Emergency Committee, a group which in the past has functioned behind the scenes in election efforts, generally. Lamb's margin was decisive, in a fairly light vote over Dr. Stuckey, who ran as a moderate candidate supporting the policies of the majority school board members. For the first time since the 1957 crisis, the segregationists, as such, ran no candidate, although the Citizens Council informed their members to vote for Stuckey. In past years, the liberals have supported moderate candidates to forestall the threat from the extreme segregationist elements. This time the segregationists apparently supported a moderate in an effort to defeat a liberal. There are some indications that much of the traditionally pro-segregation vote sat out this election. There was an encouraging and unified Negro effort on behalf of Lamb, which pooled together the normally divided sections in the Negro community. The key figure in this achievement was apparently Odell Sutton, Associate Director of the ACHR.

Lamb believes that the time has come for liberal and Negro leadership to make common cause in a political effort. He feels that Negro candidates would now have "good chance to win," and that other liberals can be elected with some united effort. He feels that the WEC is ready to support openly liberal candidates and that there is indication that WEC leadership is moving in this direction. Lamb angrily denounces division within the liberal elements, and charges that the city is "full of cocktail party liberals, but no picket line liberals." Lamb is not well liked personally by most white liberals, and is a problem drinker, which factors make his election even more remarkable. The majority members of the school board took no part in the election, but it seems to be generally believed that Tucker would have preferred Lamb's defeat.

The situation inside the desegregated schools seems to be generally good. Central still has problems of minor harrassment. Things seem to be much friendlier at Hall High and even more so at the four Junior High Schools. One of the Negro students at Central is making straight A's. The high school students are now beginning to move to participate in extra-curricular activities and are meeting with some problems. Surprisingly, it is the YWCA in Little Rock which has been most resistant and has so far denied Y-teen membership to Negro girls. The girl with the straight A average is anxious to achieve the necessary activity credits for membership in the national honor society. The parents of the Negro children have organized into a committee for better education, under the leadership of Orell Sutton. They are planning a major effort to encourage applications for next fall.

The Council for Community Unity, which grew out of Thelma Babbitt's work for the AFSC in Little Rock, seems to be defunct. The group floundered over inability to secure a prestige chairman, so Thelma Babbitt offered the job to Ted Lamb, just before she left town. He accepted, but was rejected by the Executive Committee because of his lack of church relationship and his drinking problem. A group now presumably operates under the directorship of five members. Mrs. Brewer seems to be the de facto chairman and convenes the Executive Committee. The mixed group has not been active, but feels it may yet have some role to play. There is some sentiment for merging this group with the ACHR.

The Arkansas Council seems to be in good shape. Sutton is proving to be a competent professional and has emerged as one of the key Negro leaders in the city. Mrs. Ruth Arnold, the secretary, is a figure in her own right, a former president of the League of Women Voters and currently a board member of the VEC. These two reapt well with Nat and the Council would appear to have an extremely competent staff. They are now moving to meet our criticism of the lack of a state program. They plan to work intensively during the coming year in Fayetteville and Hot Springs, as well as Pine Bluff and Little Rock. A group is in being in Fayetteville and recently held a successful annual workshop. The caliber of the executive committee seems to be high. I did not have an opportunity to consult with Rev. Charles Walker, the state president. He was absent from the meeting due to illness. The committee was pleased at the election of Mrs. Brewer to our board, and she seemed sincerely honored. The committee was rather cool to the explanation of our financial arrangement under which plan the Arkansas Council can get the same amount of money that was received from us this year, if it raises a total of $200 more.

There will probably be student demonstrations by Philander Smith College sometime this year on the lunch counter issue. No progress has been made on this issue despite several abortive demonstrations previously. It is probable that the white community would accept the solution of this problem if subjected to reasonable pressure. The students have been unable to win assurances of

united adult support, are unsure of their own manpower, and are concerned about the attitude of the new administration of Dr. Crockett. They are thinking in terms of demonstrations and picketing and with-holding of patronage and probably will move sometime soon. They are not in close touch with SNCC or any other national or regional group.

FAF OAM BOND

Dope

April 29, 1963

LWD PA

Trip to Little Rock, April 10-12

During the 2-1/2 day visit, had considerable exposure to the Arkansas Council. In addition to the staff, I had an opportunity to talk with the Finance Committee, the Advisory Council, and the Board of Directors.

The staff has a thorough awareness that ACHR must grow in terms of membership and local financial assistance so as to have a stronger base within the state and as evidence of worth for outside support. These ideas are now being interpreted to the policy groups for the first time.

Since 1955 the ACHR has operated on the assumption it could do little without almost complete out-of-state financing. With a population slightly in excess of a million people, largely rural and segregationist, there was considerable truth in this feeling. But this approach has probably unduly limited the growth that was possible. I found, for instance, an almost complete lack of awareness on the part of local people that ACHR needed financial assistance. It is to them a good local agency removed from need for support or memberships, unlike the Urban League or other agencies. The fact that ACHR has some 300 members and raised locally approximately $4,000 last year would seem to indicate a potential considerably greater than this if a real effort is made. And, this new awareness of the need to grow within the state should be very significant.

A financial committee has been established with Dr. W. H. Townsend as Chairman. Townsend is a very busy man with many interests, but strikes me as the type who would take seriously any responsibility he assumes. The goal of the drive has been set at $10,500, of which $5,000 would come from "Business Interests" and $4,000 would come from "Contributions and Memberships." The business figure is probably too high and the potential from individual members is probably greater. However, the real significance is in the organization of the drive with a goal of more than a 100% increase in local contributions.

A membership committee has also been formed but with less organization and planning.

Within two months we will know the success of these campaigns. If they are not particularly successful I will consider assisting in a fall campaign using some of the techniques which work elsewhere, especially--hopefully-- some from the Tennessee experiment.

Talked with a number of people including James Youngdahl, Fred Darragh, Ray Reed (Gazette), at an evening social at the home of Ruth Arnold. Ruth is quite well established in the community, well known in the city, and well thought of by liberals.

A similar gathering for Negro "leaders" at Sutton's home was less well attended because of conflicting meetings, but Ozell seems to be very well known and regarded highly in the Negro community.

A conference with Mrs. Byron House and Mrs. John Samuel, current leaders of the Women's Emergency Committee, indicates some disagreements between WEC and ACHR arising from the last school board election. Unfortunately, Mrs. Brewer was in Europe and I could not get her opinion in these matters. The situation seems on the mend but it represents an unfortunate and unnecessary division within the ranks.

Lunch with Grainger Williams (banker and President of Rotary, past president of Chamber of Commerce), Hugh Patterson (Gazette publisher), and Frank Duff (Gazette business staff and head of local Catholic Interracial Council) indicated these men have good regard for Griswold and ACHR. They implied financial support would be given by them and a limited number of other businessmen throughout the state.

A brief conference with Ted Lamb, school board member, indicated a serious unhappiness with continuing school segregation and "resegregation" and with Branton's role in these matters. Am thoroughly confused about this matter and have little hope of contributing anything to it.

The general "climate" in Little Rock seems remarkably good. As a followup to the Religion and Race Conference Bert Cartwright reports good results in involving a number of status clergy who have been aloof in the past. Patterson reports Gazette circulation and advertising back to the pre-boycott levels and feels there is a "new day" in the city.

There continues to be some pickets and other demonstrations. Most hotels have now opened and Williams, Sutton, and others are presently negotiating with theatre owners. There are incidentally several middle-class neighborhoods with integrated housing and some chance they will remain that way.

ACHR program is good and worthwhile. The weakness of local

support and membership is serious and must be overcome. It probably can be with assistance and encouragement from us. This growth or lack thereof should be a main factor in our judgment of the group.

Jan. 8, 1964

# Faubus Says Council Might 'Induce' Him To Seek Office Again

Gov. Faubus said today that the Arkansas Council on Human Relations could provide the "inducement" that would put him on the line for a sixth term in office. He cautioned newsmen at a press conference that he wasn't saying it would.

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"If they want to make a campaign issue out of that (what he said on TV) it could be an inducement for me to run again," Faubus said.

"They have a couple of people mentioned (as members) who are not very well known, but I could go up to some congressional committees with what I know and they would become very well known.

"I have benefited more by the mistakes of my enemies than I ever have from the ingenuity of my friends."

However, there has been some doubt about just what the governor said. The station missed taping it that part of the speech because of a mechanical failure. The two press services monitored the speech and gave their versions. Today newsmen gave the governor a copy of the article and asked him if it was substantially what he said.

Faubus said he didn't recall saying that the people in the Council were dangerous, but that he thought he said what they were doing was dangerous, or that was what he inferred. Otherwise, he said the account as carried by The Associated Press was substantially correct, as he remembered it.

But if anyone had any doubts about how he views the Council on Human Relations it became clear today in talking to reporters.

Faubus decried what he called the Council's attempts to whip everyone else into their line of thinking. He said: "If they want to integrate and practice inter-marriage, let them go ahead but they should keep their noses out of other people's business and give them the right to their viewpoint."

After discussing it a little more, Faubus called the members of the Council "the biggest bunch of bigots God ever let the sun shine on. They want everybody to conform to their beliefs. They think they have the only way and everyone else is wrong. They take a billy club or bayonet or court order and make everyone else conform."

ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT — X
Wednesday, January 8, 1964

Belgium, faced with a severe [illegible] shortage, plans to recruit

Gazette. Markets

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 8, 1964.

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"If you'll look into the history of that organization, you'll find that it was organized originally as a Communist front. These people will bring us a mixed war. They are trying to rig up the Negroes, taking him that he is being discriminated against. [illegible] is dangerous. The [illegible] he wants changed is the racial policies of the state government because of recommendations from the Council.

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(continued)

ARKANSAS GAZETTE, LITTLE ROCK, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY

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Griswold is the only executive director the Arkansas Council has had. He is a native of Arkansas and a Methodist minister who taught religion at Hendrix College at Conway for 13 years.

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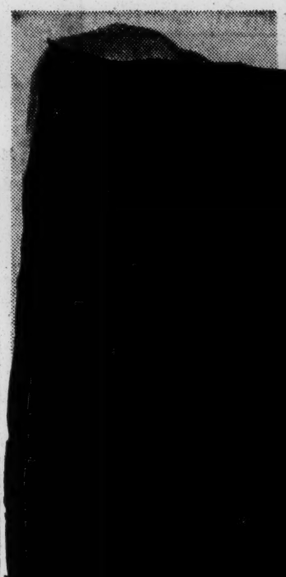

# Suspects in Theft Of Documents Active H

quantity of documents and used this angle as an argument for our lending him some material," said Ferguson.

## Underground 'Air Conditioning'

ITHACA, N.Y. (AP)—Experi-



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Arkansas Gazette.

LITTLE ROCK, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 8, 1964.

Markets

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Ark Gazette
1/8/64

rkets

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In 1947, the House Committee on Un-American Activities issued a report condemning the Southern Conference as "Communist - dominated," a report that was criticized point-by-point by the Harvard Law Review and which brought such newspapers as the St. Louis Post Dispatch and the Birmingham (Ala.) News-Age-Herald to the defense of the Conference. The Conference later was disbanded.

Arkansas Gazette.

Markets

LITTLE ROCK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 9, 1964.

# Governor Inserts Sixth-term Threat Into ACHR Issue

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Back denied that he had handled the Booker and Gulley campaigns. "I have never worked in a political campaign against him and if Judge Campbell would run for office in 1964 and had opposition, without knowing who the opposition is, I would probably vote for Judge Campbell," Back said.

He affirmed the statement he had made to the Quorum Court that Judge Campbell had been "an excellent administrator" of the County's affairs.

Back said he had no intention of embarrassing the judge at Tuesday's meeting, but actually was "a little embarrassed." himself by the way Campbell handled the situation.

Arkansas Gazette.

Established November 20, 1819.

*The Gazette Is the Oldest Newspaper West of the Mississippi*

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One trouble about providing atomic over-kill is over-spending.

## LBJ Charts the Way For Attacking Poverty

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It was a rededication to the goals of the late President Kennedy but it bore, at the same time, the celebrated LBJ brand. It had Mr. Johnson's own revisions, innovations and emphasis—his own selected trademark in the declaration of "unconditional war on poverty."

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The blueprint that Mr. Johnson laid before the Congress was extraordinary because it encompassed elements that might have been incompatible for a less resourceful man. The President has whittled and whittled on his first budget until it is *below* the current level of expenditure. At the same time he has found extra money to expand

on a personal inspection tour of a company quarry. But Ben Hogan's life had been, above all, active. He was active in professional and fraternal affairs, and, in the fullest sense, an "active" sportsman. Mr. Hogan was one of the small company of men who banded together to restore professional baseball to Little Rock and one of the somewhat larger company who have sat in on the rise of the football Razorbacks, and the special loss to the Arkansas sporting community, as exemplified by the Game and Fish Commission vacancy created by his death, will be as great in its way as his loss to the professional community and the community as a whole.

## Faubus and McCarthy

At some indeterminate point three or four years ago, Orval Eugene Faubus discovered that his tenure at Commonwealth College had ceased to be a political liability and might even become an asset. Since that time, Mr. Faubus has been offering testimony on a considerable catalog of subversive threats that he is an expert on because of his own brush with the Communists at Commonwealth.

In the course of this great sea crossing, Mr. Faubus has come to use the same hateful McCarthyite techniques that were employed against him in 1954. He, who so narrowly escaped the effects of guilt-by-association, has become one of its most efficient practitioners.

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Appearing on an early morning television program Monday, Mr. Faubus made the broad statement that the Council on Human Relations had been organized as a Communist-front group. It had, he said, been known early in its existence by another name. The governor offered the usual disclaimer: He was not, he assured his interviewers, accusing the *Arkansas* Council members of being Communist; they were simply permitting themselves to be used.

United Press International quoted Mr. Faubus as saying that the Communist-front antecedent of the Council was the "Southern Council on Human Welfare." He said that he knows this because he was at Commonwealth College when the original council was conceived.

Mr. Faubus has a perfect right to disagree with the members of the Human Relations Council. But he does not have the right to intimate, without any real qualification and certainly with no documentation save his own presumed expertise, that the group has been used by the Communists.

There is no basis for Mr. Faubus's charge. The Human Relations Council is an Arkansas affiliate of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta. The SRC was founded in 1945 as the successor of the Southwide Commission on Interracial Co-operation, which was founded in the 1920s. By his own testimony, Mr. Faubus was at Commonwealth only briefly in the spring of 1935.

The most charitable assumption is that the expert on Communism has confused another organization, the now defunct Southern *Conference* (not Council) for Human Welfare, with the Southern Regional Council. It was founded in 1938 by a group of Southern politcal leaders. A 1947 report by the House Committee on Un-American Activities charged that the Conference was "Communist-dominated," but the report was generally disputed. A charge in a House Committee report does not prove anything except that some congressmen had some suspicions. Mr. Faubus should know something about suspicions.

Mr. Faubus drops these little bombs as casually as if he were talking about the weather. But Mr. Faubus was not talking about the weather; he was talking about people—in an unfair and malicious way. The "Communism" bit was shameful when it was used against Mr. Faubus in 1954; it is even more shameful, considering his own experience with such unfair tactics, when he uses it himself.

Ark. Gazette 7/9/64

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Ark Gazette
1/10/64

# Thursday Set As ACHR's Day on TV

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KTHV invited the Council to do this Monday after Gov. Faubus in a television interview had criticized the Council as being a dangerous organization and one that was organized originally as a Communist front.

The governor was on the Arkansas A. M. program, which runs from 7:15 to 8 a. m., and the Council representatives will be on the same program. The exact time has not been set.

The spokesmen for the Council will be Ozell Sutton, its associate director, and Rev. Walter B. Clancy, a member of the Board.

Nat R. Griswold, executive director of the Council, said Thursday that Sutton and Father Clancy would explain the work of the Council, its aims, methods and members—rather than respond directly to the governor's attack.

The governor made his statements about the Council after it had passed a series of resolutions at its annual meeting calling for more racial desegregation in the state.

ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT — 17
••• Thursday, January 16, 1964

# Faubus Challenges Report

Gov. Faubus said Wednesday he may ask an Arkansas civil rights committee to rescind its conclusions on state schools or produce figures to back them up.

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission's Arkansas Advisory Committee said in a report that the state made "no significant progress in the past decade" in raising Negro schools to white standards.

"I know we have because I have been governor for the past 10 years," Faubus said. "Most of those civil rights reports are just made up out of thin air. But this one has held up Arkansas to national ridicule. I'm not going to let them get away with it."

"I'll have a true picture on this in a few days," Faubus said, "as soon as I can study into it." He said his remarks will be "factual and substantiated from official state school records for anybody to come in and see—in other words, not like the civil rights report."

Faubus made the remarks upon returning to Little Rock from a trip to Washington.

The committee report was sent to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission to use along with 49 other state advisory reports as a basis for recommending civil rights legislation to Congress.

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Radio and TV

# Kildare, Hazel Show Effects Of Trend to Serialized Shows

The hour-long television show, the exception a few seasons ago, seems to be quickly becoming inadequate for full dramatic development. The result: More and more two-part shows.

"Tyger-Tyger" on Dr. Kildare, at 7:30 p .m. today on Channel 4, will run for an hour tonight and another hour next week. But then it will feature Yvette Mimieux in her "television dramatic debut"—mostly in a bathing suit—so who minds? It has something to do with an epileptic surfer (Miss Mimieux) who repeatedly risks falling off the surf board during a seizure because of some compulsion to surf. And there will be Clu Gulager as a beatnik doctor and Anjanette Comer as an alcoholic, and the unflappable Dr. K.—something, in fact, for everybody.

"Hazel" will continue the serial trend with the first stanza of a comedy called "Scherazade and Her Frying Pan." to be concluded next week. Shirley Booth gets mixed up in the hideaway of a set of underworld characters for whom a maid-friend works.

Ozell Sutton, associate director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, and Rev. Walter Clancy, a member of the staff of St. John' Seminary and a member of the Council Board, will be guests on "Arkansas AM" at 7:15 a. m. on Channel 11, presumably to respond to critical remarks about the Council made by Governor Faubus on the same show earlier. Station officials let it be known, however, that this was not to be considered an "equal time" offer.

# ANSAS DEMOCRAT

Today's News Today

postage paid
k, Arkansas

LITTLE ROCK, THURSDAY EVENING, JANUARY 16, 1964 42 PAGES—3 SECTIONS ★ PRICE 5c

Democrat Photo by Moon

arks Scene of Freight Train Accident

## lodes After ear Clarendon

near here.

Four crewmen were in the engine and two were in the caboose, but neither was derailed. The train, which left East St. Louis, Ill., Wednesday, was enroute to Corsicana, Tex.

The forward portion of the train continued to Pine Bluff and a Cotton Belt diesel unit from Brinkley, north of the wreck scene, was dispatched to pull the rear cars away from the wreckage.

Wrecker cars were clearing the track this morning. Traffic in the meantime was being rerouted through Stuttgart on Rock Island tracks.

A United Telephone Co. spokesman said this morning that the damage to telephone lines had been repaired and that long distance service between Clarendon and Holly Grove had been restored.

## *on Threatened rs, Texan Says*

Thomas P. Gill of Hawaii; and Donald M. Fraser of Minnesota.

Gonzalez said the publication introduces the black - bordered box with the words: "Here, then, are the judases who seem willing not only to sell out their country for thirty pieces of silver but to go on record and brag about it."

He said another portion of the publication contains these words: "Traitors beware. Even now the cross-hairs are on the back of your necks. These patriots are not going to let you take their freedom away from them."

He said the publication also claimed there is a "plot to disarm our nation by turning control of our armed forces over to the United Nations."

He said the publication "On Target" is issued twice monthly by "Minutemen, P.O. Box 68, Norborne, Mo.," with a subscription rate of $5 a year.

## Stephens Not Eyeing Governor's Office

*Warning Issued*

## Storm Strikes South

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Another winter storm brought snow and ice to the central portion of the Southeast today. It was the fourth snow storm of the winter in a region where snow once a year is the rule.

The storm developed over the northwest Gulf of Mexico and is following a pattern set by earlier winter storms.

The Weather Bureau issued a critical weather warning including a wide area from parts of southwest and central Texas through east central and northeast Texas, Southeast Oklahoma, southern Arkansas, northern Louisiana, portions of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and southern Tennessee.

Cold weather dealt Florida a damaging blow Wednesday. The state's winter vegetable crop was damaged, but there was little damage to the citrus crop.

The Weather Bureau said the storm is expected to pass into the Carolinas today and then it would draw colder air from the North into the Southeast and Florida. But Florida is expected to escape sub-freezing temperatures tonight—except in the extreme north.

Temperatures in northwest Florida were expected to be in the 30s tonight, but there was little danger to the citrus belt in central Florida or the winter vegetable crops farther south.

The Weather Bureau said ice and freezing rain could cause damage, but it is unlikely that the storm would wreak the havoc of the storm of Dec. 31-Jan. 1. Damage from the earlier storm was set at millions of dollars in Georgia alone.

Heavy snow fell in north central and northeastern Texas and spread into northern Louisiana and southern Arkansas. Five inches fell in a six-hour period in Dallas and four inches in Fort Worth. Rain and some sleet pelted south central and southeastern Texas and southern Louisiana.

Traffic accidents on icy bridges claimed at least two lives in the Dallas area and State Police closed some north Texas roads. Between three and five inches additional snow was indicated for north central and northeastern parts of the state, with accumulation of up to 10 inches in the northeastern sections, far above the normal amounts.

Hazardous driving warnings were issued by the Weather Bureau for the snow and sleet belt.

Generally dry and clear weather was reported in most other parts of the nation. Light snow or flurries fell in scattered sections of the Upper Mississippi Valley and the Upper Great

# Panama Presses U.S. For Conference On New Canal Treaty

PANAMA (AP)—Panama put pressure on the United States today to agree to negotiate a new Panama Canal treaty.

President Roberto Chiari told newsmen that despite Wednesday's agreement to resume diplomatic relations as quickly as possible, he is going ahead with a complete rupture unless Washington agrees to negotiate a new pact.

Chiari said he would call the rest of his diplomatic personnel home from Washington and ask the U.S. government to withdraw its staff from Panama City. He said Costa Rica would represent Panama in Washington. But he set no time schedule for the withdrawals.

Chiari broke relations last Friday, during violence along the Canal Zone border that cost the lives of 21 Panamanians and 4 U.S. soldiers. But so far he has recalled only Ambassador Augusto Arango from Washington, and the two governments talked steadily together until they reached the agreement Wednesday under auspices of the Organization of the American States.

In Washington, the U.S. government insisted it had not agreed to negotiate a new treaty, only to discuss all issues between the two countries once diplomatic relations are resumed. There was no indication that the United States would bow to Chiari's demand.

Officials in Washington were concerned over the situation but said they had no notification from Panama of intention to make a complete break. U.S. officials still hoped that the agreement for resumption of relations and talks would hold up.

But pressure on Chiari was mounting as a wave of nationalistic fervor with extreme-left trimmings swept the country. From all sides — civic and professional groups, labor unions, students, some of the clergy and the man in the street — came demands for a new treaty providing for ultimate nationalization of the canal rather than the perpetual control the United States has under the 1903 treaty.

President Johnson was under opposite pressure from Congress to stand fast. The White House has said it would not yield basic American rights in the Canal Zone.

In Panama City, U.S. dollar bills circulated with the slogan "Yankee assassins go home" printed on them. Panamanians talked as if the canal was theirs and it was just a question of time until the United States had to give it up.

New violence appeared to threaten, and the U.S. Army moved small units up to the Canal Zone border. But in the zone

## *Teamsters Union, Truckers Accept Master Contract*

CHICAGO (AP) — James R. Hoffa's International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the nation's truckers reached agreement on an unprecedented master contract early today affecting more than 400,000 workers, averting a strike for last midnight.

Hoffa said the contract, which he described as the first national labor agreement reached without a major strike, would bring more than 400,000 teamster members and 400 locals into one single bargaining unit.

"This is one of the finest contracts ever negotiated in the United States," Hoffa said. "Everything is fine," he said of negotiations with the Trucking Employes, Inc. "All you have to be is patient."

The three-year contract, which expires March 31, 1967, provides for a 28-cent pay increase spread over the contract period. Truckers' salaries will increase 10 cents the first year, 8 cents the second year and 10 cents the third year.

The average industrywide pay for Teamsters' truckers now is about $3.17 per hour.

The contract still must be ratified by the rank and file membership of the Teamsters.

Negotiations became snarled earlier this week when the truck lines' negotiating team, headed by C. G. Zwingle of Oakland, Calif., insisted on a 10-8-8 salary table.

Hoffa said that the wage-fringe benefit package would total 45 cents per hour. Zwingle agreed that Hoffa's estimate was "reasonably close," but did not elaborate.

Hoffa said the Teamsters' original demands were 60 cents per hour wage increase and about the same in fringe benefit

The contract provides for a health - welfare and pension package of $5 over the three-year period and four weeks vacation after 16 years service.

Cost of living increases will not become effective until the third year of the pact.

Zwingle, appearing at the

## Faubus Challenges Report

Gov. Faubus said Wednesday he may ask an Arkansas civil rights committee to rescind its conclusions on state schools or produce figures to back them up.

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission's Arkansas Advisory Committee said in a report that the state made "no significant progress in the past decade" in raising Negro schools to white standards.

"I know we have because I have been governor for the past 10 years," Faubus said. "Most of those civil rights reports are just made up out of thin air. But this one has held up Arkansas to national ridicule. I'm not going to let them get away with it."

"I'll have a true picture on this in a few days," Faubus said, "as soon as I can study into it." He said his remarks will be "factual and substantiated from official state school records for anybody to come in and see—in other words, not like the civil rights report."

Faubus made the remarks upon returning to Little Rock from a trip to Washington.

The committee report was sent to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission to use along with 49 other state advisory reports as a basis for recommending civil rights legislation to Congress.

CITY EDITION

*Around the World*

# Reds Return Korean'sBody

PANMUNJOM, Korea (AP) — Communist North Korea said today it will return the body of a South Korean pilot whose F86D Sabre jet fighter was shot down 30 miles northwest of Seoul in Red territory last Tuesday.

North Korean Maj. Gen. Chang Chung-hwan scoffed at a U.N. explanation, made at a meeting of the Mixed Armistice Commission, that Capt. Park No-suh penetrated Communist air space because of a navigational error caused by radio equipment failure.

"Do you mean to say that you have given to your puppet obsolete, useless radio equipment which should properly be in a junk yard?" he asked the senior U.N. Delegate, U.S. Maj. Gen. Robert Seedlock.

The South Korean air force said Capt. Park was last seen parachuting from his disabled aircraft. Chang said the Communists will keep the wreckage.

### *Castro Ignored*

MOSCOW (AP) — Soviet authorities today lowered a blanket of silence over Fidel Castro.

The Cuban prime minister's visit was ignored by press and radio except for a brief item in "Moscow Pravda" from Havana that the Cubans were highly interested in the visit.

There was some speculation that Castro had left the capital —either for a hunting lodge or for Siberia. He told Soviet newsmen Monday that he wanted to visit a Siberian hunters' camp to see how they live and work in sub-freezing temperatures.

### *Envoy Meets Pope*

VATICAN CITY (AP) — An emissary from Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople (Istanbul) called on Pope Paul VI today to thank him for meeting the Orthodox spiritual leader in the Holy Land.

Metropolitan Athenagoras, Orthodox archbishop of Britain, was received by the Roman Catholic ruler in the Apostolic Palace.

The metropolitan helped arrange the Holy Land meeting, the first between the spiritual leaders of Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy in five centuries.

Metropolitan Athenagoras also is holding talks with Vatican officials here. His visit therefore appears to be in line with the closer contacts between Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy promised by the Pope and the patriarch.

### *Statue Insured*

Rome (AP)—Michelangelo's priceless Pieta statue will be insured for at least $10 million and boxed inside three crates for its 4,000-mile trip to the New York World's Fair.

The first two crates will be wooden. The final one will be steel.

The triple casing is designed to absorb any shock that could damage the statue of Mary cradling the body of the dead Christ. It will be the statue's first trip outside the Vatican since it was installed there in 1499.

since it was installed there in 1499.

The 6,700-pound marble masterpiece will sail aboard the Italian liner Cristoforo Colombo April 5 from Naples. It will arrive in New York April 13, nine days before the opening of the fair.

# Rockefeller Criticizes Goldwater

## Cites Senator's Opposition To Education Aid

KENNE, N.H. (AP) — Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York pictured Sen. Barry Goldwater today as out of step with Republican thinking on federal support for higher education.

The governor, contesting with Goldwater in the New Hampshire presidential preference primary, said the Arizona senator had voted in 1958 and 1963 against major programs for helping colleges and universities.

"The Republican party's success in the forthcoming presidential election will importantly depend upon the affirmative leadership its nominee gives for soundly conceived federal education measures," Rockefeller said.

He noted that most Republicans in Congress had voted for both programs — the National Defense Education Act of 1958 and the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963.

Rockefeller's comments were made at Keene State College, one of eight stops on a 12-hour campaign swing in pursuit of the Republican nomination for president.

The governor described his Keene speech as "the first of a series of talks analyzing our — Senator Goldwater's and mine— respective positions on vital matters that concern the future opportunties of you in New Hampshire as well as the well-being and security of all Americans."

Rockefeller said he had decided on that approach in view of Goldwater's refusal to meet in televised debates.

Goldwater has said Republicans should be fighting Democrats and not each other.

# ANSWERS

(Continued From Page 1)

able concern, which has his signature on it and he is able to duplicate the signature in our presence, then that is pretty fair evidence to me. However, something printed doesn't always help. A person could find cards and identification that someone else loses, practice on the signature and be able to duplicate it fairly well. It all depends on the individual case."

Passports and visas are generally good as they have both pictures and signatures on them, but few people have these. The best thing would be for the person to be able to duplicate satisfactorily a signature which he has on some sort of card or document that is considered au-

Democrat Photo by Beale

THE SUBJECT: HUMAN RELATIONS AND GOV. FAUBUS; PRINCIPALS, LAWRENCE, CLANCY, SUTTON, HICKS

# *Human Relations Council Labels Faubus' Charges 'Irresponsible'*

By JOHN L. WARD
Democrat Staff Writer

"Irresponsible" was the reply of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations today to comments made last week by Gov. Faubus about the organization.

Appearing on an early morning television program at Channel 11, the governor was critical of the council and suggested the council was organized as a Comunist-front organization.

Today, two representatives of the Arkansas Council took their privilege of equal time and branded the governor's comments as "irresponsible" and "without a shred of evidence."

Father Walter Clancy, Catholic priest who is a member of the council's board of directors, said Gov. Faubus has brought forth no evidence to "support this allegation" and he said he and the council of course deny it "unequivocally."

Gov. Faubus' appearance on the program was Jan. 6. In his remarks later the governor said the council could provide the "inducement" that would put him on the line for a sixth term in office.

Ozell Sutton, associate director of the council; and Father Clancy, who is on the staff of St. John's Seminary, answered questions from two television interviewers, Dick Lawrence and Bob Hicks.

Sutton said the council's goals, which are betterment of the civic, economical and racial welfare, are of the highest caliber and he expressed concern that everyone doesn't agree these are worthwhile goals.

About the view that the council is little more than a tool to agitate the Negro by telling him he is discriminated against, Sutton, a Negro, had this to say:

**"He doesn't need anyone to tell him he's discriminated against . . . he knows it."**

Sutton said the council is more concerned about "stirring up" white Arkansans to understand that racial discrimination is no good for anybody.

Father Clancy listed the council's goals as complete equality and recognition of the dignity of every Arkansan. He said hopefully through its efforts the council can help create a climate in Arkansas where every citizen can express himself and live up to his capacities.

An example of how the council works in a specific situation was provided by Sutton. He said a year ago, when Negroes were demonstrating at downtown lunch counters to be served, the council went to businessmen with statistical and other data from other cities and showed that desegregation of eating facilities could be accomplished without serious problems. Sutton referred to this as "transition without tragedy."

**And he said this is one of the reasons "Little Rock did not become a Birmingham . . ."**

Both Father Clancy and Sutton, though proud of the progress the council and other groups have made toward desegregation, aren't satisfied with it.

Their words painted a spotty picture of tokenism over the state, 10 years after the U.S. Supreme Court's historic decision.

**"In many areas of the state there's not even tokenism," Father Clancy said, listing one such place as his home town, Helena. "There is not a shred of tokenism there," he said.**

Of the 419 school districts in Arkansas, Sutton said 218 have at least one Negro, but in only 13 could you consider the situation even token desegregation.

Many institutions are still closed to Negroes—even such character-building institutions as the YMCA and YWCA, Sutton continued, and few Negroes have a place in government.

Urban Renewal carries out 65 to 70 per cent of its program in Negro areas, Sutton said, where most of the slums are, yet there isn't a Negro on the board, he said.

# PANAMA

(Continued From Page 1)

attempt by the 3,000-man National Guard, the little country's army, to overthrow Chiari and check the anti-American movement. The guard commander, Col. Bolivar Vallarino, has maintained a hands-off policy in the crisis and is believed loyal to Chiari. But there was suspicion that others with different sympathies might try to supplant him.

The new flareup between the United States and Panama stemmed from differing interpretations of the agreement U.S. negotiator Edwin M. Martin and Panamanian Foreign Minister Galileo Solis reached early Wednesday after long sessions with the peace committee of the OAS.

The Panamanian government said the agreement provided for "negotiations" or "formal discussions" of all issues between the two countries. The State Department said it provided only for "discussions" of all issues.

The agreement made no specific mention of the canal treaty, but Richard I. Phillips, State Department press officer, conceded under questioning that the wording was broad enough to include discussions of the treaty.

In a broadcast to the nation Wednesday night, Chiari pledged there would be no resumption of diplomatic relations until the United States agreed to enter into negotiations to revise the canal treaty. Solis issued a similar statement.

Chiari made his broadcast after nearly 1,000 students staged an anti-U.S. rally at the University of Panama and marched five miles to the presidential palace. They represented a resolution and manifesto calling for:

1. Abolition of the canal treaty; 2. rupture of all relations with the United States until a "satisfactory" new treaty is approved; 3. neutralization of the canal as the first step toward its nationalization; 4. pressi[illegible] aggression charges [illegible] United States [illegible] United N[illegible] cau[illegible]

# FAUBUS

(Continued From Page 1)

with Ewing Kinkead, director of the Arkansas Water and Soil Conservation Commission. Kinkead said the secretary would be in Arkansas, after talking with Ewing Kinkead, director of the Arkansas Water and Soil Conservation Commission. Kinkead said the secretary would be in Arkansas April 28 to dedicate the Flat Creek Watershed in Lawrence County during the National Watershed Conference which will be in Little Rock at that time.

During his trip to Washington Faubus disclosed the Freeman visit but did not know the dates until he talked with Kinkead.

An announcement yesterday by Education Commissioner Arch Ford that the schools may get an additional $1 million to $2 million this year because of increasing revenues brought approval from Faubus.

He explained that Budget Director Julian Hogan usually makes certain the money is available before before releasing it to the agencies and Faubus said that is better than promising someone something someone something and then and then having to cut it back when it doesn't become available."

## Hambone's Meditation

# Steins

## YEAR END CLEARANCE

# SALE

**SHOP TONIGHT TILL 9 P. M.**

Special Groups of Clothing

**PRICES SLASHED!**

## ALL-WOOL WORSTED SUITS

from our regular stocks
Regularly 39.95

Same fine fabrics found in $50 suits!

NOW **34.97**

Outstanding savings to you from Steins! Only possible because we make our own suits and sell them in our own stores. Choose yours from a selection of 2 and 3 button models, medium to dark shades.

**Steins exclusive All-Wool Worsted SAMSON TWIST 2-PANTS SUITS**

Regularly 51.90 NOW **42.97**

**ALL-WOOL FLANNEL AND HOPSACKING SUITS**

REGULARLY 32.95 SALE PRICE **16.47**

**Special Group ALL-WOOL TOPCOATS**

Regularly 35.00 NOW **29.97**

**ENTIRE STOCK OUTERWEAR JACKETS AND COATS**

Regularly 5.95 to 29.95

REDUCED TO **4.97 to 24.97**

Zipper jackets, car coats, ski parkas, goal coats, mid-lengths. Pile-lined, quilt-lined and laminates. Many styles, colors to choose from!

## MEN'S SLACKS REDUCED

**CORDUROY** fine washable cotton midwale in best models and colors — 28 to 42. Reg. 4.95

NOW REDUCED TO **3.97, 2 for 7.80**


# Today's Outdoor Guide

### Solunar Tables

*(Best Times to Fish)*

| | A. M. Min. | A. M. Maj. | P. M. Min. | P. M. Maj. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Today | 7:05 | 12:55 | 7:35 | 1:20 |
| Tom'w | 8:00 | 1:50 | 8:30 | 2:15 |
| Sun. | 8:55 | 2:45 | 9:20 | 3:05 |

| | Sunrise | Sunset |
|---|---|---|
| Today | 7:15 | 5:23 |
| Tomorrow | 7:15 | 5:24 |
| Sunday | 7:14 | 5:26 |

### River Stages

| Where | Flood Stage | Ht. | Rise-Fall |
|---|---|---|---|
| White, Augusta | 32 | 11.3 | +1.2 |
| White, Batesville | 23 | 6.5 | 0.0 |
| White, Clarendon | 26 | 8.4 | 0.0 |
| Ouachita, Arkd'l | 17 | 4.3 | —1.8 |
| Ouach., Camden | 26 | 5.5 | +0.7 |

### Water Conditions

Blue Mountain: Level 382.0. Normal level 384.

Bull Shoals: Level 638.0. Normal level 654.

Norfork: Level 532.8. Normal level 552.

Nimrod: Level 339.8. Normal level 342.

Table Rock: Level 884.7. Normal level 915.

Greers Ferry: Level 421.7. Normal level 461.

★ ★ ★

Unofficial wind forecast: Northwesterly, 8-12 mph.

### In Season

Hunting: Rabbit—daily limit 8, possession limit 16. Fur-bearing animals. Quail—bag limit, 8 possession limit 16.

## Identification Made On Negro's Body

The frozen body of a man found Tuesday in the woods near Sweet Home was identified Thursday as John E. Williams, a Negro, of 705 Townsend Street.

Deputy Sheriffs Robert Mitchell and Clifford Lamb said there was no evidence of foul play.

Williams is survived by his wife and two brothers, Milton Williams of McAlmont and Anthony Williams of Marked Tree. Funeral arrangements will be announced by Dubisson Undertaking Company.

# Daily Record

### Marriage Licenses

Herbert R. Bailey, 21, and Nancy Sue Jones, 18 North Little Rock.

Jerry S. Madsen, 21, Little Rock Air Force Base, and Marjory A. Stone, 25, Jacksonville.

Jan Ray Briner, 22, and Constance Dale Hicks, 18, Little Rock.

Ward H. Billings, 23, and Patricia A. B. Sutton, 23, Little Rock.

Charles O. Cook, 19, and Nancy M. Tuller, 19, Little Rock.

Harold W. Bell, 19, and Gloria Jean Swope, 16, North Little Rock.

Norman R. Anderson, 28, and Alma J. Wing, 30 Little Rock.

Don A. Stevenson, 21, Fort Smith, and Henrietta Dudley, 20, North Little Rock.

### Births

**St. Vincent Infirmary**

Mr. and Mrs. John R. Back, 1312 Louisiana Street, daughter.

Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Riggin, 7415 Mabelvale Pike, son.

Mr. and Mrs. Ruben Henry, 201 West Fourteenth Street, son.

Mr. and Mrs. Armous Peninger, 9902 Geyer Springs Road, son.

Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Lee 3316 West Twenty-seventh Street, daughter.

S-Sgt. and Mrs. James F. Rye, Jacksonville, daughter.

**Arkansas Baptist Hospital**

Mr. and Mrs. Joseph W. Rush-

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ever, that adopt
standards in the
limiting commerci
would not be appropr
time," the FCC said.

The FCC said it did
sufficient information o
to base a "sound set of
ards of wide applicability.

But in closing the door o
general rule, the FCC said
would seek to apply restrictio
on over-commercialization on a
case-by-case basis as license re-
newals come up for considera-
tion.

The FCC's decision followed
hearings held by congressional
committees and by the Commis-
sion itself on the subject. Oppo-
sition to the FCC's proposal to
adopt regulations patterned aft-
er the National Association of
Broadcasters' codes was ex-
pressed at all of the hearings.

The Commission noted that
the NAB code board is starting
a research project aimed at de-
veloping information about pub-
lic acceptance of commercials
and time consumed by adver-
tising.

It said studies of this kind are
greatly needed and the FCC is
hopeful that such studies "will
add significantly to our present
knowledge of the impact of the
various factors * * *."

# NAACP Meet To Be Held On Week End

Wiley A. Branton, a former Pine Bluff lawyer who is director of the Voter Education Project sponsored by the Southern Regional Council at Atlanta, will speak at the annual state convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to be held Saturday and Sunday at Dunbar Community Center.

Branton's talk is scheduled at 2:30 p. m. Sunday, at the main public session, George Howard Jr. of Pine Bluff, state president, said.

Registration will begin at 9 a. m. Saturday and morning program will include reports from various NAACP branches.

Saturday afternoon there will be discussions of these subjects: Employment opportunity; desegregation of the public schools; and sit-ins, selective buying and other demonstrations to break down racial barriers.

The meeting had been scheduled November 23-24. The delegates met November 23 then adjourned and postponed the meeting because of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy the day before.

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"I hesitated a bit. The
mandant, who also was th
said 'If you don't hurry t
you'll be shoved in there too,'
Stark related.

# Faubus Hits School Study Conclusions

Governor Faubus said Thursday that he might ask an Arkansas civil rights committee to rescind its conclusions on state schools or produce figures to back them up.

The United States Civil Rights Commission's Arkansas Advisory Committee said in a report last September that the state had made "no significant progress in the past decade" in raising Negro schools to the standards of white schools.

"I know we have because I have been governor for the past 10 years," Faubus said. "Most of those civil rights reports are just made up out of thin air. But this one has held up Arkansas to national ridicule. I'm not going to let them get away with it.

"I'll have a true picture on this in a few days, as soon as I can study into it." He said his remarks would be "factual and substantiated from official state school records for anybody to come and see—in other words, not like the civil rights report."

The committee report was sent to the United States Civil Rights Commission.

Arkansas Gazette.

Markets

LITTLE ROCK, FRIDAY, JANUARY 17, 1964.

# Relations Council Says Faubus Wrong On 'Front' Charge

By ERNEST DUMAS
Of the Gazette Staff

Two representatives of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations denied Thursday a charge by Governor Faubus that the Council originally was a Communist front organization and said that Faubus had been "irresponsible" in saying that it was.

They said, too, that Faubus was wrong in saying that the Council existed to stir up racial trouble. Ozell Sutton, the associate director of the Council, said that its goal was "transition without tragedy" in the state's racial troubles and that it had accomplished a certain amount of this at Little Rock.

Sutton, a Negro, and Rev. Walter B. Clancy, a Catholic priest and a member of the Council's Board, were on Channel 11 to reply to the governor's remarks Jan. 6 on the Arkansas A. M. show.

The governor was quoted as saying then: "If you'll look into the history of that organization, you'll find that it was organized originally as a Communist front. Those people will bring on a race war. They are trying to stir up the Negro, telling him that he is being discriminated against. That group is dangerous."

### 'Categorically Deny'

"The governor's remarks we categorically and unequivocally deny," Father Clancy said. "There's not a shred of evidence that our organization in its origins had any Communist front affiliations * * * There has been no evidence brought forward to support this allegation."

Father Clancy said that Mr. Faubus' remarks were "irresponsible" and he didn't want to comment on the governor's reasons for making them.

On the governor's charge that the Council was stirring up the Negro by "telling him that he is being discriminated against," Sutton replied: "Of course, the Negro knows full well he's being discriminated against. He needs no one to tell him he's being discriminated against."

Sutton said Negroes realized this every day, when they sent their children off to school, when they applied for jobs and even when they went to church.

Rather, Sutton said, the Council was trying to stir up the

tragedy" more than a year ago after Negro students had demonstrated in downtown Little Rock and sat in at lunch counters. The Council negotiated with the businessmen and achieved a peaceful integration of downtown businesses, he said.

"Little Rock did not become a Birmingham because the Arkansas Council on Human Relations and other organizations worked to accomplish transition without tragedy," he said.

Father Clancy said that he was proud of the state's progress toward desegregation but he added that much of the progress "has been in the form of tokenism." He said that he was from Helena and that still "there's not the least shred of tokenism there." The state has made a little progress, he said, "but we don't at all deceive ourselves that the job has been done."

Sutton said that of the 218 school districts in Arkansas where both Negroes and white students are enrolled only 13 are even tokenly desegregated. Institutions such as the vocational schools at Pine Bluff and Morrilton are closed to Negroes and character-building agencies such as the YMCAs and the Boys Clubs are closed to them, Sutton said. Negroes are not in "sufficient capacities, either as employes or on commissions" in the city government at Little Rock, he said.

### Source of Finances

The Council's finances come from "understanding foundations" and from members around the state, Sutton said.

Later the two men were asked

# Stephens Says Governor Race Not Considered

W. R. (Witt) Stephens said Thursday that he had not given any serious consideration to running for governor this summer.

As a matter of fact, Stephens said, he has not yet made up his mind whether to seek a third term as state representative from Grant County.

Stephens, who is president and board chairman of the Arkansas Louisiana Gas Company, said that his duties as a legislator during the last three years had taken a great deal of time from his business. He said he would discuss his political future with the company's Board of Directors and apparently will run for re-election if the board approves.

He did not want to commit himself but said that if he runs and is elected he will accept the speakership of the House of Representatives. His friends in the House in the last session collected enough pledges to assure him of the speaker's post if he wants it.

Stephens, 56, has been one of

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Stephens, 56, has been one of the men reportedly considering running for governor if Governor Faubus does not try for a sixth term.

Another man on the rumor list, Representative Marion H. Crank of Little River County, current speaker of the House, virtually took himself out of speculation Thursday because he believes Faubus will run again.

Crank, as early as February last year, was regarded as a prospect if Fabus bowed out. He said that he had given the idea considerable thought and had received a great deal of encouragement.

"But, as of the moment it does not appear I will be a candidate simply because I feel the governor will run for re-election," Crank said as he waited in the governor's office for a private talk with Faubus.

Crank, 48, of Foreman, is public relations director for the Arkansas Cement Company.

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Rather, Sutton said, the Council was trying to stir up the white people of the state to a realization that "discriminaton is good for nobody."

## Explain Council

Sutton and Father Clancy spent most of their time explaining the work and goals of the Council.

Father Clancy described it as "an organization to promote the civic, economic and racial welfare of the state of Arkansas." Reading from a Council brochure, he said it sought a state "where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where there will be no double standard in housing, in health, in education or other public services; where every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and respect in recognition of his creation in the image of God."

The Council tries to attain this by lectures, by influencing individuals and by other means, he said. Sutton said that it was "hard for us to understand why anyone wouldn't agree that these are logical goals for the state of Arkansas."

Father Clancy declared that the Council's ultimate goal was "complete equality and recognition of the dignity of every person in the state of Arkansas."

"Our goals are to create a climate where every man, regardless of his race, religion or creed, can express himself and live up to his capabilities * * * We think this is an entirely realistic goal. We don't feel that we are a fringe group, that we are trying to do something that is impossible."

Sutton said that the Council demonstrated its effectiveness in achieving "transition without tragedy" more than a year ago after Negro students had demonstrated in downtown Little Rock and sat in at lunch counters. The Council negotiated with the businessmen and achieved a peaceful integration of downtown businesses, he said.

"Little Rock did not become a Birmingham because the Arkansas Council on Human Relations and other organizations worked to accomplish transition without tragedy," he said.

Father Clancy said that he was proud of the state's progress toward desegregation but he added that much of the progress "has been in the form of tokenism." He said that he was from Helena and that still "there's not the least shred of tokenism there." The state has made a little progress, he said, "but we don't at all deceive ourselves that the job has been done."

Sutton said that of the 218 school districts in Arkansas where both Negroes and white students are enrolled only 13 are even tokenly desegregated. Institutions such as the vocational schools at Pine Bluff and Morrilton are closed to Negroes and character-building agencies such as the YMCAs and the Boys Clubs are closed to them, Sutton said. Negroes are not in "sufficient capacities, either as employes or on commissions" in the city government at Little Rock, he said.

## Source of Finances

The Council's finances come from "understanding foundations" and from members around the state, Sutton said.

Later the two men were asked what the Council meant to them personally. Father Clancy's reply was: "I have a Christian commitment to work for the betterment of those around me * * * In the world scene, our country has an obligation to project an image of justice and fairness * * * I have a deep and keen interest in the welfare of our state." The state's progress depends on equality of opportunity for all its residents, he said.

Sutton said his involvement was "a very, very deep type thing. I simply feel that the Negro has a responsibility to do things—to perfect a democracy and to purify a religion."

Father Clancy said that the Council's members were among the state's most distinguished residents.

The Council's officers are Mrs. Joe R. Brewer of Scott, president; Rev. George W. Gunn of Fayetteville and Dr. William H. Townsend of Little Rock, vice presidents; Mrs. Woodbridge E. Morris of Little Rock, secretary, and Dr. Garman P. Freeman of Little Rock, treasurer. Its Board is composed of Dr. Rosalind Abernathy, Father Clancy and Rev. Negail Riley, all of Little Rock; Mrs. J. O. Powell of Monticello; Rev. A. M. Roberts of Pine Bluff; Mrs. Allan Crump of Fort Smith and Lyell Thompson of Fayetteville.

Members of the Advisory Council are Miss Parma Basham, Rev. Donald K. Campbell, Dr. R. D. Crockett, Miss Minnie Dawkins, Rev. William C. Gentry Jr., Mrs. J. Russell Henderson, Mrs. Norman Holcomb, Mrs. Byron W. House Jr., Mrs. D. D. James, H. Charles Johnston, Dr. M. A. Jackson, Rev. Richard W. Kelley, Mrs. Forrest Rozzell, Mrs. John M. Samuel, Mrs. Bruce Shropshire, Mrs. James R. Vinson, Rev. William A. Willcox Jr., Miss Joan Wilson, Dr. Robert L. Wixom, Mrs. Jesse B. Woods and Mrs. James E. Youngdahl, all of Little Rock; Mrs. W. Floyd Bates and Dr. H. Solomon Hill, both of North Little Rock; Dr. R. F. Bryant and Rev. D. Arlington Talbot, both of Pine Bluff; Mrs. Guerdon D. Nichols, Keith S. Petersen, Dr. Wilma Sacks and Dr. Stephen Stephan, all of Fayetteville; Col. George D. Rogers and Mrs. E. M. Sparling, both of Hot Springs; Mrs. Mary K. Sands of Conway, and Mrs. David M. Driver of Arkadelphia.

Ark-Pope

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ... 30303
... 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

May 26, 1965

TO: LWD & PA

FROM: LJE

RE : Arkansas Council on Human Relations, Conference at Little Rock, May 22, 1965.

TEXT:

The Arkansas Council held what I consider to have been an unexpectedly successful conference on the Economic Opportunity Act and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. I say ununexpectedly successful because the persons attending the conference were more numerous, more attentive, and more serious than I had expected.

Originally, it had been planned that the SRC representative at the conference would give the luncheon address. When Paul Anthony couldn't attend, and at first Al Ulmer and then I was to replace him, the luncheon address chore was given to Jacques Wilmore, who will soon (June 1) be heading a new regional office (Memphis) of the Civil Rights Commission. I had gone to Little Rock prepared to make anaafter-luncheon speech. Fortunately my conference role was switched; I made a sort of keynote speech on equal opportunity in government programs, and then became a consultant on the anti-poverty programs for three workshop sessions. (See attached copy of program.)

Total attendance was about 125 to 150. All sections of Arkansas were represented, including some very small towns. Attendance held up through to the last sessions. Questions asked were usually quite relevant to the subject under consideration -- at least, they were in my three workshops on the Economic Opportunity Act.

About sixty percent of those attending were Negroes. This integrated the heck out of the Coachman's Inn, which, almost alone among the "better" establishments in Little Rock, had not integrated until the Civil Rights Bill became law. Nat Griswold stated that attendance by Negroes was unusually high, reflecting recent increased participation by Negroes in Council programs.

During the sessions I continually stressed the necessity of having local councils and individual members, and their allies, to watchdog the civil rights and anti-poverty program actions of federal, state, and local government officials. Griswold, Ozell Sutton, and the federal government's representatives at the conference (see program), all backed me on this. It was very gratifying to have Jacques Wilmore invite people who did not know where, how, and to whom to complain to write him at the new Memphis CRC office, so that he could forward complaints to the proper places and persons.

I was impressed rather favorably by Wilmore. Not only did he give a good talk -- he said a lot, quickly, and shut up -- but he showed, in conversations, what appears to be good judgment, particularly in recognizing his own limitations (He's a Negro who has never lived in the South.) and in indicating his readiness to learn. I offered him SRC's services; he indicated he'll be in touch with us soon.

Another thing which impressed me was the strong faith that the Washington (federal) people at the conference have in Francis Keppel's abilities, especially his firmness in handling the federal funds-desegregation business. Dr. Berns (see program) was most insistent that Keppel will not give in to segregationist political pressure, because he (Keppel) has complete support from LBJ on enforcement of the Civil Rights Act. May this be so.

There was much discussion of the so-called "freedom of choice" plans, which seem to be the rule in Arkansas if not throughout the South. Berns stated flatly that "freedom of choice" plans would not be acceptable to the Office of Education for more than a few years especially if they do not lead to de facto integration of southern schools.

Among the people I met at the conference were Mrs. Joe Brewer (whom I'd come to know from the SRC reading file), and the famous Mrs. Daisy Bates. Summing up Mrs. Bates accurately, if tritely: no flies on that girl.

I repeat, recognizing the context and limitations of such a meeting, that I believe that this conference was unexpectedly, unusually, successful in stimulating interest and in encouraging action among the Arkansas human relations "troops."

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Filing Formula

Administration
- A-1 Directives from Atlanta
- A-2 Letters from Atlanta to Atlanta
- A-3 Local Organization & Policy
- A-4 Minutes of Meetings

Finances
- F-1 Bank Deposit and Invoices
- F-2 Budget and Financial Reports
- F-3 Directives from Atlanta
- F-4 Financial Plans
- F-5 Letters from Atlanta to Atlanta
- F-6 Reports to Atlanta
- F-7 Resource Prospects
- F-8 Subscriptions to New South
- F-9 Travel Vouchers

Literature
- L-1 Bibliographies
- L-2 Sources, SRC
- L-3 Sources other than SRC
- L-4 Orders & Correspondence

Program - Atlanta
- Pat-1 Directives from Atlanta
- Pat-2 Letters from Atlanta to Atlanta
- Pat-3 Other SRC Programs - State
- Pat-4 Other Programs than SRC

Program - Arkansas
- Par-1 Consultants
- Par-2 Inservice-training
- Par-3 Membership
- Par-4 Newsletter
- Par-5 Notes on Conferences & Interviews
- Par-6 Reports to Atlanta
- Par-7 Speakers Bureau
- Par-8 Visiting Professors
- Par-9 Conferences, Workshops & etc.

Publicity
- P-1 Newspapers - Contacts
- P-2 Public Relations, Cordial
- P-3 Public Relations, Unfriendly
- P-4 Contact Persons
- P-5 Suggestions from Atlanta
- P-6 Who's Who

Newspaper Clippings
- NC-1 Arkansas, Schools
- NC-2 Elsewhere, Schools
- NC-3 Other than Schools
- NC-4 About SRC & ACHR
- NC-5 For Atlanta

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
211 South Izard, Little Rock, Arkansas

Please enroll me (us) as indicated:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ____ | Individual member | $ 3.00 |
| ____ | Husband and wife, members | 4.00 |
| ____ | Organization member | 25.00 |
| ____ | Student member | 2.00 |
| ____ | Contributor | |
| STAFF ____ | | |

Name _____

Address _____

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(Membership includes subscription to NEW SOUTH.)

LWD ✓ PR ✓

—Staff Photo

**Darragh alights, is greeted by his mother.**

# Darragh Hits Landing Time On Nose to Wind Up Flight

Fred K. Darragh Jr. returned last night from his 68-day flight around the world.

Darragh's twin-engine Cessna 310 touched down at Adams Field at 6:15 p. m.—the exact minute that he had told friends he would be there—and a crowd of 25 persons were on hand to greet him.

He has dreamed many years of making the trip and he said last night that it was every bit as satisfying as he had hoped it would be.

Darragh, 45, is the president of the Darragh Co. of Little Rock, a feed manufacturing and building materials firm.

He left Little Rock July 30 and flew west to San Francisco, then to Australia and the Far East, across the Middle East to Europe and then to New York. Except for local flights in Australia and the Hawaiian Islands, he made the entire flight alone.

## Why Trip?

Why did he make the trip?

"I wanted to go to the World Poultry Congress [at Sydney, Australia]" he said. "I was planning to go by commercial airliner but I was tired one night and sat down and looked at a globe of the earth. I saw that there were only two long hops across the Pacific and one long hop across the Atlantic, so I decided to fly it myself."

—Staff Photo

**Tigers' Queen**

Miss Carolyn Cossley was crowned Central High School homecoming queen at the Central-Fort Smith football

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—Staff Photo

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Darragh didn't think the flight was anything spectacular. A lot of people are doing such things now, he said. Radio equipment is so elaborate and so complete now that a trip such as this is not especially dangerous, he said.

He said that he had no serious trouble anywhere — "occassional annoyances with customs, but nothing else." He only had to use his airplane's de-icing equipment about 10 minutes on the trip.

Darragh said that he was a little anxious as he began the first leg of his journey over the sea.

"But there was a cloud cover as I left San Francisco and it wasn't so bad, since I couldn't see the sea," he said. "I kept telling myself that it was just like flying over the land."

What was the most interesting part of his trip?

"The ground," he said.

The land he saw wasn't entirely new to him. He was a pilot in the Air Transport Command during World War II and flew a number of flights in the Far East, including flights over the "hump" between the Himalayan Mountains between China and India.

The back seats of Darragh's Cessna were scripped out to make room for auxiliary gasoline tanks.

### Mother Didn't Worry

Among those who met him at the airport last night was his mother, Mrs. Kramer Darragh of 2 Sunset Drive.

She said she never worried about him. "I told him before he left that with his ability and with God's help he wouldn't have any trouble."

She said she encouraged him to make the trip.

"I never stood in my boys' way for something as wonderful as this. It's something that he always wanted to do," she said.

Fred began flying before America entered World War II, she said. He came to his father one day and told him that it looked like there was going to be a war and he wanted to take time out to learn how to fly.

Darragh said that he didn't plan to make the trip again "anytime soon" but he didn't say that he wouldn't do it again sometime.

## Ark La Decla

—Staff Photo

**Tigers' Queen**

Miss Carolyn Cossley was crowned Central High School homecoming queen at the Central-Fort Smith football game last night.

## Faubus Aide Joins Vote Device Drive

John Browning Jr., an administrative assistant to Governor Faubus, has been appointed chairman of Campus Committees in support of proposed voting machine constitutional Amendment, 54, according to William J. Smith, the campaign chairman.

Browning is the son of Mr. and Mrs. John Browning Sr. of Lepanto and is a 1958 graduate of Arkansas State College at Jonesboro. At ASC he was a member of Pi Kappa Alpha, a social fraternity, and after graduation was an administrative assistant for the organization.

Campus Committees will be organized on all college campuses in the state to enlist support for the amendment, which would make possible the use of voting machines in Arkansas on a locally permissive basis.

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**Memo** from **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

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PA -

I sent copy letter to Dave. Don't you want to circulate attachments to SB + WB?

BP ✓ please route these to me, too.

For use of Advisory Committee members only:

Ark
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PRELIMINARY REPORT

Eight-City Survey by Ruth Arnold
October 3-4; 10-11

(In its final form this report will include background on the planning and purpose of the survey as well as the press release by the Attorney General on his letters to mayors of all first-class Arkansas cities advising them against seeing a representative of the Committee. The final form will also be made general and will not be in the first person.)

THE INTERVIEW WITH MAYORS

I presented each mayor with a copy of the Arkansas Advisory Committee Report on Education, calling attention to the other members on the committee and explaining its role. I said we wanted to determine his understanding of the civil rights movement, its implications for his community and whether or not any policy or plans had been formulated to meet problems that might arise. I tried to assess his willingness to accept advice, help, or the knowledge gained by other communities.

In order to achieve as relaxed, friendly, and frank an atmosphere as possible I took no notes during the discussion.

Before leaving I asked for names of Negro leaders and tried to evaluate his rapport with the Negro community. Then I gave him a copy of the International City Managers' Association report on "The City Government and Minority Groups" calling attention to its professional approach.

THE INTERVIEW WITH CHAMBER OF COMMERCE DIRECTORS OR CIVIC LEADERS

This interview was approximately the same but with more emphasis on the business interest in a peaceful transition. I left copies of the City Managers' Report and the Southern Regional Council Special Report, "Charlotte Has Built Its Integration Road."

FAYETTEVILLE

(Background: Percentage of Negro school children - 2.5; site of the State University; secondary schools desegregated except for faculty; no integration in the elementary schools; city facilities completely desegregated, including the swimming pool; some hotels, motels, restaurants and theaters open; University housing segregated. An active human relations organization works diligently on pushing for equal rights.)

The Mayor

After introducing myself and explaining my purpose I congratulated the Mayor on the peaceful progress that Fayetteville had made, that though my mission was to be helpful, he was really in a position to advise other communities.

I asked did he think it would be helpful to have an official interracial commission. His response indicated he did not really consider this problem within the scope of his job as mayor. He referred vaguely to the "university group" (Fayetteville Council on Human Relations) as working out these problems. He did not seem to know as much about the desegregation of his town as I did from my previous contact with members of the Fayetteville Council and its newsletter.

I asked did he think those business men who still refused to open their businesses to all jeopardized the peaceful progress that had been made. Would not a non-discriminatory ordinance protect those businesses that had desegregated voluntarily? He gave me a short lecture on free enterprise and the rights of business men to run their businesses as they saw fit.

FAYETTEVILLE (con'd)

The Chamber of Commerce

The Director of the Chamber was not in so I called on an active Junior Chamber of Commerce member who was well acquainted with the desegregation process in Fayetteville. After showing him my materials and explaining my purpose he seemed most anxious that I see the Chamber Director and succeeded in locating him for a twenty minute interview. The Director was proud of the peaceful progress Fayetteville had made. I asked him if the Chamber could play a role in persuading the "holdouts" to desegregate in order to support those who had already desegregated and to prevent demonstrations. I got another short lecture on free enterprise and the rights of business men. He did, however, add that Fayetteville business men were very fine people, most of them graduates of the University, and they could work out problems peacefully as they arose. He seemed interested in the report on Charlotte which I left with him. (However, I felt some dismay when I learned that all the other Chamber directors said they had already received a copy and had read it.)

FORT SMITH

(Background: Percentage of Negro school children - 8.9; site of Fort Chaffee; token desegregation in the schools with a law suit filed to speed up desegregation; city facilities desegregated except for swimming pool; a few hotels, motels, restaurants open. An interracial committee cooperating with the mayor and chamber of commerce works on desegregation problems, but is moving very slowly since the initial desegregation of certain restaurants. There is a good deal of industry in Fort Smith.)

Prior to my visit, in a news interview concerning the Attorney General's letter about my visit, the Mayor announced his door was always open to visitors.

After finding the Mayor out of the office I made my first call at the Chamber of Commerce, leaving word with the secretary to phone me there on the Mayor's return.

The Chamber of Commerce

The assistant director of the Chamber told me of the interracial committee working on Fort Smith's desegregation problems. He gave me the impression that nearly all the restaurants were open and complained that Negroes were not using them. He seemed cognizant of the Chamber's interest in making progress in this area in order to comply with federal policies related to Fort Chaffee as well as industries with government contracts. On schools his personal opinion was that the School Board erred in not changing its original desegregation plan in order to speed up the process. (The following day the Chamber's Board of Directors passed a resolution commending those business men that had desegregated.)

The Mayor

As in Fayetteville the Mayor did not feel the desegregation issue was his problem. He equated it with labor-management problems. He saw his role only as law enforcement in the event of trouble. (However, he was the initiator of the biracial committee working on desegregation.) He seemed proud of the progress that had been made, saw no need for an official biracial committee and disapproved of a city ordinance requiring desegregation of public facilities. He was especially fearful of "outsiders" giving advice, convinced it would be resented. (This included having a native like Jerry Heilbron speak to civic clubs.) On leaving I could not resist saying that the "White only" signs on the buildings restroom doors belied his city's good reputation. He excused it by saying it was a city-county building and he did not have sole jurisdiction.

The NAACP and the Human Relations Council

In the evening I visited with the local NAACP President and the

President of the local human relations council. They both expressed dismay with the lack of progress, the interminable delays, and the lack of cooperation from the commander of the army camp. They seemed to feel the latter accepted at face value the rosy picture painted by the Chamber of Commerce.

## CLARKSVILLE

(Background: Percentage of Negro school children - 4.8; white school has NC rating, Negro school has no accreditation; site of College of the Ozarks run by the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.; no desegregation or Negro pressure for change.)

After Fort Smith I decided I should call on a Negro leader <u>before</u> calling on the mayor or chamber of commerce.

My first call was at the College of the Ozarks. No one from the sociology department was accessible. I was finally directed to the head of the physical education department since he was the only person available familiar with the town. He felt that Clarksville was apathetic rather than hostile to the desegregation at the college. He did not know the names of any Negro leaders but gave me directions to the Negro school. (A discription of this unaccredited school would be a report in itself!) I was given the name of a Negro minister who could be found at the "big Methodist church back of the square." This turned out to be a white church where the Negro minister worked as janitor. He had just left for the day. The white minister agreed to see me. He turned rather hostile when he finally understood my role. When I pushed him by asking how his congregation responded to Sunday School lessons and national church policies on race he told me of the town's mountain folk origins and described them as praying, "Dear God, please make me be right. You know how hard it is for me to change."

### <u>The Mayor</u>

The Mayor owns the drug store in Clarksville. His assistant was out to lunch when I got there so I sipped a coke and discussed children and the weather with his wife for half an hour before he could join me. He listened quietly while I explained the purpose of my visit. Then I listened quietly while he gave his opinions on the power-grabbing federal government, the morals of Negroes, the mess in Washington schools, the Communists and Martin Luther King, etc. Every now and then he would interrupt himself by saying (with a mixture of hostility and awe) something like, "I wouldn't do the job you're doing for anything in the world." He became so engrossed in confronting a live integrationist he told customers to come back later to have their prescriptions filled. He finally relaxed and the following points came out. He was very relieved I didn't turn out to be a Negro. He disapproved of Negroes at the College sitting among other students at football games but he attended anyway. When I told him Little Rock restaurants had desegregated he said he guessed he could still sit at a separate table. If Clarksville schools had to (tokenly) desegregate he guessed they could manage. He said good-bye in a relieved but friendly mood shaking his head at the state of the world in general and saying, We all need to go back to being Christian." I left hoping he was not a Methodist and thinking my visit to Clarksville was at least good therapy for the Mayor.

## MORRILTON

(Background: Percentage of Negro school children - 15.5; white school rated NC, Negro, A; no desegregation or Negro pressure for change.)

### <u>Chamber of Commerce</u>

The Director seemed friendly until casual visitors joined us. One of them, on being introduced, simply told me he disapproved of anyone connected with civil rights and wouldn't stay in the same room with one. He left with a look of disbelief that I existed. The Director could see no relationship between good race relations and the industrial and business climate. He had received the Charlotte report and had thrown it away. I asked if he felt he and his friends reflected the general attitude of his organization and the community. He said

yes. Realizing we could not have a constructive discussion I asked for names of Negro leaders. He knew of none. I asked for the names of Negroes on the Urban Renewal Advisory Committee. He said there were none. When I told him this was a requirement for getting federal funds, that the Negroes could "give them a hard time" about it, he retorted they could give the Negroes a harder time - they were already getting nowhere with their complaints about the program.

The Mayor

The Mayor, a doctor, had an office full of patients when I got there. In response to my inquiry delivered by his nurse, he returned a message saying he would be happy to see me at the regular meetings of the city council on the second and fourth Monday nights.

GOULD

(Background: Percentage of Negro school children - 62.5; white school has A rating, Negro school has no accreditation; no desegregation; Negroes had submitted a petition to desegregate the schools; main industry cotton.)

The Mayor of Gould was on his vacation and not in town when I got there. The City Clerk was the wife of the Christian minister and was very alert to the problem of race relations. I learned the following; The city council's reaction to the petition for school desegregation centered on discussions concerning the acquisition of police dogs and stepping up the civil defense program. There was not much likelihood of Gould Negroes asserting themselves. Most of them were extremely poor and uneducated, many on the welfare rolls. Aggressive Negroes were not apt to stay in Gould. The Negro teachers were so demoralized they resented even a Negro who tried to improve school discipline and teaching quality. The area of most immediate concern was police brutality. (These points were all borne out in a subsequent interview with a Negro minister.)

After lunch with the Christian minister and his wife, I was taken to one of two brothers who are reputed to "own the county." I asked for his reaction to the petition for school desegregation. He said all but one of the signers were on the welfare roll, that it was inspired by outsiders, and the signers had subsequently repudiated the petition. (The latter two points were also substantiated by the Negro minister.) Asked about community reaction to a desegregation court order he responded desegregation was not likely to happen to any degree - after all, "separate but equal" had been the law for 60 years and no one had been able to enforce that.

WARREN

(Background: Percentage of Negro school children - 40.6; white school has NC rating; Negro school, A; no desegregation or Negro pressure for change; main industry lumber.

In response to the letter of introduction from Mr. Youngdahl, the Mayor wrote, "At the present time our city is not in position to make any statement concerning civil rights. The plans for desegregation are in the discussion stage and until our groups have had an opportunity to work out some plan, we do not feel that we need the services of your organization."

Thursday afternoon is not a good time to find anyone in a small town. My first interview was with the official of a wood workers union who represented both Negro and white workers. He was of the opinion that nothing would happen in Warren, neither the Negroes or whites wanted integration. His major interest seemed to be in convincing me it would be a bad thing; if only I would wait and let him drive me through the Negro section I would understand.

My second call was on a white business man, active in civic affairs and a former member of the school board. He was a man of good will with little understanding of the civil rights movement and its

implications. (He was sure Martin Luther King was a Communist.) I asked him about the "discussion stage" referred to in the Mayor's letter. He was convinced there was no such discussion going on. He felt that cool heads would prevail in response to a court order on school desegregation.

I called at the Negro school where I met a knowledgeable Negro minister, familiar with South Arkansas, who had been a speaker for the Student Protest Movement in Pine Bluff. He agreed there was little likelihood of any pressure from Warren Negroes - they were currently disgruntled only because of the slow pace of the financial drive among white business men for a swimming pool for Negroes.

PINE BLUFF

(Background: Percentage of Negro school children - 42; both schools rated NC; site of the state college for Negroes; voluntary token desegregation in schools; department stores and some lunch counters desegregated; city facilities desegregated except for swimming pool. The Pine Bluff Movement (which has the help of paid staff members of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee) leads the Negro pressure for change; a secret committee of white civic leaders negotiates with them.)

The Mayor seemed to me little more than a city clerk. He had no interest in desegregation matters, said he did not know the white persons negotiating with Negroes, that he had enough to do "without all that." On city employment policies, he said they were non-discriminatory, that they had not had qualified applicants. I left after another lecture on the rights of business men in response to my inquiry about the desirability of a non-discriminatory city ordinance.

The Director of the Chamber was a genial man who "loved and got along with Negroes" and used as his guide in race relations a line he once heard a Negro speaker give, "If a white man could be a Negro just one Saturday night, he'd never be satisfied with being white again." He had received the Charlotte report, it was very good, and he had it in his integration file - "Yes, I keep up with all that." He told of a program he was working on in which workers of a big plant would be honored - Negroes separately. Asked if he didn't think Negroes resented this, he said they preferred it that way. I failed to confront any realities with him.

I went to Arkansas A.M.& N. College. The President was not in. The Dean talked about race relations in Tennessee and near-rudeness on my part failed to elicit any insights or opinions on race relations in Pine Bluff.

EL DORADO

(Background: Percentage of Negro school children - 31.4; both schools rated NC; no desegregation or Negro pressure for change; main industry oil; home town of the Attorney General.)

The Mayor wrote, "In reply to your letter of September 25th, please be advised that due to such a heavy schedule and so many prior commitments, it will be impossible for me to see, or confer with, Mrs. Ruth Arnold."

I knew little about race relations in El Dorado and from Little Rock phoned a woman I knew as active in civic affairs. Her reaction to my coming there was discouraging. They did not want any outsiders telling them what to do, their Negroes were perfectly satisfied and had already assured the white people they would take care of any outside agitators that might try to stir things up. I asked if she knew the Director of the Chamber of Commerce. She said she did - that the Director was rabid on the subject of segregation. She could think of no one with whom I could have a constructive discussion.

After I conferred with the state office of the NAACP and they confirmed the assessment of the El Dorado Negro mood, I decided a trip there would serve no useful purpose.

*Arkansas*
# Council On Human Relations

211 SOUTH IZARD TELEPHONE FR 4-4521

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*

**OFFICERS**
REV. COLBERT S. CARTWRIGHT *Chairman*
DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN *Vice-Chairman*
MRS. E. M. SPARLING *Vice-Chairman*
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MRS. JAMES R. VINSON
REV. E. B. WILLIAMS
M. W. (Mike) WILLIS
MRS. DOROTHY OTIS WYRE

**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD *Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. *Associate Director*
MRS. VELMA POWELL *Secretary*

July 11, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

We enclose our request for a grant from the Southern Regional Council for 1957-1958. In reviewing this presentation I seem to detect signs of application fatigue. (This is the third in as many weeks!)

We ask for $5,000.00, though we are fully aware an equal amount will not be available to the other nine states. This means no disrespect to our peers. It means we think this amount can be used fruitfully in Arkansas.

With our request we send some simple exhibits of our organization and activities. Our list of services are not meant to be pretentious. It includes services which may be used only by one community or organization.

Thank you for your helpfulness in the past. We pledge continued earnest efforts to keep Arkansas moving forward toward a "free and equal society."

Sincerely,

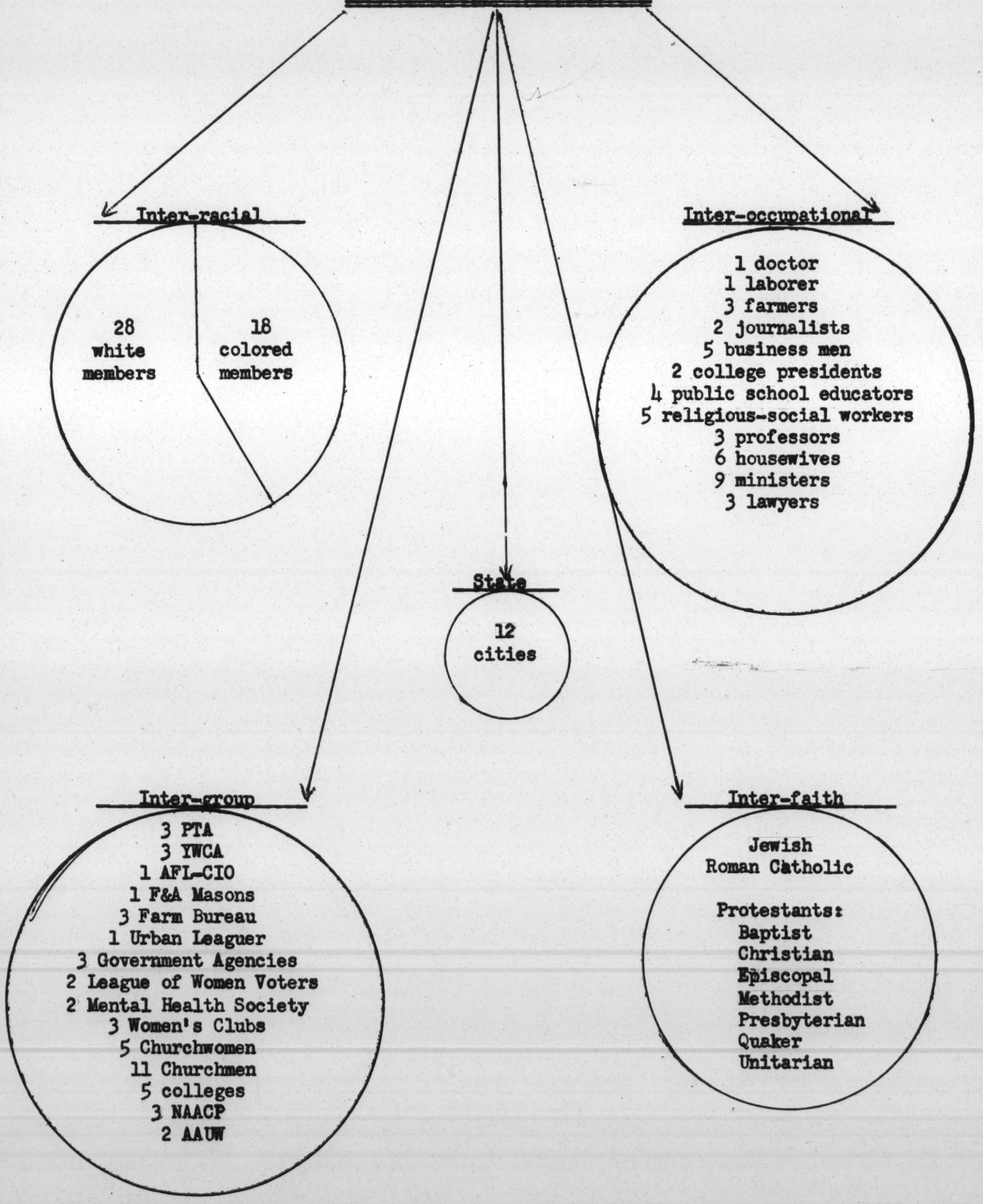
Nat Griswold

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG/ccm
Enclosures -

Arkansas Council on Human Relations

BOARD and STAFF ARE INCLUSIVE



Arkansas Council on Human Relations

THUMBNAIL SKETCH OF STAFF AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

THE DIRECTORS:

NAT R. GRISWOLD - 56 years, a native Arkansan, a Methodist minister, for twelve years teacher of Religion at Hendrix College, for three years an educator in Japanese Relocation Center (War Relocation Authority).

CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. - 33 years, a native Arkansan, former public school teacher, attorney, graduate of Arkansas A. M. N. College and School of Law of the University of Arkansas, active Presbyterian layman.

THE COMMITTEE:

The REVEREND C.S. CARTWRIGHT - minister of the Christian Church, former resident of Virginia, recognized advocate of community progress, student of public relations.

DR. TILLMON C. COTHRAN - native Arkansan, Head of the Department of Sociology in A. M. & N. College, research student.

Mrs. E. M. SPARLING - long resident and civic leader of Hot Springs, member of National Board of YWCA, former member of State Board of Education.

MRS. J. RUSSELL HENDERSON - state and national worker with women of the Methodist Church.

MRS. L.C. BATES - State President of NAACP, news correspondent for State Press (weekly with wide circulation among Negroes).

FRED K. DARRAGH, JR. - manufacturer and dealer, feeds and building materials.

THE REVEREND CHARLES C. WALKER - minister of the First Congregational Church.

MRS. JESSIE B. WOOD - wife of local physician, active in social and philanthropic work in the Negro segment of the community.

PERRY A. TAYLOR - Executive Secretary of the Little Rock Urban League.

MRS. GUERDON NICHOLS - wife of the Dean of the Liberal Arts College, University of Arkansas.

MRS. W. FLOYD BATES - educational work with children of the Methodist Church, South Central Jurisdiction, member of the SRC.

# Arkansas Council on human Relations

## PROPOSED BUDGET - OCTOBER 1,1957 - SEPTEMBER 30,1958

EXPENDITURES:

A. Salaries -

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Executive Director | $ 5000.00 | |
| Associate Director | 5000.00 | |
| Secretary | 2500.00 | |
| Social Security , Ins., and Bond | 250.00 | |
| | $ 12750.00 | |

B. Program -

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Rent | $ 840.00 | |
| Caretaker | 65.00 | |
| Postage | 175.00 | |
| Telephone and telegraph | 310.00 | |
| Office Equipment - Repairs | 10.00 | |
| Office Supplies | 235.00 | |
| Printing | 300.00 | |
| Hospitality | 75.00 | |
| Literature & Newspapers | 225.00 | |
| Subscriptions to NEW SOUTH | 350.00 | |
| Travel | 850.00 | |
| Misc., Audit, Bank S.C., etc. | 65.00 | |
| Total | $ 3500.00 | |
| Grand Total | | $ 16,250.00 |

INCOME: (1)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A. To be raised by Arkansans | $ 3250.00 | |
| B. Grant from Southern Regional Council | 5000.00 | |
| C. Grant from Rockefeller Brothers Fund | 8000.00 | |
| Total | | $ 16,250.00 |

(1) Actual Income for 1955 - 1956

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A. | The Southern Regional Council | $ 13,000.00 |
| B. | Raised by Arkansans | 3,600.00 |
| | Total | $ 16,600.00 |

Arkansas Council on Human Relations

ALLOCATION OF STAFF TIME

I. ADMINSTRATION and PLANNING → 30%

- Records and reports
- Board and Executive Committee meetings
- Finance Committee (fund raising)
- Membership Committee (campaigns)
- Program Committee
- Staff meetings
- Correspondence and telephoning
- Staff enrichment and training
- Annual Membership Meeting

II. PUBLIC RELATIONS → 20%

- State and Regional Conventions of:
  * Social Workers
  * Churchmen
  * Educators
  * Lawyers
  * Commerce
  * Industry
  * Labor
  * Civic Groups
- Local meetings of similar groups
- Newspaper and Radio-TV newsmen
- Personal conferences with strategic persons

III. STATE PROGRAM → 50%

- Speaking, consultations, conferences, workshops
- Activities with local members of ACHR
- Publications:
  * Newsletter
  * Program guides
  * Information
  * News releases
- Literature and visual aids
- Personal conferences and consultations with strategic persons

# CRITERIA FOR SELECTING COMMUNITY

## THE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

**The Superintendent is the key man:**

1. What does he foresee about desegregation, locally?
2. What has he lead the Board into doing?
3. How does he evaluate attitude of the Board members?
4. How does he evaluate local support for desegregation?
5. What has he done with faculty by way of preparation?
6. What has he done with students by way of preparation?
7. What plans has he for preparation and starting?

**The Board Members:**

1. Are any strong advocates of compliance?
2. Are any strong opponents of compliance?
3. Who are inert?

## CHURCHES

**Protestant ministers of strong churches, Catholic Priests, Jewish Rabbis:**

1. Who advocate compliance?
2. Who oppose compliance?
3. How active are advocates and opponents?
4. What have they done interracially?

**Church Women:**

1. What have they done interracially?
2. Are leaders advocates of compliance?

(Cont'd.)

## COMMUNITY IN GENERAL

**City (town) Officials:**

1. Can they be relied upon to be impartial?
2. Can they be taken into confidence of school administrators?

**Respected Voices:**

1. Are there professional men who support compliance?
2. Are there professional men who oppose compliance?

**Negro Leadership:**

1. Is there satisfactory communication between the white segment and the colored segment?
2. Is there mutual trust between leaders?
3. Are the colored "leaders" trusted by both segments?
4. Are the colored leaders alert, informed, and determined?

**List integrated organizations or projects:**

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

# ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

## SERVICES BASED ON PRESENT POLICIES

I. STATEWIDE SERVICES

A. Informational Services

B. Through the Churches

C. Through the Colleges

D. Through the Schools

E. Through Agencies of Industrial Development

F. Through Voluntary and Professional Associations

G. Through Mass Media

II. SERVICES TO SELECT COMMUNITIES

A. In the Schools

B. In and Among the Churches

C. In Other Community Groups and Activities

## SERVICES BASED ON PRESENT POLICIES

### I. STATEWIDE SERVICES

#### A. INFORMATIONAL SERVICES

1. Maintain an adequate supply of current phamphlets, books, reprints, brochures, journals and periodicals on every aspect of human relations and distribute these to concerned individuals and organizations.

2. Maintain a complete list of sources of materials and films for use of the public.

3. Make purchase of phamphlets and books simply by descriptions and order forms in periodic Newsletters.

4. Encourage high school and college students to consult the staff about materials for class assignments.

5. Furnish college libraries copies of publications of the Council. ( This has been done for the University )

6.. Recommend to public libraries new books in the field of human relations.

7. Give reports and analysis of court actions and significant events in human relations.

8. Maintain file of clippings from the press of the developments in Arkansas and the Southern Region.

9. Maintain a mobile display of materials for use at conferences and conventions of various groups.

10. Publish from time to time guides for action and study for use of local groups. ( Such as, " Simple Steps in Compliance with the Court's Decision " )

11. Make simple surveys to discover significant facts. ( e.g. as to progress of desegregation in the churches, professional groups, civic organizations women's clubs; as to political participation of Negro citizens; as to church activities of the professionals among Negroes.) Use these facts discreetly in speeches, reports, and the press.

#### B. SERVICES THROUGH THE CHURCHES

1. Make staff and consultants available for institutes and workshops.
2. Provide display of materials for educational conferences and projects.

3. Expand use of teams of ministers to speak before local church groups. ( Twenty-seven interracial teams were set up in 1956 - 1957 )

4. Correlate activities of churchmen especially concerned with the extension of human rights and responsibilities. Promote occasional meeting for these.

5. Stimulate and encourage desegregation of church groups - especially ministers associations and educational events.

6. Distribute to churches information on progress of integregation in the churches, using the press.

C. SERVICES THROUGH THE COLLEGES AND THE UNIVERSITY

1. Recruit consultants and speakers from the faculties for use in local communities.

2. Stimulate a program of exchange of professors among all state colleges.

3. Propose research problems in human relations to appropriate department heads. (e.g. Cost of segregation to the State and to the local schools in districts with small Negro population) Publish meaningful and useful facts.

4. Furnish to libraries and students materials for class use.

5. Foster informal study and projects among student and faculty members of the Council.

D. SERVICE TO AND THROUGH THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

1. Spark concurrent desegregation in a number of districts with small Negro populations.

2. Make services available to school organizations ( teachers, parents, students, boards, committees ), local and state. Dissipate misgivings by genuine helpfulness, through consultants, literature, movies, speakers.

3. Cooperate with all associations seeking better education for all children.

4. Relieve pressures on schools by getting support for desegregation from respected opinion makers, individuals and groups.

5. Cultivate greater use of all services of ACHR by the teachers' organizations, colored and white.

E. SERVICES THROUGH THE AGENCIES OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

1. Without attempting pressure, persuade local Industrial Development Commissions to include Negroex citizens in all thinking and planning. " This job can be done well only when the colored citizens and workers assume responsibility and share benefits."

2. Continue to cooperate with the Farm Bureau and Gin Coops ( Negro owned ) in efforts to better the economic lot of Negro farmers.

3. Encourage state labor officials to implement interracial policies of the national organizations. Offer our educational services to that end.

4. Maintain liason with the Urban League and citizens committees seeking equal job opportunities and benefits for the Negro.

F. SERVICE THROUGH VOLUNTARY AND PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

1. Continue work with civic leagues, women's organizations, youth groups.

2. Report progress of desegregation in professional and labor groups.

3. Develpp active relation to Conference of Social Workers, Pulaski Community Council, Religion and Labor Fellowship.

4. Serve as a door through which help of national groups may come to Arkansas. ( National organizations of churches, educators, intergroup workers, press, Scouts, women )

G. SERVICES THROUGH MASS MEDIA

1. Increase contacts with newsmen, especially on local weekly papers, to widen distribution of factual materials.

2. Push distribution through local groups of bus cards, blotters, book-covers, book-marks, with the "fair play" theme.

II. SERVICES TO COMMUNITIES SELECTED FOR CONCENTRATED EFFORTS

(These were selected on the basis of readiness for school desegregation measured by criteria listed in File of Documents, which see) Measured

~~A. IN THE SCHOOLS~~

## II. SERVICES TO COMMUNITIES SELECTED FOR CONCENTRATED EFFORTS

### A. IN THE SCHOOLS ( Con'td.)

1. In selecting the community, understanding and assent has been secured from the Superintendent of the purpose and methods to be employed in the community.

2. Personally acquaint Superintendent with materials and services available.

3. Establish a relation of complete frankness with school administrators. ( Negro principals, too.)

4. Get a first hand picture of the administration's plan or thinking about desegregation.

5. Emphasize the consultant services available through ACHR & SRC.

6. Point out to administartors helpful methods used in other schools, furnishings printed descriptions.

### B. IN AND AMONG THE CHURCHES

1. Stimulate organization of an inter-church committee made up of representatives of the several individual committees for social action.

2. Encourage through this committee and/ or ministers inter-church institutes on human relations. ( A purpose of every institute is to answer the question, "What can we do?" ) Provide study guides and other aids.

3. Aid social action committees in projects aimed at giving church members ~~happy~~ interracial experiences in small groups. ( Especially youth who may be the parties of the school integration.)

4. Make consultants, speakers, artists, movies, available in which church groups will see the " other " race in a new and appealing role.

5. Encourage church groups and inter-church groups, along with other groups, to understand school plans and problems of desegregation.

6. Help get immediate public support from ministers and church organizations for the school's declaration of policy to integrate.

7. Stimulate desegregation of the ministers' associations.

C. IN OTHER COMMUNITY GROUPS AND ACTIVITIES

1. Encourage the activity of the local members of the ACHR through a formal organization.

2. Through these members organize an intergroup committee, representatives from most concerned groups, for fact gathering and disseminating, for studied recommendations to the several groups for individual action of each.

3. Set-up a publication committee as a local out-let for ACHR materials which will arrange points for display and sale of materials received on consignment from the state office. It would seek full cooperation of the public library.

4. Through individual members of various local civic and service groups stimulate programs and projects toward interracial experience and fuller understanding of school desegregation.

5. Where needed, help school officials secure full cooperation from local government and security officers in particular.

6. Seek establishment of a city related Commission on Human Relations, similar to that of St. Louis.

7. Stimulate free participation of Negroes in other areas recreational, political, educational, public facilities, employment.

*Arkansas*
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## A REQUEST TO THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

September 30,1957, will terminate the affiliate relation between the Arkansas Council on Human Relations (ACHR) and the Southern Regional Council. By that date ACHR, will have operated with a staff of three for two years and six months. This has been possible through generous grants from SRC, supplemented by growing sacrificial support from a few devoted Arkansans. This is a request for a grant of $ 5000.00 from SRC for 1957 - 1958 to continue the work which seems promising just now.

### The Situation

A newspaper correspondent, summarizing the situations in the various South's characterized Arkansas's climate as " mixed." In a real sense this is accurate. We have the same defying forces here that operate in other sections of the South; but progressive affirming forces have their roots deep in the State's history and culture.

In this state the forces of obstruction to the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions properly class it with the " confused " and " angry South."

These forces have produced the same fruits that other Southern states exhibit. All Arkansas Congressmen signed the " Southern Manifesto." Arkansas has enacted a resolution, a constitutional amendment, and five statutes to buttress segregation. These, too, offer the " protection " of interposition, of pupil assignment, of a state Sovereignty Commission, of registration and quarterly reports by certain organizations, of school attendence laws.

On the other hand, historically, certain progressive forces and climate of opinion have evolved in this state which distinguish it as " the upper South," sharing some of the temper and out - look of the " border states." The " plantation " area of the state has never dominated its economics, education, mass media, social customs, politics, or self image. Some concrete results evidence the working of these forces: Voluntary desegregation of city buses, of all state-supported colleges and of the university, of five public school districts, of a number of public libraries, of a number of ministers associations. Noteworthy also, is the steady increase in the number of qualified Negro voters.

At this time some of these progressive influences can be seen at work. The churches in their state meetings have stood consistent and firm for the Supreme Court's rulings. This year they definitely showed more courage in speaking out. In February the opposition to the " segregation " measures in the legislature was so wide and deep, especially among the influent-

ial clergymen of all faiths., that these acts have not been implemented although they became law.

The buying power of Negroes is reflected in the use of colored clerks in the stores and salesmen of insurance and automobiles.

Politicians are nervously sensitive to the changing but unmeasured political strength of Negro voters.. In Pulaski county the state senators opposed the segregation measures vigorously.

The States Proximity to Oklahoma and Missouri influences the climate of opinion - especially among schoolmen.

The Negro leaders, in those places of economic and institutional responsibility, are unequivocal in their stand, and unwavering in their faith about the future.

The situation in Arkansas is " mixed " indeed. The defying forces and the affirming forces just now seem squared - off for a tussle. Four of the larger urban school districts take first steps toward compliance with the Courts's desegregation decision. Resistance forces already are challenging these moves. A chain reaction to these compliance steps seems possible in smaller districts with small enrollment of colored children ( Ozarks has just announced its intention to integrate its few Negro students in the high school this September.). In the matter of school desegregation this may prove the fateful year.

The Position Of ACHR

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations has functioned as a bridge of communication and association between the con-

structive forces of the white and colored segments in the state. In this role it has been quite successful in gaining and keeping the confidence of both the white and Negro laaders.

1. With The Churches

" Somehow we must keep operating: We are the only organization that can approach these problesms bi - racially through the churches." This was the evaluation of the chairman of the ACHR Board after a speaking engagement in a meeting of a Presbyterian church in an old south Arkansas town. With the full endorsement of the heads of four white communions and with the implementing cooperation of three state church officers, we set up twenty - five biracial teams of speakers for engagements in churches during last February. These teams remain in tact. This summer through the Associate Director we are cooperating with colored and white churchmen of Little Rock, in a workcamp program for high school youth. The number of invitations to assist in church workshops and study groups is definitely on the increase.

2. With The Schools

Among schoolmen we have the unconditioned confidence of Negro principals and the private confidence of some seventeen white superintendents to our knowledge. The assistant secretary of the Arkansas Educational Association is one of the most faithful members of our Board. Our staunchest support comes from the staffs of state supported university and colleges, including friendly consultation by staff members of the school of Education.

3. With Industrial Development

The staff has just become active in cooperating in the

area of industarial development. We think we are in a favorable position to do good here. We have close relation with the organized council of Negro leaders which aims to relate Negro citizens to the responsibilities and benefits of industrialization. We have participated in two conferences in regard to this purpose. The state chairman of the Arkansas Industrial Development Commission has given us financial support. We have friendly relations with the secretary and the lawyers for the Arkansas State Federated Labor Council, AFL - CIO.

Method And Program

ACHR does its work solely by stimulation and education, through information, research, group particiaption. It places considerable faith in the power of facts; more in the influence of interracial experience through group involvement.

1. Organization

The ACHR has avoided tightly organized local groups on two assumptions (1) that most communities are over organized, (2) that members could be very effective through organizations in which they now work. Whiles these assumptions still seem valid, we find members need to have some kind of organizational structure for information, esprit de corp, personal growth.

Therefore, we now plan to do more in cultivating membership and in guiding then in local activities. This will be done especially in college communities, since our best example of organization and activities is that in the home of the state university. Our cultivation plans include the method of small neighborhood meetings in homes of loyal members.

2. General

In all its program the Council relies on effective dissemination of information through printed materials, movies, newsletters. In this it has the friendly cooperation of some libraries.

Materials from forty - eight sources have claared through the central office. It lists and publicizes films, radio and TV programs. It serves as an open door for the flow of the curative influence of many national agencies.

The staff brings to members and others facts and analysis of developments in the state and the south - legislative acts, court decisions, community actions, professional and political opinion, evidences of progress in the region. The directors are consulted by newsmen and officials in regard to what is happening in desegregation.

ACHR has found that unpublicized conferences by staff members with key persons in public and private organizations often stimulate concrete results. For example, such conferences enabled a Negro having financial difficulty to continue as the first student in a white college; succeeded in having enrolled three young citizens in an interracial Encampment for Citizenship; opened a state park for a biracial conference.

The staff has functioned in correlating activities which otherwise would not have taken place or would have been ineffective. It directed a statewide meeting of churchmen on state racial problems. It has made available teams of speakers for local groups.

3. Specific

At present the staff is centering efforts in a few carefully selected communities which seem more progressive. Two have been selected to date. In these it stimulates and counsels local groups in efforts to support their schoold in plans for desegregation; helps to plan workshops and study groups through churches.

Arkansas is making a major effort to develop its economy by inducing stable industries to come into all sections of the state. The state has put the responsibility on the Arkansas Industrial Development Commission with Mr. Winthrop Rockefeller as chairman. Through conference with strategic persons and by the weight of facts ACHR seeks to habituate local economic leaders to include the Negro segment of the community in their thinking and planning. This means including some real leaders of the Negro groups on local industrial development committees. In this work ACHR is cooperating with the Urban League of Little Rock and state Negro leaders.

In another document SRC has an account of plans to spark some ten school administrators into concrete action on school desegregation. Undoubtedly this work this summer will result in situations to be followed up and others to be entered.

The Staff

ACHR, always has had a biracial staff of native Arkansans, two directors and one office secretary. Fortunately during most of its life the office secretary has been an ethusiastic and competent promoter of the program too. The Board is

The Staff (Con'td)

committed to this policy of a biracial staff as an integral and indispensable part of the effectiveness of its work.

Financial Arrangements

The proposed budget for our fiscal year beginning October 1, 1957 totals $16,250.00. We have requested a grant from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund for $8,000.00 on the condition that from all sources we will raise $8,250.00. On the basis of experience and present climate members and friends will do well to raise $3,250.00. Thus we request a grant of $5,000.00 from the Southern Regional Council.

# CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

**NAME OR SUBJECT**

Arkansas Council on Human Relations

**REGARDING**

Anonymous gift

(SEE)
**NAME OR SUBJECT**

See HCF ltr. dtd. 12/31/58 in folder marked: "Currier-Yarmolinsky Special Correspondence"

February 2, 1959

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 W. Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Following up my letter of December 31, I am enclosing the Southern Regional Council's check for $2,500.00. This represents the special grant-in-aid made possible by a gift to SRC from an individual donor who wishes to be anonymous.

The prohibition on political or other non-tax-exempt activity, which applies to SRC's regular assistance, also attaches to this gift.

On behalf of the staff and the Executive Committee, I want to express the hope that these additional funds will make 1959 the most fruitful year yet for your program.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls
Enclosure - 1 (Check #5205, $2,500.00)

cc: Mrs. Kyle Engler

November 17, 1959

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

At the Annual Meeting here November 11, the Council approved a 1960 grant-in-aid to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations of $3,500.

The total amount earmarked for state aid for 1960 is $33,000, approximately the same amount as that expended during 1959 for this purpose. These funds have been appropriated from the general operating budget of SRC. The distribution of funds was based on such criteria as program performance, program proposals for 1960, the strategic importance of the state situation, and state fund-raising ability.

The grant-in-aid is subject to the usual terms:

1. The grant will be distributed on a quarterly basis.

2. Succeeding quarterly distributions will be contingent on adequacy of performance in terms of the agreement under which the grant is made. To this end, you will be requested to submit brief quarterly reports on program activities and fund-raising.

3. The grant-in-aid is not earmarked for any specific expense, but may be applied against the total budgetary needs of the organization.

4. These funds cannot be used for any political purposes

and it is understood that all state Councils and local affiliate groups will not undertake any such activities.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm
cc: Mrs. Kyle Engler

IMPORTANT NOTICE. These letters were prepared prior to the recent letter from the Internal Revenue Service which left SRC in some doubt concerning assistance to non tax exempt groups. This plan will go into effect when you receive your tax exemption or when the present situation is clarified.

PMR

February 23, 1960

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

The Southern Regional Council has received again this year special funds from an individual donor for assistance to state groups. This comes from the same source as the special assistance last year. Again, however, we have no indication or reason to believe that this assistance will be repeated yet another year.

The Executive Committee met Tuesday, January 26, and approved a procedure for allocating these special funds. It was the feeling of the Committee that the funds should be subject to some conditions so as to encourage local fund-raising efforts, expanded program, etc. It was the opinion of the group that such special funds could best be used in support of those Councils which have a firm financial base and increasing support from within the state.

The Executive Committee approved the earmarking of $2,000 of these special funds for the Arkansas Council. We are enclosing a check for $1,000, or half of this amount. Some or all of the remaining $1,000 will be made available to the Arkansas Council in June, on the basis of matching evenly all funds raised by the Arkansas Council in excess of $2,000 during the first two quarters of this fiscal year (December 1, 1959 - June 1, 1960.) To qualify for the entire $2,000, in other words, the Arkansas Council must raise through its own resources and exclusive of SRC or foundation support, a total of $3,000 during this period.

It is our hope that this type of condition will not prove an extra burden but will make it possible for you to stimulate increased support for the Arkansas Council throughout the state.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

P. S. SRC helps those who help themselves.

April 7, 1960

Via Air Mail

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Here is the $1,000 from our special grant this year which has been held up pending clarification of the tax question. Congratulations on your achievement of the tax-exempt status.

Would you please send us a copy of your official letter of tax-exemption as soon as possible so that we may have it on file with the others. If you wish, you may send us the letter. We will photograph it and return the original to you.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm
Enc.

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

October 31, 1960

Finance report for matching funds:

Attention: Paul Rilling

| | Contributions | Memberships | NEW SOUTH | Literature | Miscellaneous |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dec. | 555.00 | 80.50 | 39. | 2.50 | |
| Jan | 55.50 | 43.00 | 25. | 16.00 | |
| Feb. | 25.50 | 22.50 | 12. | | |
| Mar. | 72.50 | 48.00 | 24. | 14.45 | |
| Apr. | 100.00 | 6.00 | 4. | | |
| May | 465.00 | 30.00 | 18. | 120.00 | |
| June | 163.50 | 43.00 | 23. | 6.00 | |
| July | 153.33 | 10.00 | 7. | | |
| Aug. | 211.08 | 52.50 | 28. | 36.00 | |
| Sep. | 17.00 | 21.00 | 10. | | |
| Oct. | 124.50 | 88.00 | 52. | 55.50 | 126.50* |
| | 1942.91 | 444.50 | 242.00 | 250.45 | 126.50 |

$ 1942.91
444.50
242.00
250.45
126.50

$ 3006.36

* Registration fees applied on program for Ministers' Retreat.

Nat Griswold.

I charged in Harold's report
JM,

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

November 4, 1960

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

I am enclosing your check for meeting terms of the special grant. Paul Rilling is in New Orleans currently, but was elated when I told him the Arkansas Council had gone over the top. That makes the state Councils 100%.

I also asked Paul about meeting with your Board on the 21st, but he had already planned to be with Bill Williams at that time, and since he has had to cancel his last two planned visits to Florida, thinks he had better get there this time.

With best wishes,

Sincerely

Mrs. Timothy Miller
secretary to Paul Rilling

Enclosure

December 5, 1960

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

At the SRC annual meeting here November 10, the Council approved allocations of assistance funds to state Councils for 1961. A grant to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations was authorized in the amount of $3,200, payable in four quarterly installments and an additional sum of $2,000 which can be claimed in matching funds.

The matching funds will be made available to match, dollar for dollar, all local funds raised by the Arkansas Council above a minimum figure of $1,500 and up to a maximum local total of $3,500. Matching funds can be claimed as of June 1, 1961, on the basis of fund-raising performance during the first two quarters of 1960 (December 1 - June1). Any matching funds not claimed by the end of the third fiscal quarter of 1961 shall be redistributed as the executive committee of SRC may determine.

A total of $50,000 has been budgeted for assistance to all state Councils during 1961. This is some $15,000 more than was budgeted during each of the last two years but about equal to that actually distributed during 1960. It is our hope that by budgeting the total amount we hope to distribute during the next year we can give you a firmer basis on which to plan. It should be noted, however, that $12,500 of this budgeted $50,000 is not yet in hand. Should we be unsuccessful in meeting our budget, 4th quarter grants would have to be cancelled. If this were to become necessary you would have at least three months advance notice.

These funds cannot be used for any purposes inconsistent with federal tax-exemption.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm
cc: Mrs. Kyle Engler

Ark

July 29, 1961

RHA

RM

Quarterly check; Arkansas Council on Human Relations

This is to authorize you to make out a check for the quarterly payment presently due the Arkansas Council. Thanks.

9/11/61

MEMORANDUM

TO: RHA FROM: PR

Please issue the following checks for matching funds:

1. Arkansas Council on Human Relations: $2,000.00.
2. Tennessee Council on Human Relations: $2,100.00/

Thanks.

AFOAM BOMD

October 17, 1961

MA (as Acting Sec. Treas.) FR

Quarterly check, Arkansas Council

Please issue check for this quarter for the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

Thanks.

SEA FOAM BOND

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Budget Estimate

**INCOME**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Arkansas Sources | | $ 4,238.00 | |
| Memberships | $ 1,108.00 | | |
| Contributions | 3,000.00 | | |
| Literature Sales | 130.00 | | |
| SRC Grant | | $ 3,500.00 | |
| Special Grant via SRC | | $ 1,000.00 | |
| Brothers Fund | | $10,000.00 | |
| | TOTAL INCOME | | $ 18,738.00 |

**EXPENDITURES**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| A. Salaries | | $14,718.00 | |
| Director | $ 6,200.00 | | |
| Asso. Director | 4,800.00 | | |
| Sec'y & Program Asst. | 3,500.00 | | |
| FICA | 218.00 | | |
| B. Program | $ | $ 2,420.00 | |
| Travel | 1,000.00 | | |
| Literature | 380.00 | | |
| NEW SOUTH | 340.00 | | |
| Activities (forums, meetings, committees) | 700.00 | | |
| C. Office | | $ 1,600.00 | |
| Rent | $ 840.00 | | |
| Supplies | 125.00 | | |
| Printing | 130.00 | | |
| Postage | 120.00 | | |
| Telephone | 385.00 | | |
| | TOTAL EXPENDITURES | | $ 18,738.00 |

. . . . . .

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cash Balance from 1960 | $ 500.00 | |
| Special Fund | 2,000.00 | |
| | *RESERVE FUND | $ 2,500.00 |

* This fund came as special gifts which are held in reserve for possible "crash" programs when the opening comes.

copy: C.H. Parrish

Sent: All memos (relating to policy, program, etc.)
SRC publications and pamphlets, other pamphlets and materials.
Schools in Transition and The Negro and the Schools.

March 23, 1955

Mr. Nat Griswold
2106 Nueces Street
Austin 5, Texas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

The central office has been officially informed of your employment as of April 15 by the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. After having sat in on a session of the Arkansas Personnel Committee we were fully convinced of their competence in selecting qualified people for the staff. In looking over the resume of your experience and training you certainly took the category of "well qualified." I look forward to a long and happy association with you.

There is to be a meeting of staff people from before supper June 1st to the afternoon of Friday June 3rd, to be held at Camp New Hope which is just outside of Chapel Hill, North Carolina. You are requested to attend this meeting. Your expenses will be paid by the Arkansas Council. All of our staff people from across the South will be in attendance.

I am sending you under separate cover some pertinent material and information about the Southern Regional Council and its work. I suggest that you write Mr. Fred Darragh, % Darragh Corporation, Little Rock, and ask for a copy of the by-laws of the state organization.

If there is any help that I can give you, please let me know. Once more, glad to have you with us.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organization

FBR;rnf

# American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

**Southwest Regional Office**

**2106 Nueces Street**

**AUSTIN 5, TEXAS**

TELEPHONE 2-5522

NATIONAL OFFICE

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Clarence E. Pickett, *Honorary Secretary*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

REGIONAL OFFICE

John G. Barrow, *Chairman*
F. E. Hutchens, *Executive Secretary*
James L. Anderson. *Treasurer*
Nat Griswold, *Peace Education*


mailed on

file and

FSM — return please

March 30, 1955

Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred Routh:

To have the brief visit with you in Austin was a great satisfaction. Thank you for your letter of welcome into the staff.

The material has arrived. I do not now see much time to do my "home work" before leaving Texas. It will, however, give me a running start when I go to Arkansas about April 18.

Of course, I will be at the June conference in North Carolina. I feel the need for it especially.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

Nat Griswold

NG:msg

April 11, 1955

Mr. Nat Griswold
2106 Nueces Street
Austin 6, Texas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

At a meeting in Daytona Beach, Florida, the other day, of those present at the National Council of Negro Women meeting coming from the Southern Region II, I had the pleasure of sitting next to Mrs. Gwendolyn Floyd of Little Rock, at luncheon. She will be helpful to you, and I hope you will, when opportunity offers, make her acquaintance.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

April 12, 1955

Mr. Nat Griswold
2106 Nueces Street
Austin, Texas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

We have a good many useful links with the National Council of Negro Women.

In your state we have the following members of its National Committee and Board: Mrs. L. E. Henson, Pine Bluff; Mrs. Edna Douglas, Little Rock; Mrs. S. T. Caruth, Little Rock; and Mrs. Gwendolyn M. Floyd, Little Rock.

When opportunity offers, I think you will find it helpful to be in touch with these ladies.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

May 5, 1955

Mr. Nat Griswold, Ex. Dir.
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

We have sent under separate cover copies of all the Southern Regional Council materials which you requested.

We do not have copies of The Negro and the Schools and Schools in Transition for sale on consignment basis. We suggest that you inquire about the possibility of making this kind of arrangement with the University of North Carolina Press.

We have no record of people in Arkansas who receive SRC pamphlets except the list of members of the SRC. The card file of these persons has already been sent to you.

Thanks for your good reports which show how soundly the Arkansas Council on Human Relations is moving forward. If we can be of further help, please call upon this office.

Yours cordially,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant Director
for
Program

GTH:rnf

May 2, 1955

MEMORANDUM to Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Southern Regional Council

From Nat Griswold
Nat Griswold
Subject: Literature and books

Am enclosing a list of items which I hope you can supply. We assume these will be sent us on the basis set forth in George Mitchell's Memo #8, November 24, 1954.

Do you have small flyer about New South which might be used as letter enclosures? We think they might be useful.

Can we secure through you for resale copies of Ashmore's The Negro and the School, preferably in paper cover, and William Ryan's Schools in Transition? Can they be had on consignment?

We are writing Southern School News inquiring for a list of Arkansans receiving copies. We assume you do not have such a list.

Do you have a record which you might share as to persons or categories of persons in Arkansas who have received SRC pamphlets and which ones?

Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard
Little Rock, Arkansas

May 9, 1955

Mr. Nat. Griswold
Apt. 1, 211 Izard St.
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

Enclosed is another form for the bonding company. I'm sorry that I failed to give explicit directions about filling in the form. Please leave the amount and effective date of insurance blank - the local agent will fill in that part. I have filled in the part about employer to conform to the other applications. As for the rest, it seems to be all right.

Enclosed are pay checks for yourself and Mr. Mercer to cover the period April 15-30, 1955. The next one is due this Friday and will be forthcoming. Thank you for the withholding forms and the information.

Sounds as if Arkansas is getting off to a good start. Please let us know if we can be of help.

Sincerely,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

ks
encl.

P.S. Thank you also for the New South subscriptions and check.

May 23, 1955

Mr. Nat Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

Appreciate your letter of May 20th with its clippings and the Minutes of the meeting of April 25th.

On the election of Mrs. Daisy Bates to be your ex-officio member of the Board of SRC, we had a little problem of assuring ourselves that this Mrs. Bates and Mrs. W. F. Bates are two separate and distinct persons; we concluded that they were.

Mrs. W. F. Bates is a regular member of the Board of SRC, elected in 1953.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

June 8, 1955

Mr. Nat Griswold
723½ East Thirteenth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

The following are the members of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council residing in your state.

Mrs. W. F. Bates*
125 Atkins St
N. Little Rock

Ulysses S. Bond
Madison

Fred Darragh*
1401 East Sixth St.
Little Rock

We are dependent upon you and all connected with your state movement to bring these people into full knowledge and participation in the general program.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

*Ex-officio

June 9, 1955

Mr. Nat Griswold
723½ East Thirteenth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

At the recent staff conference at Camp New Hope various of you asked to be enlightened on the matter of Fellows of the Southern Regional Council. The appointment of Fellows began in 1945 and 1946, and has been little altered since then. It fulfilled a purpose of Dr. Howard W. Odum's to give recognition to and stimulate interest from young persons likely to increase in stature in this field. Under the by-laws these were to be honorary Fellows not exceeding 100 in number "to Southerners who have demonstrated exceptional talent for constructive leadership." The Fellows were to cooperate with the Council as observers, advisers, correspondents and special representatives. They were to receive such honoraria or reimbursement of expenses incurred at the request of the Executive Committee as the Council might direct. The terms were to be for two years unless otherwise provided by the Council, and were renewable or withdrawable at the discretion of the Council. This language continues as Article III in our present by-laws.

Some few of the Fellows have faithfully all these years sent us clippings and an occasional letter telling about special circumstances in their areas. But for most of them the honor, if remembered, has been empty.

Technically, as the fellowships were not specifically renewed they may be thought of as having lapsed. But it should be said that they have not been specifically withdrawn.

The matter of having Fellows is a program from which we have not as yet contrived to extract anything like a full benefit.

One practical result has been that Fellows were exempt from dues and except as a matter of courtesy I think few of the Fellows have in practice paid dues to SRC. I know no reason why they should not be billed for dues in the appropriate state organizations.

Inactivity in this office does not signify failure to appreciate the possibilities of a live program with Fellows.

The Fellow still carried on our rolls and believed when last the list was compiled to be resident in your state is: John R. Ewbank, Philander Smith College, Little Rock.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Arkansas
Council On Human Relations

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
211 IZARD ST.

*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*

**OFFICERS**
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REV. C. C. WALKER
*Vice-Chairman*
HARRY S. ASHMORE
*Vice-Chairman*
MRS. DOROTHY OTIS WYRE
*Secretary*
REV. C. S. CARTWRIGHT
*Treasurer*

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ED STONE
STEPHEN STEPHAN
PERRY TAYLOR
CLARENCE R. THORNBROUGH
M. W. (MIKE) WILLIS
SHERMAN V. ZINN

**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD
*Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR.
*Associate Director*
IDA M. KNOX
*Secretary*

June 21, 1955

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred Routh:

At the moment this is our plan with reference to our attendance at Fisk University June 27th to July 9th.

Christopher Mercer will go for the entire period. I will go June 27th to July 3rd. We will notify Mr. Long that we are going.

This is an addition to our plan: We think it would be profitable if a member of the Executive Committee would be a replacement for me July 4th - 9th. At this moment we are not able to get confirmation, because Colbert Cartwright is out of the state. He is number one candidate, followed by Rev. C. C. Walker, and Mrs. Dorothy O. Wyre. All these are on our Executive Committee.

Will you let us know immediately if this kind of substitution is permissable using funds of the Southern Regional Council?

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat Griswold

NG:imk

June 23, 1955.

Mr. Nat Griswold
211 Izard St.
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Just a word of appreciation for your faithfulness in sending us clippings on the Arkansas scene. This helps us more than you know in planning programs and servicing information requests in this office.

I am sorry that I have not yet had an opportunity to meet you and Christopher Mercer, but I heard many good things about you both and about your Arkansas operation in general, and I am looking forward to the opportunity.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/vc

June 28, 1955.

Mr. Nat Griswold
211 Izard St.
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

You may recall that both at Camp New Hope and in Fred Routh's last newsletter, the matter of interracial ministerial associations was mentioned. We have had the suggestion from several quarters that a listing of such associations in the South would be helpful.

I would greatly appreciate it if you would write me what you know, or can readily find out, about fully inclusive ministerial associations in your state. Not all instances are clear-cut, of course; some groups will be partly integrated, some will be planning it, others will have committees that meet jointly, and so on. We would be as interested in these qualifications as in the open-and-shut cases.

I don't want to add an undue burden to your already heavy schedule, and I make this request on the assumption that you will not find it necessary to do more than check with one or two strategically situated persons in your state -- for example, the president or executive director of the state council of churches. If it turns out to be a big, time-consuming project, let me know and we will consider other channels of information.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/vc

July 7, 1955

Mr. Nat Griswold
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

We are daily expecting word from the Friends Service Committee that Irene Osborne is to be on loan to the Southern Regional Council from October 1, 1955, for a six month period.

Meanwhile, if the Arkansas Council on Human Relations wants her services, you had better write to Richard Bennett, American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and try to get her down directly to Arkansas.

The ordinary arrangement would be, I suppose, for the Arkansas Council to pay her travel to Arkansas and back, and some modest per diem while she would be in the state. If you succeed in getting her, I will try to help Arkansas somewhat with the travel cost involved, but I can't be at all sure that the funds can be found here.

Of course if you wait until after October 1st, I think you could almost certainly get her free. But I can see why you need her now.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: KS

Arkansas
Council On Human Relations

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
211 IZARD ST.

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.

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JAMES T. KARAM
MRS. BRUCE D. MOORE
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EMMA SCOTT
ED STONE
STEPHEN STEPHAN
PERRY TAYLOR
CLARENCE R. THORNBROUGH
M. W. (MIKE) WILLIS
SHERMAN V. ZINN

STAFF
NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR.
Associate Director
IDA M. KNOX
Secretary

June 22, 1955

JUN 24 1955

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

Our Executive Committee at a luncheon with Frank Loescher June 15th discussed our relations to the so called Blossom Plan for integrating schools here in Little Rock. The Committee heard Mr. Blossom, Superintendent of Schools, explain this plan on the preceding day. It was the consensus of these members of our Board that Irene Osborne might be of real service to us and to the community if she could spend some time here during the summer. To us their seems a great lack in planning for bi-racial meetings of parents and teachers in small groups in preparation for integration. We could use Irene Osborne's advice, and perhaps she will be able to meet program committees of parents and teachers.

Our question is; when will she be available and on what conditions, financial that is, would she come?

If you are at Fisk next week we will see you.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat Griswold

NG:imk

July 25, 1955

Mr. Nat Griswold
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Many thanks for your promptness in sending in the list of the Arkansas board and the answers to the question in my memo. I certainly appreciate this promptness and, believe me, it helps when one tries to keep track os 12 state organizations.

Best personal regards to you and Chris.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/vc

August 4, 1955

Dictated August 1

Mr. Nat Griswold
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

I am sorry, I just slipped up on that business of my going out to Fayetteville July 17-21. In some queer way, I thought word would have got to you. I acknowledge that I should have let you know long ahead of time.

Had a good time in Fayetteville. Saw very few friends in Fayetteville; Caldwell, and almost no one else. Stephen Stephan was away. Did go to see the principal of the high school in Fayetteville, a nice guy named Wayne Wright. He said that everything had gone just perfectly.

They had one Negro boy and five Negro girls in the school year, 1954-1955. And the second semester the student council elected the boy to it, and one of the girls, at least, got elected to the choir, which seems to be quite an honor.

I will do my best to see to it that you get first dibbs on Irene Osborne.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

# Arkansas Council On Human Relations

**LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS**
**211 IZARD ST.**

*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*


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*Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR.
*Associate Director*
IDA M. KNOX
*Secretary*


July 22, 1955

JUL 25 1955

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

Our Executive Committee decided it was best to wait until Irene Osborne is available without cost. However, we would be pleased to have her early in her visit to the Southern Region, if possible two weeks in October. Of course we will be happy to cooperate with the other states by taking another date if this proves more convenient.

We would like to know the time of your planned visit to Little Rock, and any suggestions you have with reference to that visit. I know our Executive Committee will want to have a session with you in addition to individual conferences we may arrange. There would be some advantage in having as many of our board as possible in for the session. At any rate let us know when you plan to come.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat Griswold

NG/c

Arkansas
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**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD *Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. *Associate Director*
IDA M. KNOX *Secretary*

August 4, 1955

Mr. Fred B. Routh, Assistant Director
State Organizations
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred Routh:

We mailed to Harold Fleming a clipping from the Arkansas Gazette today, reporting a speech by Mr. McCullough to school Superintendents of Arkansas.

A close reading of this report will show you that Mr. McCullough basically is holding to the dogma of separate but equal. He is an older lawyer residing in Forrest City, which has a large Negro population. He is straight-forward in stating his position. When I conferred with him on May 10th in Forrest City, he proved to be reasonable. As a lawyer he recognizes the facts of the Supreme Court decisions. (Perhaps over-looking the central fact that separate schools are unequal.)

This speech you will note was made before the superintendents of the state. We had no information about the meeting in advance. My concern is that Mr. McCullough represents the point of view being espoused by the State Department of Education. While I recognize they could do worse, I fear this diet may result in foolish if not dishonest activities by local school districts over the state.

I suggest that you talk with Christopher Mercer next week about the matter, and decide whether it would be wise for you or George Mitchell to join us in conferring with some of the State School Administrators. For one thing I would like to know, surely, where they stand, and would like to have you test our suspicions by conferring with them. In addition I am foolish enough to hope that, if they still hold to the separate but equal doctrine, they may yet be brought to see the heart of the decisions of the Supreme Court, namely, that separate schools means unequal schools. Chris will talk to you.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat Griswold

NG/c

August 8, 1955.

Mr. Nat Griswold
211 Izard St.
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

C. H. Parrish and I are making a swing of the So thern Midwestern states the week of August 22-26 and will be in Little Rock Tuesday, August 23. We could talk with any school people you have in mind at that time.

I would also like the opportunity of meeting with the executive of the Arkansas Council that day if it is possible.

We will talk with Chris Mercer while he is here about the developments in Arkansas so that we will be better prepared whe we arrive.

We look forward to seeing you then August 23.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/vc

September 13, 1955

Mr. Nat Griswold
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat Griswold:

Thanks for the clippings about Hoxie developments. It is encouraging indeed, for a change, to find the local school board standing firm. I am sure much of the credit belongs to the discreet efforts of the Arkansas Council.

The information about the Crossett ministerial alliance is also heartening. I will add it to our slowly increasing store of information on this subject.

While I am writing, let me repeat our thanks for the clippings which you have been sending. They help us greatly.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/ys

FILE COPY

September 26, 1955

Mr. Nat R. Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

I hasten to get to you a sketchy answer to your letter of September 22nd.

For a variety of reasons there seems nothing else to do but hold the late-starting states to the normal amount to be raised in the fiscal year which begins October 1, 1955. Part of the reason is that the Fund for the Republic will make us no grant after the one due October 1, 1956. Another part is that the same offer was made to our friends in all states: money to be available October 1, 1954 - September 30, 1955. Theoretically, therefore, each state had the chance to get moving early. I perfectly realize that Arkansas was the state in which we had only a reminder of organization anyway, still the broad offer was there for all states.

For the coming fiscal year we undertake to cover the salaries of a director and an associate director at $5,000 each, plus a clerk at $2500, or a total of $12,500; in addition to that we can allocate only $500 for local and other expenses. This is $2500 more than in Memo #1, page 3, as we are now in position to cover the full salary and not just the half salary of an associate for 1955-56. It is still the case that you will have to raise all of your travel and rent and supplies for local expense money, etc., over and above the $500 that we can put in for those purposes.

This letter is, however, tentative and unofficial. It will be followed by an official memo setting forth our contribution to each state for the coming year. And the terms of that memo should govern.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: RA
FBR

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Council On Human Relations

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STAFF
NAT R. GRISWOLD Executive Director
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. Associate Director
IDA M. KNOX Secretary

September 22, 1955

SEP 24 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

We are making our budget for the twelve months beginning October 1, 1955, so that it will correspond to your fiscal year, though we have been in operation only five and one half months. We expect to present our budget to our annual meeting October 17.

We need to know in what "class" we belong as far as aid from the Fund for the Republic is concerned. (Of course, I am referring to your very earliest memoranda to state organizations.) Will we be in the class of the 2nd year beginning October 1 and, therefore, expected to raise $3,500 during the fiscal year? We do not wish to argue the case, but simply wish to know. We are willing to undertake what seems proper. Likely, we will not be organized for a major financial effort before late November. This may make the task of raising $3,500 a bit rough.

Likewise, we need to know for inclusion in our budget what financial help Atlanta will give for operational costs during the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1955?

I hope this is not too much of a headache for you.

Sincerely,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Director

NRG:vwp

FILE COPY

September 27, 1955

Mr. Nat Griswold
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

I have just returned from vacation and found your letter of September 20th on my desk. I am glad that you can use Irene Osborne at the scheduled time on her itinerary.

I will be pleased to come out on Monday, the 17th and stay to Tuesday or Wednesday. I will take the morning flight out from Atlanta. I will send you the details of this later.

Best personal regards to you and Chris.

Cordially,

Fred B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/ys

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NAT R. GRISWOLD
*Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR.
*Associate Director*
IDA M. KNOX
*Secretary*


September 29, 1955

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

Enclosed you will find clippings from Arkansas newspapers for your file. We will continue sending them from time to time.

Sincerely yours,

Nat Griswold

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Director

NRG:vwp
Enc.

FILE COPY

October 20, 1955

Mr. Nat Griswold
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Mrs. C. B. Crumpler* is the Chairman for the Presbyterians in Arkansas of their intergroup work, and came lately to a Conference in Atlanta, which I had a chance to talk to briefly.

If she is not already related to the Arkansas Council, you might perhaps hunt her up.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

*Mrs. C. B. Crumpler
El Dorado, Arkansas

October 24, 1955

Mr. Nat Griswold
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

George Guernsey, Education Department, CIO, 718 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington, D. C., says he is willing to assume the modest expenses of a trip by yourself or yourself and Christopher Mercer over to Norman for the Thursday evening appearance. The bill for the travel involved should be sent to George Guernsey at his office in Washington. I think he is running the school at minimum expense, and hopes that the bill can be modest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

October 26, 1955

Mr. Nat Griswold
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

When we asked the Fund for the Republic for the second installment of money, we asked them to add to it $30,000 to do such a program as is here described in a letter to Montgomery Bradley. F for R, as it turned out, gave us what they had agreed to give us and not this on top.

Still, we think about this kind of program as the most useful contribution we could make.

On careful advice, I went over to see Montgomery Bradley in the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. He wasn't particularly hopeful, but he was interested. I have written him this great long letter explaining what we want.

I think, myself, that we have got a bit better chance of getting this essential step-up if your Arkansas Rockefeller brother should happen to like it.

Will you ponder for a few days the involvements of my coming down to talk to Fred Darragh or Ed Dunaway, or conceivably to Mr. Rockefeller himself. There is also the matter of getting Harry Ashmore (though in absentia) to understand the proposal.

I am not yet ready to ask for help in setting up appointments, but I want you and Mercer to be thinking about how an approach would be made.

Also, I need to be watchful lest this central office stand in the light of its own effort in Arkansas; which we don't want to do.

Probably in a week or so I will call you up and we can discuss the matter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

November 1, 1955

Mr. Nat R. Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Isard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Thanks for your suggestion that we print the two Supreme Court decisions and Leflor's interpretation as an inexpensive pamphlet.

Just now our printing budget is sprained and we are under some pressure to publish other types of materials -- principally a "handbook" in the tradition of our two booklets Questions and Answers and Answers for Action.

Meanwhile, I note that Southern School News is making available reprints of Leflor's article at $2.25 per hundred. We are advising all the state groups of this. Would that serve your purpose for the time being?

The recent clips have been much appreciated. If the adverse publicity on Routh and Osborne has any further consequences, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/ys

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Executive Director
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR.
Associate Director
IDA M. KNOX
Secretary

October 25, 1955

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

Fred Routh advised me to write you about a proposal I was making to him.

We feel the need for an inexpensive pamphlet carrying the text of both the decisions of the Supreme Court. We find ministers and school superintendents quickly forget the texts of those decisions, if they have ever read them. We think a copy on a man's desk might help keep him out of confusion.

The same pamphlet might well carry some authoritative legal interpretation such as that given by Dr. Robert Leflar in the June issue of Southern School News, the question and answer device.

Would it not be possible for all the states to use this pamphlet widely? It should not be prohibitive in cost.

Sincerely yours,

Nat Griswold

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Director

NRG:vwp

November 8, 1955

Mr. Nat Griswold
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Your man is John Hope at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. John Hope made a string of studies for the Committee of the South -- a bunch of manufacturers -- on just that point of integration in industry.

I think he is about to come to work for SRC part-time and would be hitting Arkansas anyhow. But, write to him if you wish.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

NOV 7 1955

November 4, 1955

Mr. George Guernsey
Education Department, C.I.O.
718 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear George Guernsey:

First, let me thank you for your interest, relayed through George Mitchell, in having us participate in the CIO workshop in Norman, Oklahoma, recently. Unfortunately for us, we did not clear the matter of travel soon enough to make the trip. This, in addition to the fact that we were quite busy. We do appreciate the opportunity that you offered us.

November 1st I had a visit with Professor Franz Adler, Department of Sociology, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville. He asked if I knew a person who could deal in a comprehensive way with the subject of racial integration in industry. He is teaching a course in Industrial Sociology and would like someone who could bring the group up-to-date on progress in the matter of integration in industry.

I did not know of such a person. You certainly would know if there is an available person and might wish to write Dr. Adler concerning this. I am sending him a copy of this letter in the hope that you two might find an answer to his question.

Our office stands ready to assist in any way we can relative to your program and appreciate the help you are giving to our work.

Sincerely yours,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Director

NRG:vwp
cc - Dr. Franz Adler
George S. Mitchell

Mr. Nat. Griswold,
Arkansas Council on Human Relations,
211 Izard Street,
Little Rock,
ARKANSAS.

December 5th, 1955.

Dear Mr. Griswold,

A couple of years ago we had an idea knocking around that our State people in each one could set up a body of distinguished citizens in some rough parallel to the State School Board, only ours would mostly represent allthe people of the State. Then you fine paid executives would do the hard work of digging out the facts for the unofficial Board, about the schools and what to do. Thereafter on each occasion that the sure enough State School Board came out with some wickedness-inspired plan to avoid doing what was lawful and educationally right, the unofficial Board would call in the Press and give really helpful advice. That was thought of as a powerfully educational device, anent public opinion. I still think it would be. And it could also be done locally.

Last month our Virginia group fired to the idea, and spoke the truth in a way that was listened to. Here 'tis.

I think when the history of the ultimate desegregation of the schools in that state is written the book will say that the thing began to turn toward achievement when the lesson of this newspaper story had had time (sorry to say it takes that in the Old Dominion) to sink in.

We've told the Board people about this.

Mr. Nat. Griswold,
Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

December 5th, 1955.

I hope you will like the idea staffwise, and do so much of it, in such and such a modified way, as may seem suitable in your situation.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

P.S.
Observe that the Virginia Council nowhere presumes to advise people in any local community as to the rate at which desegregation should occur; it just says that if citizens, white and Negro, work together on the matter we have faith that they can reach wise and workable agreement.

GSM:rl.
2 encls.

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**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD *Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. *Associate Director*
IDA M. KNOX *Secretary*


December 8, 1955

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred Routh:

We mailed you our log of activities for November. I am delinquent in writing the log of my activities during September and October, as you may have noticed. Christopher Mercer has his up-to-date.

For the sake of our record, we are keeping these accounts of significant program efforts. Therefore, I expect to complete these for the missing months. Since you were here in October, you know something of our activities. Nevertheless, we will forward to you our draft of these for your accumulated record. We regret this delay in completing our reports.

Sincerely yours,

Nat Griswold
NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp

Mr. Griswold is in Jonesboro for the Hodie Court Hearing.
VP

Stato

January 4, 1956

Mr. Nat Griswold
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

The Council wishes to compile a list of the communities in each state in which a local committee has been established to advise the school board relative to the U. S. Supreme Court's decisions on segregation in the public schools.

Mr. Routh informed me that the North Carolina Council on Human Relations has written each of the 174 school superintendents in that state in order to collect this information. I wonder if your office has made such a study or if we might secure your cooperation through the assumption of this project. We are especially desirous of learning which committees are interracial. If any additional information (such as presentation, acceptance, or rejection of reports) is available, that too would be helpful. The enclosed form shows one method in which your information might be summarized and reported to this office.

We hope that it will be convenient for you to provide the above information or undertake the suggested project very shortly.

Sincerely,

Florence B. Irving
Research Assistant

FBI/ys
Enclosure

January 12, 1956

Mr. Nat Griswold, Exec. Dir.
ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Thanks for the clippings, especially the good news of Judge Reeves ruling. Despite the unhappy events leading to the resignation of Vance this must greatly encourage the positive forces in Arkansas.

I will pass along the copy to Frank Loescher when he arrives this weekend.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

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**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD *Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. *Associate Director*
IDA M. KNOX *Secretary*


January 10, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

You will find enclosed clippings from our local papers of interest to you.

We are sending two copies of the ARKANSAS GAZETTE front page, January 10, 1956. One copy is for your files. The other copy is for Frank Loescher. We assume that the office there can reach him quicker than his New York office.

Sincerely yours,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp
Enc.

January 17, 1956

Mr. Nat Griswold, Executive Director
ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Sorry to notify you of the death of Dr. W.W. Alexander at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, January 13.

It was Dr. Alexander who carried the earliest and first burden of organized interracial work in the Southern States. He was the head staff man of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation from its beginning in 1919 until it was succeeded by the Southern Regional Council, in 1944.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

January 20, 1956

To each State Director:

Three years ago when this booklet came out we mailed a copy to a goodish number of Church leaders over the South. So far as I know each copy found its way to the waste paper basket or dead files.

Now the subject is, to say the least, timely.

By great good fortune a tiny stack was discovered in a neighboring office. Here is one for you.

I have only four left, but I have ordered some more from South Africa.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Arkansas
Council On Human Relations

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
211 IZARD ST.

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.

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Executive Director
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR.
Associate Director
IDA M. KNOX
Secretary

January 23, 1956

RECEIVED JAN 25 1956

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

Enclosed is a preliminary draft of "Steps Toward Smooth Desegregation in the Local School." Our Executive Committee contemplates printing and wide distribution of this kind of material after it has been refined. Fred Darragh said that he talked over the general idea with you. We would appreciate your reaction and specific suggestions.

One other thing. We are enclosing a clipping announcing a proposal for an amendment in Arkansas based on the interposition idea. While Mr. Johnson already has considerably discredited himself, we are not certain but what this might develop into something serious. Does our non-partisan, non-political status prevent our opposition to this sort of thing? Do you have knowledge based on experience to guide us in the matter of getting involved? Of course, we do not expect to get into a hammer and tong fight with Jim Johnson; but we do feel that it may be necessary to work against this sort of activity.

Thank you for the pamphlet from South Africa. We certainly can use more of these to advantage. If they are not too expensive, we would like to begin with 100.

At our Board Meeting last Monday, Dr. Tilman C. Cothran, Professor of Sociology at A. M. & N. College, did an excellent job speaking to the question "Does desegregation mean down-grading of schools?" Two of our Executive Committee were greatly impressed with his presentation. Others feel the need for literature on this subject. Is such need generally felt in the region? Dr. Cothran might be able and willing to prepare some material, if you do not have a wiser suggestion.

Sorry to write about so many things in one letter. Trust it will not confuse your secretary in filing.

Sincerely yours,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp
Enc. 2

Affiliate of Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

January 31, 1956

Mr. Nat Griswold and
Mr. Christopher Mercer
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat and Chris:

A word of appreciation for your January 27 Newsletter. It is an excellent job in every respect. We will probably quote from it in an early issue of New South.

I am writing Dr. Cothran to ask if he will do an article for us on the question of down-grading.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF

February 8, 1956

Dear Nat:

I have got Irene Osborne and Fred Routh to go over your Procedural Steps Two. Irene wrote in red. Fred wrote in pencil.

You don't have to take our suggestions.

Fix it the way you think it ~~was~~. ought to be.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

February 8, 1956

Mr. Nat R. Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 S. Izard
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

The question of the New South subscription for Mr. and Mrs. Iggers is a complete mystery to us. As you know, New South envelopes are addressed by machine from a set of stencils. Our check revealed a well used stendil for Mr. and Mrs. Iggers at the address shown on your memorandum. We cannot think of any reason why they shouldn't be receiving the magazine.

We are sending separately to Mr. and Mrs. Iggers recent issues which they missed, and hope that the machinery will work smoothly from now on. Let us know if otherwise.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

RH - Please advise HCF

# Memorandum

from Nat R. Griswold 1-31-56

Nat

TO: Harold Fleming

Will you please check subscription records of NEW SOUTH for the following:

Mr. & Mrs. Georg G. Iggers
1118 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

The Iggers have been members since December 1954 and have not received copies of NEW SOUTH. We wrote you about this early in December, but Mr. Iggers asked us to inquire again. Would you please drop us a note when you have checked the records.

I have stencil in but no reason why they should not be receiving New South.
2-6-56
H.

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
211 S. Izard, Little Rock, Arkansas

STNG

February 9, 1956

Mr. Nat Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

I have been figuring on trains and planes.

I expect I will ride a train from Dallas to Little Rock. Hole up most of Sunday, February 12 at your Sam Peck. Available if needed. Shall be at your office 9:15, Monday, ready for 10:00 business with Dunnaway.

I have got to go to Washington for Friday of next week and so it shall be a short week anyway and I had better push back on your fancy afternoon flight from Little Rock to Atlanta which leaves Little Rock at 3:25 P.M., Monday.

Sorry not to stay for Executive Committee because Fred Routh tells me your meetings are exciting. But I had best catch that plane.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Arkansas
Council On Human Relations

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
211 IZARD ST.

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**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD
*Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR.
*Associate Director*
IDA M. KNOX
*Secretary*

February 10, 1956

MEMORANDUM

TO: George Mitchell

FROM: Nat R. Griswold

SUBJ: Schedule for George Mitchell February 12-13

Sunday, February 12
5:30 Fred Darragh
7:30 p.m. - Informal meeting with some members of Executive Committee and Board at the home of Mrs. L. C. Bates, 1207 West 28th Street, Little Rock.

Monday, February 13

9:00 a.m. - Office Arkansas Council on Human Relations, 211 South Izard.

10:00 a.m. - Conference with Edwin Dunaway, Union Life Building.

12:15 p.m. - Luncheon, informal conference, Albert Pike Hotel.

P. S. I will not return to Little Rock until late afternoon Sunday. Fred Darragh expects to call you about noon or shortly after. His home number is MO 62244. Hope our schedule for you is not too tough.

# Memorandum

from Nat R. Griswold 2-10-56

TO: Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council

We thought you would be interested in the three attached editorials. Note the dates!

We would like to have the one from the DEMOCRAT returned for our files. The others we have copies of.

NRG:vwp
Enc.

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
211 S. Izard, Little Rock, Arkansas

February 16, 1956

Mr. Nat Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

You and Chris and the whole of Arkansas were extremely kind to me Sunday and Monday and I'm grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

February 27, 1956

Mr. Nat Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

A good many evidences have appeared in the national press that the Communist Party would like to worm its way into the current civil rights issue in the South.

That being the case it may expected here and there they will try to gain a foothold in our State organizations.

This is an alert to be watchful. And to exclude from any influence in our organizations people not primarily devoted to the protection of American freedoms.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

March 1, 1956

Mr. Nat Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Recently in Washington I went to see the man who runs the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice.

I wanted to tie us and you into his work.

He gave me a few copies of a talk he did a year or so ago, which tells just what his show can and cannot do. You should read it. And thereafter feel free (and invited) to let us or him know of suitable occasions for the concern of his Department and Section.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Same letter sent to each State office except Alabama

Copies: HCF, FR

Same letter sent: Fla., Ky., Ga., La., Miss., S.C., N.C., Va., - 3/20/56
Tex., Tenn. - 3/21/56

March 7, 1956

Mr. Nat Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

In one State the question has been raised as to whether the State organization had the power to refuse continued membership to a person whose name had come into the membership roll but who on acceptable evidence had Communist proclivities.

In that instance we drew the attention of the State organization to Article III, Section 1 of that State organization's By-laws. This language said that any person in accord with the purposes of that State Council and living in the State might become a member upon payment of appropriate dues.

We suggested that this language automatically empowered the Executive Committee of that State organization to refuse or withdraw membership from any individual held by the Executive Committee of that State organization to be not in accord with that State organization's purposes.

It might be well for you to examine your own By-laws with this problem in mind and to note ahead of time what protective devices would be available.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

April 6, 1956

Mr. Nat Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

I was at a meeting of Negro Highschool Principals from all over the South at Dillard late in March. Here are those who came from your State:

Mr. J.H. White, Principal, Eliza Miller High School, West Helena.

Mr. C.T. Cobb, Principal, Lincoln High School, Forrest City.

* * * *

Mr. B. G. Williams, State Supervisor of Instruction, Department of Instruction, Little Rock.

Mr. Charles A. Hicks, Supervisor of Instruction, State Department of Education, Little Rock.

Maybe they are already your members. I daresay if they aren't they would most likely joing if you wrote and asked.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

MEMORANDUM

April 11, 1956

TO: Mr. Nat Griswold, Arkansas Council on Human Relations, Little Rock, Ark.

FROM: Harold C. Fleming

Attached is a brief outline of five progressive steps which might be taken by groups of persons who consider themselves "moderates" but are not yet prepared to commit themselves to positive program of desegregation. It resulted from discussions with staff members of ADL's Southeastern Office and is intended as an aid to key people working with such groups rather than as a document for general distribution. It is also applicable mainly to the larger towns and cities.

I pass this outline along to you not as an official program suggestion but as a matter of interest and possible usefulness to you.

HCF:o
enc.

April 12, 1956

Mr. Nat Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Just a note to say that a Mrs. Sparling who is with the YWCA over in your fair city and whom you know fairly well, was by the office yesterday. She was here for a regional meeting of the YWCA staff members. She seems to be a very able person and quite interested in this field of ours. I would suggest to you as I suggested to her that she provide you with a list of the many people she knows across the State of Arkansas.

Best regards to all of you from all of us.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

P.S. George Eagers just called and will stop by the office. He is here for a speaking engagement at Atlanta University.

April 12, 1956

Mr. Nat Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Nat:

George Eagers was by the office this morning and while he and I were talking about Arkansas affairs a bright thought came to me. Would it be possible for the Arkansas Council to work with some of the counties in Northwestern Arkansas where there are either no or very few Negroes to announce that they were complying with the Supreme Court decision and had an open school policy? If several school districts up there, even where there were no Negroes, would so declare themselves, there is the possibility of a snow-balling effect in other sections of the state. George Eagers thought well of this idea.

Eagers also said, and I think you will be interested, that the Arkansas Council, in his estimation, is doing a more effective job in its role than the NAACP in its role. I don't think this is for publication obviously, but I thought it would be of interest to you, and you, Chris and your board deserve high credit.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick Routh
Assistant Director

FR:o

April 19, 1956

Mr. Nat Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Thank you for your note and I do prefer our spelling of "Eagers."

I have just received from Parma Bascomb a clipping from the Gazette of April 13, quoting Winthrop Rockefeller speaking before the Little Rock Woman's Republican Club and saying, "Big industry is shying away from Southern States which think they are above Federal control." Parma said in the note accompanying the clipping that Thelma Irby got the information to Winthrop and Bill Rock for us. Further that Bill Rock made a similar statement at the recent State convention of the League of Women Voters. It would be of very great value to us to have copies of both of these speeches. We probably would like to quote them or even perhaps run them in a later issue of New South. Could you please give prompt attention to obtaining them for us and send them to Harold Fleming?

Best regards to you and Chris.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

June 13, 1956

Dear Nat,

Highlander Folk School has frequently been described by the (quite bad) newspaper in Knoxville and occasionally by the (equally bad) queer newspaper in Chattanooga (Not the Chattanooga Times; it is responsible) as "pinko". The substance to the charge is that Myles Horton is (and I would agree) some kind of Socialist; and that many years ago, when the school was young, two of its teachers were Jim Dombrowski and Don West. Jim Dombrowski has been much accused of Communist connections. I have never thought him a direct part of the Communist movement, but he has certainly been more tolerant of them than I would approve. He left the School, after a quarrell, a long time ago; say twenty years back. Don West, I am told, after he left the school did join the Communist Party. He has since renounced the Communists, and gets pestered at his farm in North Georgia every now and then by the inquisitive press. But I don'T think that in the high times when Dombrowski and West were at Highlander that Communism had come into the scene in any important way. The people at Highlander were for organized labor in the days before that was respectable, and they got denounced. But in my judgment they weren't Communists. And I don't think anybody up there is.

I have been on the Board of Highlander since about 1946; and I stay on, despite some criticism, because I don't think they are reds.

But I recognize that the constituencies of SRC and of Highlander are quite different, and I am most chary of lending any color of SRC approval (though me) to Higlander. It istrue that Fred and Irene and C. H. taought up there, or appeared there, for a day or two, last summer or before. But Irene was there on her own as an AFSC person. And the first summer of Highlander's workshop on integration I helped get them a few students through our State Organizations. But I have not been to the Institute myself, and don't propose to do so; just because I have no right as SRC's man to

to lend any SRC blessing to an independent enterprise which I personally happen to approve.

So that's about where it stands.

Glad you wrote; right to have these matters straight.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Highlander file


# Arkansas Council On Human Relations

211 SOUTH IZARD FR 4-4521

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS


*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*


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NAT R. GRISWOLD *Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. *Associate Director*
MRS. VELMA POWELL *Secretary*


June 12, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

We just received an announcement from Highlander Folk School which contains a long letter of endorsement from you and lists as consultants without date Fred Routh, Irene Osborne, J. E. Pierce, and C. H. Parrish. This raises more acutely the problem that has troubled me personally for some time.

Somewhere along the way, I have the impression that the program carried on at Monteagle is under the guidance of Mr. Dumbrowski of the Southern Educational Fund. I have read carefully the literature that they have sent out. The information in this literature is just hazy enough not to answer my questions. To be perfectly frank, in my own mind I have regarded the people operating this enterprize as primarily opportunists and not solid in their programing and follow-up. I have felt that we could not participate with ~~the~~ increasing suspicion, justified or unjustified, which we cannot afford.

I think you know my record well enough to know that I am not given to suspicions nor am I easily frightened. I certainly am committed to the view that true liberals must support each other. At least tell me off-the-record or somehow whether I am correct in my evaluation of the Highlander Folk School. Should we recommend it to other people? Should we make efforts to participate ourselves?

Sincerely yours,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp

June 21, 1956

Mr. Nat R. Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 South Izard
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Thanks for your suggestion about the question and answer pamphlet. We are presently working on a revised version of our earlier publication "Answers for Action", which has been by far the most popular item of its kind that we have printed. It may be that this is not as simple as the kind of pamphlet which you are suggesting. I would welcome your views.

Incidentally, we thought the little pamphlet called "Simple Steps" was very well done.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

JC -
F.Y. Info - P/s return HCF

Arkansas
# Council On Human Relations
211 SOUTH IZARD FR 4-4521
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*

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NAT R. GRISWOLD *Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. *Associate Director*
MRS. VELMA POWELL *Secretary*

June 19, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

I have been fascinated by an idea during the last week. It has to do with the material worked out by John Constable, the quiz on the Supreme Court School Decision.

One of our thoughtful supporters feels strongly that there is need for a pamphlet in question-answer format which answers plainly archaic but vexing questions about race and the Court's decision. Would not the questions set up by John serve well as the skeleton for such a brief inexpensive pamphlet? Some of his answers might be refined. It could be a pamphlet whose content might deserve the title "Apt Answers to Archaic but Addling Questions."

We thought we were past the period for such a pamphlet. Undoubtedly, the questions are confusing people and good people do not have ready answers.

Sincerely yours,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp

June 29, 1956

Mr. Nat R. Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 South Izard
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Thanks for your note about "Answers for Action". We will most certainly include the map in the revised printing.

We will take into account your suggestion of a simpler leaflet answering anachronistic questions as we plan future publications.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

Arkansas
Council On Human Relations
211 SOUTH IZARD FR 4-4521
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SHERMAN V. ZINN

STAFF
NAT R. GRISWOLD Executive Director
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. Associate Director
MRS. VELMA POWELL Secretary

June 25, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Just one comment about the popularity of "Answers for Action." Christopher Mercer and I feel that the generous distribution of this pamphlet in Arkansas was due considerably to the map in the back. We think it would be wise, if not too expensive, to reprint the map.

Of course, I do not know about the content of your new pamphlet, but I was thinking of a rather simple publication for easy mailing which would set forth simple and ready answers for some of these anachronistic questions that fill the air like bats.

Sincerely yours,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp

July 5, 1956

Mr. Nat Griswold
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Out in Texarkana at P. O. Box 621, is the Palmer Foundation.

Here is what is said about it in American Foundations and Their Fields, 1955 Edition:

Incorporated in Arkansas in 1944. Donors: Mr. and Mrs. Clyde E. Palmer.

Purpose: To foster and promote through the public schools and otherwise those basic principles of morality which are common to all civilized races and religions, best exemplified in the Golden Rule, and to promote American patriotism.

Methods: Grants to other organizations, support of college workshops, publication of books.

Current Fields of Interest: Democracy and citizenship, secondary education.

Financial Data (year ended December 31, 1954): Total Assets, $69,753; total expenditures $14,647; grants out of principal, $13,456.

Officers and Directors: Henry W. Stillwell, President; Mrs. Bettie M. Palmer, Vice-President; Dr. T. J. Wilbanks, Treasurer; Mrs. Betty Palmer Hussman, Secretary; Dr. A. W. Birdwell, Dr. A. C. Ellis, Hon. Brooks Hays, Rabbi David Lefkowits, C. Hamilton Moses, Mrs. Edith S. Naylor, C. E. Palmer, Mrs. Anna Palmer Vincent.

Did they but know it, you are their man.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/ash

July 10, 1956

Mr. Nat Griswold
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

I do greatly appreciate all you did in straightening out things for the Unitarians. I am sure it was most touchy. All praises!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

# STERN UNION
## TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

310

(18).

NS LRA119 NL PD=LITTLE ROCK ARK 8= 1956 JUL 8 PM 3 29

GEORGE S MITCHSLL=

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE NE ATLA=

LOCAL UNITARIAN WILL PHONE HOFFMAN ALL IS CLEAR FOR CONFERENCE AS PLANNED HOFFMAN WILL PHONE YOU ACT SURPRISED RACIAL DISPUTES ARE BAD CHURCH FUED DANGEROUS YOU ALMOST HAD ME TRAPPED IN ONE THIS TIME=

NAT=

Andrew Young

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

July 20, 1956

Mr. Nat R. Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 South Izard
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

There was some delay in shipment of the first issue of the Fund for the Republic bulletin. Undoubtedly you have received it now.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

Arkansas
Council On Human Relations
211 SOUTH IZARD FR 4-4521
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*

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SHERMAN V. ZINN

STAFF
NAT R. GRISWOLD Executive Director
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. Associate Director
MRS. VELMA POWELL Secretary

July 17, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

A letter from you some two weeks ago indicated you were sending certain materials, notably the first issue of The Fund For The Republic bulletin. We ordered certain other materials which were listed in the same letter. The material ordered came Monday. Meantime, we have heard nothing from the materials which you were sending. There is some demand for the FFR bulletin. Could anything have happened to your shipment?

Sincerely yours,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp

September 18, 1956

Mr. Nat Griswold
Arkansas Council
2106 Nueces Street
Austin 5, Texas

Dear Nat,

In your log for August we have noted with considerable concern the August 21 item outlining a "declaration of opposition" to "measures against desegregation".

This seems to us to be dangerously near political activity. This you will remember is prohibited by your by-laws and your agreement with SRC and the Federal Tax Exemption Provision.

Please forward us a copy of the declaration. While we hope that citizens will protest against unwise political actions, this is not and cannot be the role of one of our state affiliates.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/bms

Copies to: Mr. Fred Darragh
Dr.George S. Mitchell

September 20, 1956

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat,

I have just received your letter of September 19, asking about my traveling plans to Arkansas. Supposedly, I was going to attend the panel at Hot Springs on September 29 and 30. Unfortunately, this is not the case; though I was invited to participate.

I have written Mr. Porter and explained to him that I will be tied up during the dates of the conference here in Georgia. The Georgia Committee is holding a work shop for key committee leaders under the direction of John Hope, and I have been asked to do the summary of the conference and to act as a resource person throughout the conference.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/bms

AIRMAIL

October 19, 1956

Mr. Nat R. Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 South Izard
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Nat:

The Arkansas Council's members of the SRC Board - and accordingly proper representatives at the Annual Meeting - are your current chairman and elected representative. According to your letter of October 15, this would be Mr. Cartwright and Mrs. Bates. I hope they both will be able to attend.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

GSM ✓
FBR ✓
RHA ✓
GSA

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STAFF
NAT R. GRISWOLD Executive Director
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. Associate Director
MRS. VELMA POWELL Secretary

October 15, 1956

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

ATTENTION: Fred Routh
or
Harold Fleming

Gentlemen:

I write to inquire about Arkansas' representatives to the annual meeting of your Board, November 14-15.

Should we let the representatives of the last fiscal year, Fred Darragh and Mrs. L. C. Bates, attend this meeting? We elected a new chairman, Rev. C. S. Cartwright, October 12. We have not had a chance for the Board to elect a new representative to replace Mrs. Bates.

I suggested to Mrs. Bates that she send in her reservation. I have not been able to check with Mr. Cartwright as to whether he will be able to attend the meeting.

Will you please indicate promptly your wishes in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp

December 7, 1956

Mr. Nat Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Isard Street
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Nat:

Please pardon this delay in answering your request for the October issue of New South. I have been out of the office almost continuously.

Unfortunately, we didn't anticipate the heavy demand for the October issue, and we are practically stripped of copies. The best I can do is send you five and promise to let you know if we work out any way of getting more of them printed.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

Rem under separate cover

5 cc


# Arkansas Council On Human Relations

211 SOUTH IZARD FR 4-4521

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS


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**STAFF**

NAT R. GRISWOLD *Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. *Associate Director*
MRS. VELMA POWELL *Secretary*


November 20, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

Will you please send us 100 copies of the October 1956 issue of NEW SOUTH - The Church and a Climate of Goodwill.

Please bill us for this order.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp

P.S. Should we want more copies later, will they be available? Is there any reduction in price according to the number ordered?
NG

January 9, 1957

Mr. Nat Griswold
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Every now and then I have to say nice things about somebody myself. But I run out after a half a paragraph.

And you were able to keep chugging for a whole page!

Good man!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

RECEIVED JAN 9 1957

Arkansas
# Council On Human Relations

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**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD, *Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR., *Associate Director*
MRS. VELMA POWELL, *Secretary*

January 7, 1957

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

At the last regular meeting of our Executive Committee the Director was instructed to convey some words of appreciation, words at the time phrased eloquently by the Reverend Charles C. Walker. That eloquence is gone now from said Director.

You already know the very genuine and deep respect of each of us for your grasp of facts and whole situations, your unique gift of translating this comprehension into the language of freshmen and farmers, your inimitable creation and use of figures that darn near go on-all-fours; and, above all, your persistent devotion to the cause of human justice and equity which is easily discernible in all your vocational choices. ('Twas in your father, also, we are told.)

Nor, is all our sentiment generous gratitude. One among us voiced the wish that your hermit's solitude be harassed by the ghosts of Dixie's disquiet, the just reward for early retirement! You see some of us do plan to visit your heathery hideout just to haunt you!

Our tenderer thoughts encompass your household too, your bonnie better part. We trust this paradox may be realized: Since you are now put out to pasture you may be more stable in your movements. At least we hope those closest and most careful for you may have their way more often.

We refresh your memory about these matters before you go to yon side. You may think you go thither; but you will be hither all the while.

Faithfully yours,

Nat - for

Executive Committee and Staff

NRG:vwp
cc - Colbert S. Cartwright

January 14, 1958

Mr. Nat Grimwold
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Early this year a friend of mine in Washington, D. C. wrote and said that he was interested in a young Negro student at Arkansas Polytechnic College at Russellville.

> "He is the first colored student there (one or two have entered since he enrolled a year ago). He is having a hard time meeting financial requirements but is doing fairly well with his studies in spite of the handicap. He is married and has an aged aunt to look after also. He is the "fry cook" in a cafe, working from 3 p.m. till 11:15 p.m. every day of the week, and I mean every day. He talked to me about getting one day off and I think the only way we can help him, since he can't afford to lose the money and his employer is non-cooperative, is to get some help to the extent of about $30 a month so that he can stand the deductions. He told me he would be willing to sign a note, payable when he gets out of college. I have heard of loan funds for non-interest bearing loans to college students. Can you refer me to anyone or do you know of some benevolent person who has a little money to stake on this young man?"

I called up a man named Richard Plaut, who in New York runs a National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students. He said nothing could be done this college year, but in the event that the young student is in receipt of partial tuition aid from the college he goes to, Plaut's show could probably scare up some further assistance for him next year. I know that Plaut has opened correspondence with my informant in Washington.

So we are still stuck with what to do about the rest of this year.

I wrote my informant that I felt reasonably confident that you could interest either Fred Darragh or Ed Dunaway in arranging that the young fellow should have $30.00 a month or so for the next four or five months.

Will you talk to either of these two gentlemen and see what could be arranged?

You may wish to go up to Russellville and familiarize yourself with the young fellow's circumstances. His name is Terry York.

There is more to it than just fishing one young fellow through; as he was the first Negro student to get in there, what happens to him will be influential in that part of the state.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

February 14, 1957

Rev. Nat Griswold
Executive Director, Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

In accordance with your conversation by telephone with Harold Fleming, we are sending you under separate cover some things from our files concerning other legislation. This is principally concerning North Carolina and Virginia. Hope it will be of some use.

If any ideas occur to you on which I might be able to help, please let me know.

With very best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:mm

February 19, 1957

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 South Izard
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

We have made a change of address as requested for Dr. and Mrs. Maurice J. Friedman. No great trouble at all.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

Arkansas
# Council On Human Relations
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**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD, *Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR., *Associate Director*
MRS. VELMA POWELL, *Secretary*

February 15, 1957

RECEIVED FEB 18 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Please make the following change of address for Dr. Maurice J. Friedman's subscription to NEW SOUTH:

Old - Dr. & Mrs. Maurice J. Friedman
36 Belmont Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas

Change to - Dr. & Mrs. Maurice J. Friedman
2320 North Garfield
Little Rock, Arkansas

When we sent this subscription to you in December, we had the correct address. In January, we received a memo from his office with what we thought was a new address and sent a request with our January subscriptions to make the proper change. It was a mistake. Hope this does not cause too much confusion.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp

CHECKED FEB 18 1957
BSC

*Arkansas*
# Council On Human Relations

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*Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR.
*Associate Director*
MRS. VELMA POWELL
*Secretary*

February 27, 1957

RECEIVED MAR 1 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

We were glad to hear of the proposed meeting in Atlanta. We are standing in the need of prayer as well as in need of a meeting just now.

We are also pleased because of the move to establish a fund in honor of George Mitchell. We are sorry at this moment to have no creative ideas about other persons to whom the invitation to donate might be given.

We will look forward to seeing you at the meeting.

Sincerely,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp

March 5, 1957

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat Griswold:

I was pleased to see in your March Newsletter on page 3 that you have had active contact with two officials of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and an organizer for the Furniture Workers.

It would be helpful to me to have the names of these persons, their positions, and addresses. Hopefully, we will have a chance to talk together about these contacts, the results from them, further contacts that may be needed, and some of the particular trouble spots involving unions. I am available to aid you in any way that you see fit in relating the work of the Arkansas Council to the labor movement.

I look forward to meeting you and working with your group. Don't hesitate to call on me if I can be of service even before I'm in touch with you again.

Fred Routh asks me to send you his warm regards.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV/eab

*Arkansas*
# Council On Human Relations

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**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD *Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. *Associate Director*
MRS. VELMA POWELL *Secretary*

April 8, 1957

Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory Via:

We were pleased that you gave evidence of reading our NEWSLETTER carefully. Thanks.

Noted on card

Jerome (Bill) Becker heads the Amalgamated Clothing Workers here. Clethra Divinagracia is also a worker with Amalgamated Clothing Workers. I believe she carries on educational activities. Their office is at 119 Glover Building, Little Rock.

Noted on card

The organizer of Furniture Workers with whom I visited has been moved to Texas. You may be interested to know that Becker, who seems thoroughly sympathetic with our program and is committed to the national policy of his organization with reference to race relations, recommended that I see Wayne Stoner, Glover Building, of the Oil, Chemical, Atomic Workers.

We would be delighted to see you any time.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp

File

# Arkansas Council On Human Relations

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MRS. DOROTHY OTIS WYRE

**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD, Executive Director
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR., Associate Director
MRS. VELMA POWELL, Secretary

April 10, 1957

RECEIVED APR 15 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

This is to summarize our understanding of the conversation with you, Wednesday, April 10.

Our Executive Committee is involved in planning for continuing our work in 1957-1958. The Committee requested a conference with you after Easter in regard to financing the program.

We are pleased that you think it possible to come the week beginning April 29. The exact day will be designated by you as soon as possible. We need your advice on the form of application (brochure, prospectus, or whatever) and on the content of program that will sell.

You encouraged us by indicating one foundation is interested in over-all programs, not projects; also, by the information that help from the present source of funds is still a real possibility.

You advise us to pursue our idea of possible substantial help from the source designated. We are to do some preliminary inquiry and let you know promptly of any change in outlook. The staff here will marshall program items for consideration in making application.

We appreciate genuinely your willingness to come to our rescue. You can be of real help.

Sincerely,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp

May 7, 1957

Mr. Nat Griswold
and
Mr. Christopher Mercer
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat and Chris:

I enjoyed my brief visit with you last week. Many thanks for your courtesies and hospitality.

Enclosed is a copy of the rundown on the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. I am looking forward to hearing the results of your approaches out there.

Please convey my regards to Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Walker, and the others who joined us at lunch.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

May 30, 1957

Mr. Nat R. Griswold,
Executive Director,
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 South Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat,

We are mailing you one copy of the film, "The Face of the South," which you saw at the State staff meeting. You should remember that this is only a work copy and not a finished product. We are buying one of the finished copies but do not know when this will be available as yet.

You will, also, remember that the sound was not quite synchronized when it was shown at Atlanta University but we are told that this is the fault of the projectionist rather than the film itself.

Appreciated your kind remarks concerning New South. Let me know if you need additional copies.

Sincerely yours,

John Constable,
Director of Information

JC:cj

film sent under separate cover:

May 30, 1957

*Arkansas*
# Council On Human Relations

211 SOUTH IZARD TELEPHONE FR 4-4521

*LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS*

*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*

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**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD *Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. *Associate Director*
MRS. VELMA POWELL *Secretary*

May 27, 1957

Mr. John Constable
Assistant Director
Informational Services
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John Constable:

After some conferences here we would like "The Face of the South" (George Mitchell film) for two weeks, June 5-19.

At the moment we have plans (embryonic) for three uses: A private showing here to some strategic persons most of whom know George Mitchell, and who would be in position to suggest other uses; a showing at Little Rock meeting of membership for strengthening financial support here; and V. H. Williams, Executive Secretary, Arkansas Federated Labor Council, wishes to use it in his civil rights education at his labor school (June 16-21). (Williams knows George)

Among the group of strategic persons mentioned above would be George Reynolds, a business associate of Mr. Rockefeller. The angle here is that Reynolds might suggest (and if necessary we might prompt the response) a special showing for Rockefeller and associates. All this would be in the interest of Mr. Rockefeller's further education in the Southern Region, its sociology and economics.

All this long explanation is to underline our need for the film just now.

We would, of course, exercise every caution in handling the film. We leave to your judgement which version of the film to send - "deep south" or "up-east".

We espcially like the Fairchild article in NEW SOUTH, May. We are sending it to key lawyers. May need more copies.

Sincerely,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG/ccm

June 3, 1957

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Thanks for your note with the enclosed copy of the letter to Mr. Phillips. I like the procedure you have set up for the applicants from Arkansas. It keeps us here in the Central Office informed of developments in recruiting applicants.

Regards to you and Chris.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

June 3, 1957

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Thanks for your note with the enclosed copy of the letter to Mr. Phillips. I like the procedure you have set up for the applicants from Arkansas. It keeps us here in the Central Office informed of developments in recruiting applicants.

Regards to you and Chris.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

June 29, 1957

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director, Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

I have recently had a phone conversation with Mr. Williams. I have offered to him or someone else from the Arkansas Federated Labor Council a scholarship to cover tuition fees and room and board while at the Fisk Seminar. He thinks that they will be able to send someone, but is taking this matter up with his Executive Committee.

He indicated that he had been in touch with you. I am very sorry that I have not been able to get out to Little Rock to visit with you, so that we might make some rounds together. I hope that we can remedy this situation before the summer is out.

Thanks for your interest and aid in the matter of the Labor Seminar.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

July 1, 1957

Mr. Nat R. Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 South Izard
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

It is all right to hang on to the movie as long as you think it is helping. We do have another copy now, and it is quite in demand. However, if you are willing to deal with the faulty copy that you have, keep it until it has made the rounds.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Arkansas
# Council On Human Relations

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LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

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**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD *Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. *Associate Director*
MRS. VELMA POWELL *Secretary*

June 27, 1957

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John Constable:

I have not rushed Face of the South back to you because I received notice that the new copy is released and assumed yours has reached you.

Despite its imperfect sound we have given it rather wide use. Later will give you a detailed report on showings. As yet have not succeeded in arranging a showing for our "Moses on the mountain", but have shown it to some strategic persons. Harry Ashmore, Field-man for State Farm Bureau, and Fred Darragh, had a private view of it yesterday. Ashmore is enthusiastic about it. "Atlanta will give you a copy of this, want they?", was one of his comments! The Farm Bureau man is taking the film to show to an Eastern Arkansas group Sunday. Have shown it to a luncheon group (invited persons), including Attorneys Sid McMath, Henry Woods, Leland Leatherman; Secretary of Arkansas Federated Labor Office, Bill Williams; some members of ACHR Executive Committee; and some business men. Also, showed it to a public meeting of Little Rock members of ACHR. Quite a number of church and PTA groups have seen it.

In case I am out of order in hanging on to it, please notify me.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

NAT R. GRISWOLD

NRG/ccm

Arkansas
# Council On Human Relations

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**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD *Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. *Associate Director*
MRS. VELMA POWELL *Secretary*

RECEIVED JUL 15 1957

July 11, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

This conveys our gratitude to you and SRC for the special grant of $1,500.00 just received.

We appreciate especially this evidence of confidence in ACHR and of warm, steadying cooperation from you. We deeply feel the obligation to justify the former and stand in constant need of the strength from the latter.

You will be hearing from us about progress and obstacles.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold (by Chris)
NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

Receipt #547
Recd 7/17/57
RISA

NRG/ccm

P.S. Nat is out of the office pursuing this mission now. The project is under way. We are hoping for the best.

Chris

August 12, 1957

Mr. Nat R. Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 South Izard
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

In answer to your letter concerning the Face Of The South, the film is being distributed by Motion Picture Laboratories, Inc., 1672 Union Avenue, Memphis 4, Tennessee rather than by the Presbyterians themselves. Therefore we do not receive any reduction in price. The price is $125.14 and this includes reel, mailing package, and postage.

I hope you can find some good angel to buy a copy because the two that we have turned over to the ADL are very much in demand.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Arkansas
# Council On Human Relations

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**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD *Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. *Associate Director*
MRS. VELMA POWELL *Secretary*

August 9,1957

Mr. John Constable, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John Constable:

We have your memorandum about distribution of the film, Face Of The South.

Could you give us quotation on what it would cost Arkansas to purchase a copy of the film through SRC? While we have had some effective use for the imperfect copy we now have, uncertainty as to the quality of the sound makes a great hazard for us in general audiences.

At the moment we do not know how we would finance the purchase of a copy, but we expect to ask certain organizations to finance it for us. Thanks.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

NAT R. GRISWOLD
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

NRG: vmcl

August 21, 1957

Mr. Nat R. Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 South Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

This is to acknowledge with thanks your report on the consultation. You deserve great commendation for carrying through the difficult assignment so effectively. Whatever the immediate outcome, I have no doubt that your special efforts this summer will pay off handsomely in the end. I will be looking forward to further word on your progress.

We will, of course, regard your report as completely confidential, and similarly any appraisal of the consultants which you may send us.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED AUG 19 1957

# Arkansas Council On Human Relations

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
211 IZARD ST.

*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*

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**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD *Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. *Associate Director*
IDA M. KNOX *Secretary*

August 16,1957

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

Will you please mark on my report on the Consultant Conference " highly confidential."

I did not give my appraisal of the consultants, John Hope may want this direct.

Sincerely,
Nat
NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG: vmcl

August 21, 1957

Mr. Nat R. Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 South Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

This is to add to Fred's acknowledgment of your letter of August 11 reporting the actions of the Executive Committee of the Arkansas Council.

We share your regret that the Arkansas Council is going to lose the services of Chris Mercer, though we can readily understand the financial considerations that make this necessary. Let us hope that the Rockefeller Brothers Fund will come through in handsome fashion and that the Arkansas Council will be able to resume operation on a larger scale. Meanwhile, you may consider this as formal acceptance of the revised budget contained in the minutes of your Executive Committee meeting of July 30, 1957.

I don't believe we have had any formal notification from you as to the arrangement for New South, after October 1, elected by the Arkansas Council. I shall look forward to further word from you on this point.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. C. S. Cartwright

August 7, 1957

Mr. Nat R. Griswold, Director
The Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 South Izard
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Your letter of August 1st. was received Monday and in Harold's absence I reply.

As you stated in your letter the minutes of the Executive Committee are self explanitory. All decisions of this nature are the sole prerogative of the Boards of Directors of the various state organizations. We wish it was possible for the Arkansas Council to continue with integregated staffing but understand the financial burden involved. With you, we hope that it will be possible for the Arkansas Council to shift to high gear again if and when additional funds come through from the Brothers Fund.

Glad to see that the Arkansas Democrat has come out for the Little Rock plan for desegregation. Bit by bit we move ahead and the conversion of such a newspaper is an important step.

Best regards to you and Chris.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh,
Assistant Director

FBR/pa

RECEIVED AUG 5 1957

Arkansas
# Council On Human Relations

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**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD *Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. *Associate Director*
MRS. VELMA POWELL *Secretary*

August 1,1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

Mr. C.S. Cartwright asked that I write this letter to accompany the enclosed minutes of the special meeting of the Executive Committee of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

The minutes are self - explanatory for the most part. Since final decision by the Brothers Fund would not be made until fall and would probably not make funds available until January ( assuming favorable action ) the Executive Committee felt its action was the only course open.

The Committee and staff are convinced that it is of the greatest importance to stay in business even with a curtailed budget. New opportunities just now seem to be coming. There are signs of softening of the opposition here in Little Rock. ( Yesterday, the Arkansas Democrat for the first time endorsed the Little Rock plan of desegregation. It had consistently been a confort if not actual mouthpiece for the Citizens Council.)

The Board is continuing to seek strong support for our application from the Arkansas member of the Brothers Fund. If it succeeds, it would not be too difficult to shift to high gear again.

The associate director pledges his full cooperation in every way possible in these plans.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

Nat R. Griswold
Executive Director

NRG: vmcl

Arkansas Council on Human Relations

Minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee

July 30,1957

The executive committee of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations met at the home of Nat Griswold on July 30 at 1:45 P.M. The following were present: C.S. Cartwright, presiding; Fred Darragh, Perry Taylor, Mrs. E.M. Sparling, Mrs. J. Russell Henderson, and Mrs. Guerdon Nichols. It was agreed that none of the paid staff should be present at this meeting because of the nature of the business to be discussed.

Since the secretary was not present, it was agreed that Mr. Cartwright would keep the minutes of the meeting.

Mr. Cartwright informed the committee of a communication from a Fund to which ACHR had applied. This indicated any action the Fund might take in regard to the Council's request for a grant of $ 8000.00 for each of three succeeding years would be delayed until "fall". From the communication the committee could see no indication as to what might be the final disposition of the application.

Mr. Cartwright also informed the committee of a communication from Harold C. Fleming that the Southern Regional Council would grant the Arkansas Council a sum of $ 4500.00 if it could meet specified qualifications. This amount was based upon a budget submitted to SRC which included the expectation of $ 8000.00 from the other Fund.

After thorough discussion the committee took the following unanimous actions:

1. Recognizing that no final word can be expected from the Fund until "fall" as to the disposition of our application for aid, the Arkansas Council with support from SRC should undertake to operate with a paid staff at least through December 1957.

2. A revised budget leaving out of consideration possible aid from the said Fund should be adopted. It should be submitted to the Southern Regional Council with the hope that the Southern Regional Council will agree to grant us the $ 4500.00 on a pro rata basis for at least one quarter until the final disposition of our application is made by the Fund.

3. A budget ( attached ( totaling $ 7950.00 was adopted for the new fiscal year.

4. Mr. Cartwright was designated to negotiate with Mr. Griswold to continue his services with the Arkansas Council as its executive director, and give Mr. Mercer immediate notice of the termination of his contract as of September 30 with the expression of deep appreciation for his services during his tenure with the Council. It will be the policy of the Arkansas Council to secure a Negro as office secretary.

5. If word should be received that money shall not be forthcoming from the Fund, a re-study of the future of the Arkansas Council should be made immediately in regard to the prospect of the effectiveness of a paid staff with limited funds.

Arkansas Council on Human Relations

PROPOSED BUDGET - OCTOBER 1,1957 - SEPTEMBER 30,1958

EXPENDITURES:

A. Salaries -

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Executive Director | $ 5000.00 | |
| Secretary | 1200.00 | |
| Social Security, Ins., and Bond | 150.00 | |
| TOTAL | | $ 6350.00 |

B. Program.-

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Rent | 300.00 | |
| Postage | 100.00 | |
| Telephone & telegraph | 180.00 | |
| Office Supplies | 150.00 | |
| Subs. to NEW SOUTH | 350.00 | |
| Travel | 500.00 | |
| Misc., Audit, Bank, etc. | 20.00 | |
| | | $ 1600.00 |
| GRAND TOTAL | | $ 7950.00 |

1.

INCOME

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A. To be raised by Arkansans | $ 3450.00 | |
| B. Grant from Southern Regional Council | 4500.00 | |
| TOTAL | | $ 7950.00 |

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

1: Actual Income for 1955 - 1956

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A. Southern Regional Council | | $ 13,000.00 |
| B. Raised by Arkansans | | 3,600.00 |
| TOTAL | | $ 16,600.00 |

September 12, 1957

Mr. Nat Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 South Isard St.,
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat;

This is a letter of commendation for the good job you are doing in the Little Rock situation. We have had good reports from a variety of sources; all of them have spoken highly of your contribution out there.

Harold will call you before you receive this but I wanted to add a personal note of thanks for what you have done. These are troubled times and it takes a person with dedication and skill to measure up to their demands. In our book you measure up. Best regards.

Cordially,

Fred B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/rtb

Arkansas

September 23, 1957

Mr. Nat R. Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 South Izard
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat,

Many thanks for your letter of September 18. I have called Lillian Smith regarding possibilities of her attending your annual meeting on October 28. She has tentatively agreed to speak. Her only problem is that she is in the process of finishing her new novel. The deadline for its completion is October 15. She feels confident she can meet this deadline, but said that there is always the possibility of running a bit behind schedule which would make most difficult her attending. However, she indicated that even if she did not finish the novel by the deadline she might be able to run out to Little Rock for the meeting.

She was particularly pleased with the paragraph in your letter which said: 'We want her not to lure the timid to us, but to fortify the courageous in our state'.

She asked that you write her about the details of the meeting and other factors which might be of importance to her. She agreed to come without honorarium, but regretted that you would have to cover her expenses. You are very fortunate to get her on this basis (I am that good!). Her address is -

Miss Lillian Smith
Old Screamer Mountain
Clayton, Georgia.

I suggest you get in touch with her immediately.

Best regards to all.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

Arkansas
# Council On Human Relations

211 SOUTH IZARD TELEPHONE FR 4-4521

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

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**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD *Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. *Associate Director*
MRS. VELMA POWELL *Secretary*

September 18, 1957

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred Routh -

The Executive Committee voted to invite Lillian Smith for our annual meeting October 28, beginning at 6 P.M.

I am hurrying this to you asking you to negotiate for us. Of course, we are obliged to get her for expenses. (Are you that good?)

We want her not to lure the timid to us, but to fortify the courageous in our state.

If you feel we should make direct contact with her, please send instructions on how to reach her via air, special delivery.

Needless to say, time is important -

Thanks -

nat
Nat

NRG:ra

September 24, 1957

Mr. Nat Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

We are mailing you Air Mail Special a copy of the Police Report about which Harold talked with you. The section he had particular reference to begins on page 76.

Will you please return this as soon as it is feasible.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

October 4, 1957

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 South Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

This is in reply to your letter about the Phelps-Stokes Fund. I am enclosing the rundown from the foundation book.

I am well acquainted with Dr. F. D. Patterson, formerly president of Tuskegee Institute, now director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and Wilton Dillon, who is now working with Dr. Patterson. In fact, Dillon was recently here in Atlanta. The Fund has for several years modestly assisted Mrs. Tilly's work for the Southern Regional Council. This represents, as much as anything, a special personal interest of Dr. Patterson. If you had asked me cold, I would have thought it unlikely that the Fund had any appreciable amount of money for grant-making purposes. But, in view of the interest expressed to Professor Friedman by Dillon, it may be that I am wrong. In any case, I suppose there is no harm in trying.

Taking up another matter of some importance, I have just received a letter from the Fund for the Republic advising us that the $1500 in special funds allocated for the Western counties' project of the Arkansas Council is being reimbursed to SRC. The board of the Fund authorized a special grant of up to $2500 for this purpose. So that you can see the way in which this was stated to us, I am enclosing a copy of Hallock Hoffman's letter. When you get a chance, let me know

how this looks to you. It may be that, circumstances permitting, you will want to talk with Harry Ashmore about it. Certainly we don't want any potential resources to go to waste!

I hope your efforts in the difficult situation there are proving productive.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - See attached

C
O
P
Y

PHELPS-STOKES FUND
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

A perpetuity established in 1911 under a Charter issued by the Legislature of the State of New York. Donor: Caroline Phelps Stokes.

Purpose: The income of the Fund may be used for the education of Negroes, both in Africa and in the United States, North American Indians and needy and deserving white students, through industrial schools, the founding of scholarships, and the erection or endowment of school buildings or chapels; and for the erection and improvement of tenement house dwellings in the City of New York for the poor families of that City. The Trustees may use any means to such ends which shall seem to them expedient, including research, publication, and the establishment, or maintenance, or aid to charitable or benevolent agencies and institutions.

Limitations: United States and Africa.

Methods: Grants to other organizations; conduct of service program and educational and housing surveys; maintenance of an office and staff to aid in educational and interracial movements in the United States and Africa, housing movements in New York City, and administration of educational programs made possible by grants from other agencies.

Policies Regarding Grants: In 1947 the Trustees decided to discontinue numerous small grants to established agencies and institutions in order that it might devote its resources to a few projects within the scope of its special interests.

Current Fields of Interest: Agriculture and rural life, education, health and medicine, housing, intercultural relations.

Financial Data (year ended October 31, 1954): Total assets, $1,582.797; total expenditures, $80,670; grants out of income, $33,541.

Officers and Trustees: Emory Ross, President, I. N. Phelps Stokes, Vice-President; John H. Reisner, Secretary; Edwin K. Merrill, Treasurer, Frederick D. Patterson, Director; Claude A. Barnett, Ralph Johnson Bunche, Lansdell K. Christie, Bayard Dodge, The Rt. Rev. Horace W. B. Donegan, Mrs. Dyson Duncan,

Mrs. John Davis Hatch, Jr., Henry T. Heald, Guy B. Johnson, Liston Pope, The Rt. Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes, Jr., Chauncey L. Waddell.

Officer: Frederick L. Rowe, Executive Secretary.

Taken from: American Foundations and Their Fields - Seventh Ed.

RECEIVED SEP 30 1957

Arkansas
# Council On Human Relations

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**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD
*Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR.
*Associate Director*
MRS. VELMA POWELL
*Secretary*

September 26, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming -

Professor F. G. Friedmann, from the philosophy department of the University of Arkansas, who has just returned from Italy, has talked with Mr. Wilson Dillon, Executive Director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. From his talk, he has concluded that ACHR might be able to get financial help from that fund.

Would you care to advise us on this matter, sending along appropriate quotations from your BLUEBOOK on Foundations?

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

RECEIVED SEP 30 1957

*Telephone:* MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

September 25, 1957

Dear Harold Fleming:

I am happy to inform you that our Board of Directors has authorized a grant of up to $2500 to the Southern Regional Council to help defray the cost of the staff work of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations in its recent work in western Arkansas.

We have in hand an accounting for expenditure of $1,500 of this sum. The Fund's check for $1,500 is enclosed. If the Arkansas Council calls upon the Southern Regional Council for additional funds for its work in assisting western Arkansas school districts to prepare for desegregation, we will reimburse the Southern Regional Council upon presentation of expense reports, up to a maximum of $1,000 more.

We have in our files evidence of your tax-exempt status. When you acknowledge receipt of the enclosed check, will you please re-affirm that your tax-exempt status is still in effect.

Kindest regards,

Hallock Hoffman
Treasurer

Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED NOV 4 1957

# Arkansas Council On Human Relations

211 SOUTH IZARD TELEPHONE FR 4-4521

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*

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**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD, *Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR., *Associate Director*
MRS. VELMA POWELL, *Secretary*

November 1, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regionsl Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear ~~Mr.~~ Harold Fleming:

This is formally to notify you that we do expect to call on S.R.C. for additional funds for work "in assisting western Arkansas school districts to prepare for desegregation". We will give you expense reports in connection with this work. Of course this will be simpler if the terms of the grant can be redefined in more general terms.

Beginning Monday, November 4, I will undertake to evaluate what recent events in Little Rock have done to the districts where we are working. Until this is done the extent of follow-up activity can not be determined. A strategy meeting, including Mr. Ashmore, is planned for Thursday, November 7, to consider policy items including this project.

Estimated expenditures are not possible at this moment, of course. In relation to this project one other field trip is now planned for consulations with heads of Graduates Schools in regard to research by students into educationsl opportunities and costs for Negro children in small school districts. You see, I am sure, how this might be helpful in the project.

I talked with Harry Ashmore yesterday in regard to the additional money. He, in an off-hand way, said You should have no difficulty in getting the money from Hoffman. He does not plan to go for Board meeting until November 20, seems not to know of any meeting on November 2.

Thanks for your fore-warning in regard to defining program more concretely. Taking Ashmore's statement in "Life" ("One of the great loses may be that Whites and Negroes will never again really know each other.") as a lamentable possibility we probably will direct our efforts so as to help forestall such a tragedy. We will center even more on establishing in churches and communities interracial committees and groups. It is along that line that we are spelling out our earlier program outline.

Sincerely yours,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:cpw

SOUNDINGS IN ARKANSAS RIVER VALLEY

November 5, 1957

AT RUSSELLVILLE:

Chairman of a Church Board, He has a cousin in St. Louis, "well educated, good job with Missouri Pacific", whom he quoted with considerable confidence. "At first we thought Faubus was losing his mind. After the federal troops came in sentiment changed away from Eisenhower toward Faubus". "Actually you do not hear much talk about the whole matter. People are still waiting to see what happens". "My cousin says we can thank our stars for the kind of nigars we have down here, that the real trouble will come in St. Louis, Chicago, New york. Nigars are different there".

Methodist minister and wife, who moved from Little Rock last june, whose position favoring compliance with the Supreme Court's decision is quite well-known by the public:

"We do not find out much. People, knowing our views just do not say much about the matter. Our kids have brought home twice some interesting hearsay. They reported Russellville H. S. will desegregate next semester (once said next Monday) because Morrilton is going to desegregate and we will have to. (Russellville Negro H. S. students are sent to morrilton.) We do not know where they heard this nor what it actually means."

Professor at College, who has affirmative attitude toward desegregation, who has good relations with public school administrators and teachers. "This has increased intimidation. I do not think any school superintendent will make any move now until he knows he has the patrons' backing. There is some tendency to point me out as ome favorable to intergration, a kind of intimidation." "I have not had opportunity to hear any specific statements from superintendents." "The arkansas Education Association is in a very poor position to take an active role in the election of a governor." "We have heard the Education Council at its meeting this week will bring up the desegregation question". "The Education association is very much divided."

He never did make a positive statement about whether superintendents in the valley would be willing to cooperate in further study and discussion. Implied it would be more difficult for him to furnish leadership.

AT CLARKSVILLE:

County Supervisor of Schoold, who has open attitude on the problem. "I think the consultants conference we had in August was very good. I liked the visiting superintendents. That was really good. I told Mr McAkear (former registrar at College of Ozark, now secretary of local Chamber of Commerce) about it. He expressed the view that local communities ought to work out the problem without outside interference." "I do not think_____ (local Supt.) or_____(another local supt.) will give any leadership now. They both are near retirement and do not want to be bothered."

"We have some negroes out at the college, some from Poteau, Oklahoma." (one of the consultants was from Poteau.)

"I have not been able to find out what actually happened in Ozark (which desegregated high school students in September) The school got along well until a few students intimidated the negro students."

"The supt. at Charleston just won't talk. I understand he is having difficulty keeping his job, not mainly because of desegregation."

He did not reply directly to the question about further conferences and discussions by the superintendents.

The increased fear of school administrators may have sounder grounds since Little Rock. They now fear the extremist more because these latter have a new courage since they feel a measure of public support, even for acts of violence. Evidence of this kind of results of the events in Little Rock has come from Tennessee, Kentucky and many other places in which resistance has developed where before there was none.

It was gratifying to see how openly the professor and the superintendent talked with me. This encouraged the belief that further consultation with Superintendents is possible, despite Little Rock.

Circulate to Prof. Staff

RECEIVED DEC - 2 1957


# Arkansas Council On Human Relations

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**STAFF**

NAT R. GRISWOLD *Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. *Associate Director*
MRS. VELMA POWELL *Secretary*


November 29, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
46 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Flrming:

It was good to see John Hope and Fred Routh at Kansas City for a brief session together. This will share the pessimism we feel about Little Rock. I also enclose a brief account of a visit up the valley.

In Li tle Rock we fear the kind of explosion which again will get us in world headlines. Morale in Central High still seems low. Students and faculty members are intimidated (I am not sure by what.) to the point that they do not openly espouse desegregation or befriend the Negro students. The superintendent seems not to have learned the lessons indicated by events. He refuses to have a lawyer give strong advice on the Court's injunction against interference to assembly of student, "This might inflame matters". In a group of ministers Wednesday the superintendent took complete charge of the meeting, "did practically all the talking", gave a resume of events from 1954 apparently defending against the articel in the Christian Century and overpowered the lot of them leaving them feeling all is well. We have reliable report that the school administrators with some built-up strong support expects to get back into court asking for supension of the plan while the community is prepared for desegregation! They evidently think coming events will give an occasion to get back to the court.

A conference with the Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce (Little Rock) indicates the 24 bussinessmen still are at work and are not giving up, but that they feel things are better and that the school administration is handling things satusfactorily. The chamber plans a letter-writing campaign to convince other Americans that reports from Little Rock exaggerated the situation.

The NAACP is harassed by Bennett, State's attorney, and the so-called Bennett Ordinance, passed by twelve towns and cities. Again the sane people are neutralized and the segregationists have the field. (However, we have mustered some support against these unconstitutional methods, including some from ministers and the State Council of Churches. Also, the ACLU may get into this fight against the Ordinance.) These harassing activities have been more hurtful to good race relations than the Faubus fiasco. They seem to be attacks by the white segment on the colored segment of the community. They drive the Negroes to rely on their own organizations and efforts in the struggle for justice. They cloud lines of communication. They, by the same token, are creating work for ACHR to do!

We will have to move our domicile and office by January2, perhaps, not because of our work but because of business reasons. We may find it hard to get a satisfactory place.

My Thanksgiving Dinner cannot be blamed for this pessimism!

Sincerely,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:cpw
Enc.

RECEIVED DEC - 2 1957

FBR ✓
MF
(file)

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**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD, *Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR., *Associate Director*
MRS. VELMA POWELL, *Secretary*


November 29, 1957
After the mail

Mr. Harold Fleming
46 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

I just received a letter from Harry Meserve for the Brothers, raising the questions you briefed us upon. He also, wishes to know what are our projects for fund raising 1958, 1959, if SRC does not continue its grant! In any event he wants to know "what specific plans ACHR has to expand its local fund-raising both now ~~during~~ and during the period" of its request. This calls for some consultation. Meserve closes, "We are giving ACHR's request careful consideration and hope to be able to send a final decision early in the year!" ~~Thanks~~. So, we will be starting a new year still hopeful.

Your letter came in the same mail as Meserve's. Good news! Thanks. Now we will be able to go ahead with some pending plans - a meeting of our "team" of ministers and a conference from over the state on finances. Relieves my pessimism a bit.

This letter was written after the mail. The other earlier.

Sincerely,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:cpw

December 2, 1957

Mr. Nat R. Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 South Izard
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

I don't know who the publisher of the book With All Deliberate Speed is, but we have a brochure from the R. M. Mills' Bookstore, Inc., 711 Church Street, Nashville 3, Tennessee, advertising the book for three dollars per copy. I presume they would mail you a copy on order.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

*Arkansas*
# Council On Human Relations

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M. W. (Mike) WILLIS
MRS. DOROTHY OTIS WYRE

**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD
*Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR.
*Associate Director*
MRS. VELMA POWELL
*Secretary*

November 26, 1957

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John Constable:

Where do we get With All Deliberate Speed, Shoemaker, in the paper-back edition?

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

RECEIVED DEC - 5 1957

Arkansas
# Council On Human Relations

211 SOUTH IZARD TELEPHONE FR 4-4521

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*

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DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN *Vice-Chairman*
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**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD *Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. *Associate Director*
MRS. VELMA POWELL *Secretary*

December 3, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

Patrick Murphy Malin, ACLU, was in town Saturday. Cartwright and I had an hour with him. (You know he came because of the request of the North Little Rock Council that ACLU file information. He filed their annual report, took pains to point out he was not filing certain information required by the "Bennett" ordinance, and said he would be in the city all day and would return on December 9 in case he was wanted.)

We thought you would be interested in his emphatic statement that the "human relations organizations were the only groups left providing interracial communication" in the South. He was very strong in the opinion they should and could be maintained. He thinks the Fields Foundation is and will be the most uninhibited about helping finance such programs. (You recall Harry Ashmore pointed out last summer that Fields Foundation would within the year have large resources.) Malin suggested that the state organizations on human relations should "gang up on Garrison". (Garrison seems to be the big boy in the Foundation.) By "gang-up" he explained that someone should go to see him.

I write you because you are the one to do the "ganging", if this idea seems good. You may already have done this. Just thought I should pass along the idea.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

*Arkansas*
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**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD *Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. *Associate Director*
MRS. VELMA POWELL *Secretary*

December 27, 1957

RECEIVED DEC 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

Enclosed is a check to the Southern Regional Council from H. Charles Johnston, a young ethusiastic member of our Board. He means for you to return the $100 to ACHR. (Sorry!) A receipt to him at 312 Louisiana Street, Little Rock, Ark., would be useful to him.

PA

Thanks,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:cpw
Enc.

December 30, 1957

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 South Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

Enclosed is our check for $100.00 which represents a contribution from Mr. H. Charles Johnston to the Arkansas Council. We are sending Mr. Johnston our official receipt for this amount.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

Enclosure: 1 check ($100.00) No. 1559

RECEIVED JAN 30 1958

No. 664

January 24 1958

Received of SRC

One Thousand and No/100 DOLLARS

$1000.00

Nat Griswold

Ark. Council on Human Relations
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **FRED ROUTH**

6 Feb 58

To: EFV —

The Arkansas Council's annual meeting is scheduled for Feb 14-15. It starts with a 6$^{30}$ pm Supper on Fri the 14th and closes at 4 pm on Sat the 15th.

They want you there for the full meeting. Your actual stint will be 3$^{30}$ - 4$^{30}$ on Sat. They want the current picture of the South - roles of church & labor — and stressing now is no time to go slow

F. B. R.

*Arkansas*
# Council On Human Relations

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MR. MIKE WILLIS
MRS. DOROTHY OTIS WYRE

January 31, 1958

Mrs. Frederick B. Routh
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred Routh:

We appreciated your humor: "Thought you would be interested in this". Started simply to return the memo slip marked, "You darned tootin we are interested", Anyway, thanks.

Plans are evolving for Board meeting February 14-15, at Ferncliff, Presbyterian Camp 15 miles west of Little Rock. Harry Ashmore will open the session with an appraisal, "How Things Look Now In Arkansas". At the table with him will be the following: Lawrence A Davis of A. M. & N. College, Bill Penix, Bishop Brown, and Forrest Rozzell, Secretary of the Arkansas Education Association. Saturday we will spend the day assessing and projecting program plans through committees. Since we suspect work with the churches will be the most profitable activity, we have asked Will Campbell to join us in the planning.

We have not written John Hope. He could be helpful just sitting in, of course. But we do not think we should invite him for so simple a function. Moreover, we think his services may be more urgent a little later in Little Rock. What do you think?

As you may guess, this will be an off the record meeting.

Will get to the matter of biracial accommodations soon.

Sincerely,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:CPW

*Arkansas*
# Council On Human Relations

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MR. WILLIAM H. THOMPSON
MR. WALTER TRULOCK
MRS. J. R. VINSON
REV. E. B. WILLIAMS
MR. MIKE WILLIS
MRS. DOROTHY OTIS WYRE

February 7, 1958

Mr. Emery Via
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emery Via:

We are pleased that you can be with us February 14-15, according to my conversation with Fred Routh on February 6.

Our program is "integrated". So we hope you can be in all of it. Your special spot is at 3:30 p.m., "Perspective".

By this title we seek to indicate that you will, in your person and incidentally in your remarks, set Arkansas in the Southern and national scene. This will be the going-home shot. The situation in Arkansas is dark of course. We need to be reminded: "You must not grow tired or desperate." "You cannot give up. Desegregation is inevitable. Forces for it are overwhelming. They (segregationist) cannot head this off, etc, etc."

In other words, we want you in your quiet quakerly way to "put on the rousements"! This, we take it, is possible with complete honesty and sincerity.

I can alert Bill William (AFL*CIO) that you will be here and, possible, arrange for a conference.

Will be good to have you.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:apw

Arkansas Council on Human Relations

RETREAT AT FERNCLIFF

for

Board and Concerned Members

WHERE: All-weather Presbyterian Camp west of Little Rock, near Ferndale. Persons from west and north go direct to Ferndale. Persons from Little Rock go out 12th Street Pike.

WHEN: 4 P.M. Friday, February 14 to 4 P.M., February 15.

COST: Lodging: Provided by ACHR.

Meals: Each person will pay actual cost of meals which will be provided by ACHR at a minimum. (Conferees subject to KP duty!)

Travel Expense: Will be paid by ACHR for Board Members - an amount equal to round-trip bus ticket to Little Rock.

PURPOSE: To appraise situation and shape program for ACHR.

RESERVATION: Mail reservation blank immediately. Must be received by February 12.

WHAT YOU BRING: Personal accessories. Linens and bedding are provided.

check, tear off and mail immediately in the enclosed envelope

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

I ☐; We (husband & wife) ☐ will be at Ferncliff for:

☐ 6:30 P.M. Supper on Friday, February 14;

☐ Overnight at the Lodge;

☐ Conference on Saturday.

☐ I need transportation from _____
(place and/or address)

in Little Rock at _____ M. on _____.
(hour) (day)

(signed) _____

NOTE: This is an off-the- record meeting.

February 27, 1958

Mr. Nathaniel R. Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

I'm afraid I didn't make myself clear on the telephone. Popham was to get in touch with me, and did. My request was for guidance when I talked to him.

Enclosed is a copy of the story we worked out - hopefully for this Sunday's New York Times, though one can't ever be sure. I hope you and Cartwright will feel this is a helpful interpretation. Certainly It doesn't romanticize Blossom and the school board.

I was glad to have your analysis of the dangerous state of affairs arising from the new litigation. I will do what I can.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1

February 27, 1958

MEMORANDUM

TO: ALR
JC
RHA
MM

n The address of the Arkansas Council has been changed to:

1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

The phone number remains the same: FR. 4-4521

Rec'd 2/26/58


# Arkansas Council On Human Relations

1220 W. CAPITOL TELEPHONE FR 4-4521

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS


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MR. WALTER TRULOCK
MRS. J. R. VINSON
REV. E. B. WILLIAMS
MR. MIKE WILLIS
MRS. DOROTHY OTIS WYRE


February 25, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

We have not ignored or forgotten the chief subject of our conversation last Friday. We do not see a solution to the problem. We have taken (Cartwright, particularly) as a major project, trying to get the true story of what goes on administratively in Central High. We tried to trigger Popham to pursue the matter by interview. We thought he might have come up with the real story. Popham leaned entirely on Ashmore who has felt obliged to support the school administration and to picture it as the lonely hero in this whole fiasco. Popham never made any inquiry.

Now we think that, handled properly, the School Board's petition may enable the lawyers for the nine (eight) to get this thing said under protection (for witnesses) of the Court. Indeed, it seems possible that the court itself under the guidance of carefully prepared lawyers may be induced to tell the Board not only to go ahead with the nine but to go ahead with the plan as approved ~~as approved~~ by the Court and to pursue it in good faith not demonstrated up until now. We are doing some work on stimulation at this time.

We must pass on a deep concern we have in this connection. The NAACP needs some first rate lawyers here if they are to gain the initiative. We observe a lack of energy in prosecuting their cases in the past, no great effort to amass and present the facts. Could you encourage Thurgood Marshall at this point?

This suggestion indicates how seriously we take the School Board's petition. They have been building on this since November. They have done a lot of collateral work, with politicians and others clear up to Washington. Unless the NAACP lawyers show more than to date, we may get some surprises.

We are at work, also, to strengthen morale among our Negro citizens, and unity. We will be in touch with you.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

VIA AIR MAIL March 10, 1958

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 South Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

It is my pleasure to send you the enclosed check for $8,000 representing the first of three annual grants from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund earmarked for the assistance of the work of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. I understand that you have had direct word from the Fund concerning the grant, so there is no need for me to repeat the contents of the Funds letter of transmittal to us.

The last sentence of Dana Creel's letter says that they will be happy to receive copies of reports that are issued from time to time. It is my understanding that you will send such periodic reports on the program and progress of the Arkansas Council directly to the Fund; however, I think it would be both wise and helpful if you would mark us in for copies of these communications to the Fund, so that we may be fully informed. I would also appreciate it if you would let me know what

changes in the structure or program, if any, you contemplate, in the light of this grant.

Our hearty congratulations to you all.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Check No. 4285 - $8,000)

P. S. As I know you understand, this grant carries with it the same conditions that have applied to all aid received by the Arkansas Council through the Southern Regional Council - namely, prohibition of any political activity or other activity inconsistent with tax-exempt status.

H.C.F.

Mr. Nat R. Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 W. Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

HCF
Communications are not impossible — just fuzzy
BR

April 9, 1958

Dear Mr. Griswold:

We are delighted to know that it may be possible for some white as well as colored applicants to consider joining us at the Encampment this summer.

I have heard from the three young people from Arkansas A. M. & N. College and two of them would like to return this summer as volunteers in our office. We are not sure yet we can work out these plans, but we shall try.

I have been in correspondence with Mr. M. LaFayette Harris, President of Philander Smith College, hoping to have permission to use the name of his college as one of the cooperating agencies in a special study which is detailed in a memo I am enclosing for your reading. Do you know Mr. Harris? He has expressed interest in cooperating but has asked for further information about our project and about this particular study.

I am enclosing this College Plan memo so that you will know what kind of correspondence we are having with colleges. The students who will be coming to the Encampment this summer should not be appraised of the fact that we are conducting an evaluation. This, of course, would negate the objectivity of the study.

If you would care to have additional information or literature for distribution, please let me know. I am sending out a mailing to NAIRO members in the hope that we will have the help of other persons throughout the country.

We will be looking forward to hearing from some of your applicants. Would there be any individuals or organizations in town that might be willing to help with scholarships for these applicants? I would be happy to communicate with any you may wish to suggest.

Sincerely,

WGS

William G. Shannon

cc: Fred Routh

April 14, 1958

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Thought you might want a copy of the script for Face of the South.

My intended letter to you following the meeting with the Arkansas Council was waylaid by illness, vacation, and the subsequent pressure of duties.

It was good to have been with you and the group, and I look forward to a return relative to labor program.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

Enclosure.
EFV:fcl

March 25, 1958

Rev. Nat. R. Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 W. Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Many thanks for your letter of the 21st. I don't have any suggestions at the present time for Associate Director of the Arkansas Council. I would guess off-hand that somebody from Arkansas would be best suited for the job, though I would not limit enquiries to the state. I suggest that as a member of NAIRO you write John Lassoe who maintains a directory of available personnel and also of professional openings in the field. His address is:

John Lassoe
Executive Secretary
National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials
152 West 42nd Street, Room 1508
New York 36, N.Y.

We would prefer that you take sufficient time to find a well-qualified person than jump at the first person who appears readily available. There will be no pressure from this office for you to rush into hiring. We have every confidence that you will move on this matter as rapidly as is consistent with good practices.

Please give my regards to Bert and Fred. All my best to you.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

*Arkansas*
# Council On Human Relations

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REV. E. B. WILLIAMS
MR. MIKE WILLIS
MRS. DOROTHY OTIS WYRE

March 21, 1958

Mr. Fred B. Routh
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred Routh:

We are in the market for some sort of superman as Associate Director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. Fred Darragh, Chairman of the Personnel Committee asked that I pass this information to you for any advice you can give.

The enclosed sheet gives the consensus as to the qualifications and responsibilities. You of course know a great deal about what the job requires.

You may write us your advice and may have applicants to make inquiry of us.

Sincerely,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:cpw
Enc.

Associate Director
For
The Arkansas Council on Human Relations

- Qualifications and Responsibilities -

A Negro of the South or with considerable southern experience.

For certain functions a mature man with experience in working with professional and business men would be better.

A person with one special skill which furnishes more than ordinary incentive is preferred (one versed in Gandhian non-violence and committed to it or one skilled in social research are examples of what is meant here.) Extraordinary motivation and creative energy is demanded.

A person capable in matters of public relations, both with the colored and the white segments of the communicy. Particularly the associate Director will carry responsibility for reaching and working with the Negro citizens and leaders. He will need to gain and retain the confidence of ministers, teachers, parents, professional men, leaders of fraternal groups.

Much of the Associate Director's work will be done as a team-mate with the Director. His personal security and qualities should inspire trust and respect of the white citizens reached by the council. Inescapably, he becomes a representative of the "best" Negro and, unfairly perhaps, all Negro leaders are judged by his reputation among white leaders.

Arkansas
# Council On Human Relations

1220 W. CAPITOL TELEPHONE FR 4-4521

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*

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MR. MIKE WILLIS
MRS. DOROTHY OTIS WYRE

May 20, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

My schedule now is to arrive in Atlanta air port at 11:54 A.M., May 27. Will come directly to Atlanta University after lunch.

My return flight leaves at 6:05 P.M. on Wednesday. This will give some time after meeting to talk with Mr. Meserve, if that is needed, or with other staff people.

We still are not settled on an Associate Director. Reverend Charles C. Walker is giving half time to working with me. He is mature, sane, and has the respect of many citizens. Thought I might talk about this to some knowledgeable persons.

It will be good to see you.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

Mr DeKalb Record +

May 15, 1957

McCoy's Appliance

Whirlpool Dealer

FBR2
EV
PA
VC
DT
MM
MF (file)

May 23, 1958

Sent to each member of the Arkansas Board of Education

The enclosed suggestions represent a great deal of thoughtful work of a number of conscientious persons. The process of assembling them from individuals and in group discussion explains the lateness of our response.

You will note our organization is biracial. We think these constructive suggestions should be read with the awareness of this fact. They reflect again the cooperative and understanding spirit of some of our worthy Negro leaders.

We are sure these suggestions will be considered carefully in the spirit in which they are submitted, that of diligent search for enduring practical answers to our problems.

Sincerely,

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:cpw
Enc.

The Executive Committee
of
The Arkansas Council on Human Relations
Respectfully Submits
Suggestions Apropos the "Arkansas Plan"

to

The State Board of Education

I. Introduction

The sincere and devoted work of Mr. Herbert Thomas and his associates in an effort to break the impasse on school desegregation in Arkansas is cause for renewed hope. Their creative and forthright activities are a challenge to all who sincerely seek progress in this state and who would have Arkansas resume her leadership in the South.

We are gratified that this proposal recognizes the heavy responsibility for leadership resting on the State Board of Education, "the only agency primarily endowed with statewide responsibilities in educational affairs". He might have cited a worthy example of such leadership in this time as found in the Board of Education of Kentucky, our sister southern state. The prestige of your Board is such that merely by advice and suggestion widespread constructive activities may be started in local school districts.

Happily, too, this proposal points out that all citizens who hold the states to be primarily responsible for equitable citizenship rights are doubly obligated to act so as to establish these rights in practice. Accepting this obligation by such citizens would tremendously undergird your Board in its role of leadership in the days ahead.

II. Actions Proposed in the Plan

Our analysis finds five specific actions proposed to the Board. (This analysis passes over a number of suggestions for Arkansas in general.)

1. After court approval, appoint a biracial "Commission of able personnel....to guide and promote...this program," a commission "dedicated to the orderly conduct of the voluntary program" of "progress in the field of Negro education and in desegregation".

2. File an intervention in the petition by the Little Rock School Board in the Federal Court and "offer this plan, not just as a substitute for the Central High School Plan, but ....as a plan which justifies the dropping of a plan which has brought chaos, disorder and confusion to our program of race relations." In brief, the Board would intervene in the Court to get its acceptance of this Arkansas Plan for "progress in the field of Negro education and desegregation" in lieu of other pending or future plans in local districts.

3. Request the Governor, as action "supporting an orderly return to our voluntary State Plan", "to lend the weight of his good office in support of the Little Rock School Board in maintenance of adequate discipline during the remainder of the school year."

4. After this plan is implemented attempt to get all parties involved voluntarily to agree to withdraw all law suits dealing with racial questions.

5. If this plan proves inadequate, help formulate a workable plan in which formulation Mr. Thomas proffers his assistance.

III. Comments and Suggestions Concerning the Proposed Actions.

1. A Commission

We like the idea of a commission to assist school districts over the state. This seems to us the heart of the "State Plan of Voluntary Progress". We presume the Commission's first action would be to offer its good offices to the Little Rock School District. Members of the Commission may need to be selected with

this particularly urgent job in mind. To gain full confidence of persons concerned and responsible, the members of the Commission might be selected by some formula which combines the wishes of various regions of the state with those of various voluntary state organizations.

We think such a commission under the decision of the Supreme Court now has the latitude of time needed to operate freely in various situations. It seems to be a fact that in its "implementing" decision of 1955 the Court provided the time factor needed for "freedom to progress" which Mr. Thomas rightly desires. That decision, you are aware, largely followed the expressed wishes of Southern state officials who wanted local control and time for transition. The courts have demonstrated their "desire to be reasonable" since that decision. We have published our belief supported by evidence that any school district which takes an affirmative attitude toward the Court's decision on desegregation of the schools and will work in open good faith with the white and colored leaders in the community will not come under coercion from any court. Such a commission might make unnecessary further litigation, as Mr. Thomas suggests.

Furthermore, it seems to us the Commission can function so as to strengthen local control. It may find its most useful function in helping local districts to establish its counterparts, i.e. local biracial committees of citizens. Our organization from its inception has been dedicated to the voluntary solution of problems by local school districts through cooperative action of white and colored leaders. Mr. Thomas seems entirely correct: Negro leaders do not wish to be involved in litigation with attendant public disfavor. They have demonstrated continued willingness to meet on the basis of equal respect to solve real problems related to school desegregation.

On the other hand experience makes clear that use of the Commission by local districts will depend on the uninhibited freedom of Negro plaintiffs to appeal to the Courts. School officials in every section of the state openly declare that they will take no action without a court order. Therefore, any commitment in advance of Negro citizens to "refrain from undue aggressiveness" in the use of the courts is to withdraw the most effective incentive for voluntary use of the services of the Commission. Such commitment in advance also would mean that any use of the courts by the colored patrons would arouse public condemnation and charge of bad faith. This seems to pose an unfair dilemma for Negro citizens and, at the same time, would tend to make the Commission ineffectual.

We regard the establishing of this commission of primary importance. So much so, that we suggest that the Arkansas Board of Education establish the commission even if for any reason the Court in ruling on the Little Rock petition should not approve it. The Board seems to have ample authority to do this and its role in state education would give the commission prestige adequate for effective work.

2. Intervention in Court

To gain fullest legal backing for the proposed commission the State Board may wish to intervene in the Court and ask its approval for the commission.

However, from our knowledge of the plans and procedures of the Little Rock School District, we see no justification for your Board going the full length suggested by Mr. Thomas. He recommends going beyond the Board's request for a stay and asking the Court "to end a plan which we have tried but which did not work". As we interpret this it means the ending of one plan, however inadequate, without another or a promise of another. We question that such a summary ending of a "voluntary" plan in Little Rock, even if the Court approved, could ever be a successful starting point for a "state plan of voluntary progress". Our suggestion leaves to the Court judgement as to the injustice and consequences of ending summarily the Little Rock plan.

The Board in support of the Little Rock petition for delay might propose that the state commission would function during the

delay to help Little Rock work out a satisfactory plan and procedure to carry out the Court's order for desegregation. (We suggest the Court might find it more relevant if the Board proposed establishing a Little Rock biracial committee for this purpose.) To strengthen chances of acceptance of this role of the commission in Little Rock, we think the Board will have to give the Court concrete answers to certain questions. How long a delay is needed? What could the commission do in this period toward removing the obstacles to carrying out the Court's order? If such questions were answered the request for delay might then have meaning.

3. Request the Governor's Support for Little Rock.

Since the Court's hearing will be June 3, after the end of the school year, to have meaning this action would need to be carried out prior to approval of the Arkansas Plan by the Court. This action by the Board seems commendable, but would be apart from the proposal of Mr. Thomas to intervene in the Court.

4. Undertake to Get All Parties to Withdraw Law Suits.

Since we assume approval of the Commission by the Court would leave all parties free to negotiate in regard to disposal of pending suits, we see no serious objections to the proposal. If implementing the Arkansas Plan inspires confidence of all citizens in it to the degree that they agree to drop all suits, we would be happy. In this case the Board would have the pleasant role of peace maker.

We assume that establishing the Arkansas Plan presupposes the functions of the Sovereignty Commission become unnecessary; such functions pursued can but multiply litigation and racial strife which this plan is intended to end.

5. Formulate a More Adequate Plan.

Such a function seems proper for the State Board of Education.

Ours is a biracial organization which under our present charter has operated since 1955. (Under the name of Commission for Interracial Cooperation our activities go back to World War I.) During this time we have established firm lines of communication between many colored and white citizens and have accumulated considerable experience in inter-group relations. We are ready to share these assets with the State Board or its agency, the Commission.

IV. Conclusion

We come back where we began with emphasis on local responsibility. We who sincerely believe in local control of affairs are obligated especially to secure equal protection for all our citizens under the state and national constitutions. The alternative to such security through local action is the securing of these constitutional guarantees to citizens by branches of the federal government.

Our schools and our citizens look to you for leadership in the heavy responsibility that rests on us all to make progress in Arkansas.

Arkansas
# Council On Human Relations

1220 W. CAPITOL TELEPHONE FR 4-4521

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MRS. DOROTHY OTIS WYRE

June 25, 1958

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

Am writing a quarterly report at intervals in my business preparatory to leaving with a team from Little Rock for the Institute on Police-Community Relations at Texas A. & M., joint auspices of NCCJ and Texas Police School. Team includes four lay persons and three law enforcement officers. Quite exciting.

Will come alone to Fisk arriving at 10:55 AM, July 7. Chose an Associate Director who then backed out. See you there.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat Griswold

NRG:ra

June 25, 1958

Mr. Nat. R. Giswold,
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human
Relations
211 South Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

The copy of your excellent letter to Mr. William Ewald concerning prospects for consultations on Negro employment in Arkansas arrived during my absence from the city. I have had no communication from Mr. Ewald and I doubt whether Phil Hammer has since he did not mention it while we were together at another consultation last week.

I suggest that you follow this up before coming to Nashville to the staff meeting so that we can discuss possible next steps at that time.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

John Hope II
Chief Consultant

JH:rmd

cc: Fred Routh

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:
HCF's ltr. to Cartwright and Nat. Griswold (NOTE: Same ltr. sent
Arkansas Council on Human Relations to both as one.)

REGARDING:

Reporting to Rockefeller Brothers Fund periodically.

DATE

June 26, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

ACHR - C. S. Cartwright

VIA AIR MAIL

July 3, 1958

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 W. Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Thanks for the very interesting quarterly report. I trust we can look forward to early receipt of a report on finances of the Arkansas Council for the past quarter, so that the way will be open for another period of aid.

I am looking forward to seeing you at Fisk next week.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Nat

July 21, 1958

Mr. Hallock Hoffman
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hoffman:

I fear that our genuine appreciation of the Fund's help has not been communicated, though I trust it has been given practical expression in our efforts.

We are enclosing our quarterly program report (April, May, June). Also, a publication of the Arkansas Council of Churches, which we encouraged and distribute to ministers and members in small communities.

We were particularly gratified to have organized a team for the Institute on Police-Community Relations. Little Rock had in attendance two police sergeants and four civilians beside myself. Represented were the Council on Health and Welfare, P.T.A. Council, Hall High School, and Ministerial Association. This was a regional institute at Texas A. & M. patterned after the National Institute at Michigan State University and sponsored by law enforcement associations and the NCCJ. The team members all are enthusiastic and propose to interpret the Institute to as many organizations as will hear them.

Also, the Thomas Proposal to the Arkansas Board of Education and its discussion made an opening for some educational work which made us known and respected, we hope. There may be an opportunity later to make use of our new acquaintances to influence action.

If you do not object to receiving occasional reports we will continue sending them.

Sincerely,

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:ssd
Enc.
cc: Mr. Harold Fleming

July 23, 1958

Mr. Nat Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 W. Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

Thank you for your letter of July 21. Mr. Via is on vacation, but your letter will be called to his attention upon his return to the office.

We are mailing, under separate cover, twelve copies of INDUSTRIALIZATION: ACCENT ON THE SOUTH which you requested. We are also happy to mail copies of this booklet to the persons whose names and addresses you included in your letter.

If we can be of further help, please feel free to call on us.

Sincerely,

Luleen Sandefur
Secretary to Mr. Via

*Arkansas*
# Council On Human Relations

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July 21, 1958

Mr. Emory Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory Via:

Thanks for the reminder about Industrialization: Accent on the South.

I am enclosing a list of persons for you to mail copies direct.

In addition I would like twelve copies for selective distribution from our office, if copies are available. Already, I have made my list for mailing.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:ssd
Enc.

Did he get 12 for his office?
E.T.V.
8/6/58

done

William ~~Weld,~~ Ewald A.I.D.C., State Capitol, Little Rock

John L. Fletcher, Business Editor, Arkansas Gazette

William DuVall, Form Editor, Arkansas Gazette

Edward A. Martin, Associated Press, Democrat Building

~~Fisher, Crossett, Arkansas~~

V. H. Williams, 415 National Old Line Building, Little Rock

Odell Smith, 415 National Old Line Building, Little Rock

Henry Woods, National Old Line, Building, Little Rock

Jerome "Bill" Becker, 119 Glover Building, Little Rock

J. B. Grogan, 1315 West 2nd Street, Little Rock

Mr. McKinney, International Assoc. of Machinists, 921 National Old Line Building, Little Rock

Victor Ray, Editor, Union Labor Bulletin, Donaghey Building, Little Rock

Ed Freeman, Pine Bluff Commercial, Pine Bluff

VIA AIR MAIL

July 24, 1958

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 W. Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Thanks for your thoughtful letter about our meeting at the Fisk Institute. Your expense check is being processed and should be mailed to you shortly.

I am glad you felt that the sessions in Nashville were helpful to you in thinking through some of the Arkansas Council's approaches. I have every conviction that you and the Arkansas Council are growing steadily in insight and effectiveness and will play an important role in the ultimate resolution of the difficulties there. I will be thinking about you next Sunday when (hopefully) I watch the television program "Outlook," which is to feature the gubernatorial campaign.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

*Arkansas*
# Council On Human Relations

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MRS. DOROTHY OTIS WYRE

July 14, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

I am enclosing my expense for travel to staff meeting at Nashville.

Like Bob Hughes and the others I appreciate the value of staff meetings, though in the press of day-to-day activities I sometimes forget this. It is good for S.R.C. to remind me.

Some of the Institute program underscored what we have been increasingly aware of, namely, that Negro leaders have been driven back upon themselves until they more and more take the position that they must "go it alone". Nevertheless, directly or indirectly, it became apparent that even the extreme statements of Dr. L. Jones indicate the need now and later for a genuinely interracial organization at all levels. The Negroes in the vast majority of communities are not in a position to "go it alone". Even in communities such as Tuskegee once a solid victory is won, maybe before, the process of rebuilding wholesome unity can be done only by an interracial group. So, a salute to "most pathetic" us!

I thought S.R.C. made a solid contribution to the Institute program and demonstrated its increasingly strategic position.

Did I get any insights on the resolution of the impasse at Little Rock? Carmichal's glowing account and the panel discussions help make clear to me the basic question not only for Little Rock but the South: If school superintendents and boards refuse to shoulder responsibility clearly assigned by the Court, is there any way to make them act responsibly in the many administrative decisions which are exclusively theirs by

necessity? If not, then can court orders to desegregate be enforced? This is where Little Rock is at the moment. Is there a remedy in the courts? We had hoped so. In the Congress? Maybe, some provisions of the proposal by Senator Douglas et al may help. In the Executive Branch? With imaginative and bold leadership it might. (???)

It was good to see you and to see you more relaxed.

Sincerely,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:ssd
cc: Mr. Harry Meserve
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York
Enc.

CH
Please return

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MR. MIKE WILLIS
MRS. DOROTHY OTIS WYRE

August 6, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred Routh:

You should know that our Personnel Committee and Executive Committee have employed Mr. John W. Walker as Associate Director and Mrs. Velma Powell as Secretary and Program Assistant. Mr. Walker begins work on August 15; Mrs. Powell on September 8.

I am enclosing a brief summary of John Walker's qualifications.

We were delighted to have Mrs. Powell return. You remember she separated from us with great regret because of our temporary financial limitations. She went to the counseling service of the Red Cross here. She is very happy to come back.

So we think we have a good "team" for what seems rough sledding ahead. (I am not sure a cold figure is the most appropriate!)

We had a very encouraging dinner-conference last night with some real "brains" from our Negro citizens. Purpose: to appraise and redirect our efforts in Little Rock with special regard for our responsibility to the Negroes. We will have a larger group together on August 21. ( We are taking our cue from the religious tradition in Arkansas: hot months are the time for revivals!! A little hard on the preacher!)

Sincerely,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:ssd
Enc.
cc: Mr. Harry Meserve

## Summary of John W. Walker

Native of Hope, Arkansas, two years in High School at Houston, Texas; graduate of A.M. & N. College, Sociology major with Dr. T.C. Cothran who commends him highly. "Best Debater" in the Southern Conference in 1957 and 1958. Editor of the college paper; chairman Collegiate Chapter of U.N. Chairman of the Planning Committee, Methodist Youth Fellowship workshop for the Jurisdiction, now in session; first Negro to chair this group. Delegate to the National Student Congress in 1957 at University of Michigan.

This guy is disarmingly modest but sharp as a brier. We think he can open up some new areas for us with Negroes and with students.

August 11, 1958

Mr. Nat Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capital
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Congratulations on finding Mr. John W. Walker and refinding Mr. Velma Powell. It would seem that the Arkansas Council will now go full steam ahead. Mr. Walker sounds like an excellent chap with a good background.

I am interested in the dinner conference with Negro leaders, and the proposed meeting with the larger group on the 21st of August. After the 21st, would you please write us and let us know the outcome of both meetings. A copy of the report would be helpful to Harry Meserve, too. I was glad to see that you sent him a copy of your letter to me.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

August 14, 1958

Dr. John Hope II
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John Hope:

Mrs. Gordon McNeil, whom you may remember from meeting her at Aldersgate and NAIRC conference in Kansas City, presented a matter to me which you may be able to help in. She has presented a manuscript for a book having to do with prejudice in growing children to the Public Affairs Press which published your pamphlet I believe.

Dr. M. B. Schnapper wrote her about her manuscript as follows: "It appears to be a distinctly important work and we are some what favorably disposed toward publishing it". He asked her about getting some foundation to take part of the risk of publishing. I believe she is writing the Fund for Republic. We thought you might know Mr. Schnapper and might put a plug in for publishing when the occasion arises.

Man we are reeling from the results of our elections. Some day we surely will hit the bottom and will have to start up.

Sincerely,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:cpw

8-16-58

Gazette

# State to Hunt Reds as Cause Of Racial Strife

The Arkansas Legislative Council yesterday authorized its Special Education Committee and Attorney General Bruce Bennett to hold public hearings to determine if the Communist Party is responsible for the "racial unrest" in the state.

The Council said that Bennett could use his subpoena power to summon witnesses, documents and papers "that may be of value" at the hearings. The Committee will report its findings to the Council.

Bennett said that a number of witnesses "thoroughly familiar with Communist procedure and history will be called to determine the interest of the Communist Party in fomenting racial strife."

He said the date of the hearings had not been determined but that they would be held before January 1.

This is the second state group with investigative powers but apparently there is little conflict with the other, the Sovereignty Commission. Its principal function is to protect the State of Arkansas from encroachment by the federal government and its only direct link with the racial question is its power to give advice and legal counsel to any school district in any lawsuit relating to school integration.

**Work of Van Dalsem**

The hearings were set up in a resolution submitted to the Council by Representative Paul Van Dalsem of Perry County, chairman of the Education Committee. The resolution was approved unanimously at an executive session held after the regular meeting.

Van Dalsem said in the resolution that the people of Arkansas had lived in harmony for 150 years.

But, the resolution went on, it now appears that there may be individuals or organizations "designedly creating and fomenting strife and racial unrest." Communism breeds on strife and turmoil, the resolution said, and it is in the public interest to pinpoint who is causing it.

Bennett, who has said several times that officials of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have received "Communist front citations" and who has several lawsuits pending against the NAACP, was asked if the hearings would be aimed at that organization.

"They're aimed at the Communist Party," he insisted.

**Statement by Bennett**

However, Bennett issued a statement in which he said:

"It is significant to me that the NAACP Legal Defense Fund has stated under oath that they received only $186.41 from donors

(See HUNT on Page 2A)

ZETTE, Sat., Aug. 16, 1958.

# Hunt

(Continued from Page 1.)

in Arkansas last year. However, the president of the Arkansas NAACP [Mrs. L. C. Bates of Little Rock] recently stated that they had spent some $50,000 in our state in the last year. This money came from the New York NAACP. The Legislative Council wants to know why, with all the racial trouble in the East and in the North, those same people are interested in creating trouble among people in Arkansas who have lived harmoniously together for the last 150 years."

Bennett said that other organizations also would be called to testify about their aims, membership and financial status.

The attorney general said he would begin work next week on the list of persons who would be subpoenaed to testify. Bennett said that the list would include persons who are former members of the Communist Party.

Bennett promised that he and the Education Committee would hold dignified hearings.

Other members of the Council's Special Education Committee are Senators J. Lee Bearden of Leachville, Charles F. ("Rip") Smith of West Memphis, Clifton Wade of Fayetteville, Tom Allen of Brinkley and Max Howell of Little Rock, and Representatives E. C. Fleeman of Mississippi County, John P. Bethell of Prairie County, Marcus J. Powell of Phillips County, Marion H. Crank of Little River County, C. C. Hollensworth of Bradley County and Joel Y. Ledbetter of Pulaski County.

# Justice

(Continued from Page 1.)

ever heard of," Judge Millwee said. "All I am interested in is just getting an accurate and honest tabulation of the vote."

Judge Millwee said he still thought that the official certification would show that he had won the race. "According to the

# Bennett's Legal War With NAACP Poised for Hot Battles During Fall

By GEORGE BENTLEY
Of the Gazette Staff

Attorney General Bruce Bennett's legal war with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and an affiliated organization is poised for some hot skirmishes during September.

Bennett's battle with the NAACP and its Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc.—which has been going on for about a year now with battlegrounds in six different lawsuits in Pulaski County—slackened a little during political campaigns for the Democratic primaries but will resume in about a month with renewed vigor.

Here are some factors which will come into play next month:

**1.** Pulaski Circuit Judge J. Mitchell Cockrill, before whom three of Bennett's suits are pending, is taking a two-week vacation after winning renomination. Cockrill will be back on the bench early in September to hear an objection to 21 questions which Bennett recently filed for answering by Thurgood Marshall, director-counsel of the Fund.

**2.** Bennett plans to wait until after Cockrill rules on Marshall's objection before taking depositions from eight witnesses he has subpoenaed.

**3.** Three suits involving the NAACP are on appeal to the state Supreme Court, including one on the question of whether Bennett has a right to subpoena the records, books and financial data of the NAACP. The Court will convene in September.

**4.** Motions to see NAACP records are pending in two of the cases in Cockrill's court. If Bennett gets a favorable ruling from the state Supreme Court it would have a bearing on whether he will get to see the same records in the two other actions.

The three cases before the state Supreme Court: Two are on appeal by the NAACP from Little Rock and North Little Rock Municipal Courts testing the validity of the Bennett ordinance which requires certain organizations such as the NAACP to file information reports with cities. The third case is on appeal by the NAACP from Pulaski Chancery Court where Judge Murray O. Reed granted to Bennett several months ago a default judgment against the NAACP for $350.

This judgment was for state franchise taxes at $50 a year for seven years which Bennett alleged the NAACP had operated in Arkansas. Reed granted the judgment because the NAACP declined to turn over its records to Bennett as ordered by Reed. It is on this one question that the NAACP hopes to reverse Judge Reed in the state Supreme Court.

If the NAACP succeeds in reversing Reed, the case will come back to Reed's court for trial and Bennett will have to proceed without benefit of the records in his effort to collect the $350 plus 25 per cent penalty, which the NAACP has deposited in the Court registry.

It was after going to Chancery Court that Bennett filed two suits against the NAACP and two against the Legal Defense and Education Fund in Pulaski Circuit Court. Three of these are before Cockrill and one before Circuit Judge Guy Amsler.

### First Two Cases

The first two of these cases were filed in Cockrill's Court. They were: A suit filed August 26, 1957, against the Fund, asking for a $5,000 penalty for alleged failure of the Fund to register to do business in Arkansas. A suit filed October 10, 1957, against the NAACP proper, also for a $5,000 penalty for alleged failure to register with the state.

It was in these two suits that Bennett next began efforts to obtain NAACP records, after having failed in Chancery Court. In the suit against the Fund, he filed a motion for the records October 22, 1957, and in the suit against the NAACP proper he filed a motion for the records November 13, 1957.

Judge Cockrill never has ruled on either motion and both apparently are in abeyance for the Supreme Court decision on the Chancery Court suit.

### Marshall Asks Denial

In the suit against the Fund, Thurgood Marshall filed a motion November 14 asking Cockrill to deny Bennett's request. Marshall contended that it would work a hardship on the Fund officials to make the records available to Bennett and besides, they were not necessary for Bennett's prosecution of the case. The Fund has argued that it doesn't do business in Arkansas and has no headquarters or officers in the state.

In this motion Marshall said the hardships "outweighed" [Bennett's] reasons for requiring production of the documents, etc. * * * rather than use of interrogatories of the defendant." This apparently was a hint for Bennett to try the interrogatory approach for gaining NAACP information.

Roy Finch Jr., Bennett's chief assistant, termed it a "merry chase" led by the NAACP, by mentioning that when Bennett finally got around to filing interrogatories, Marshall objected to them.

### Statement Filed

for the fact that racial tension existed.

### Bennett's Reply

To this Bennett replied with a motion to strike the affidavits as "an attempt to interject racial questions in the suit and to receive sympathy from the Court and from any one who reads the affidavits." Judge Cockrill has not ruled on this motion to strike.

After filing his statement December 5, Booker wrote a letter for Marshall to Cockrill (made a part of the Court file) saying he thought the information supplied in the statement would answer Bennett's request for information with the exception of names and addresses of donors.

Finch, speaking for Bennett, said the statement did not satisfy the motion for the records since it did not list any Arkansas officers of the Fund and that Bennett would pursue his objective of obtaining the actual records.

Nevertheless, Bennett apparently got enough information from the records to go ahead with what he called his "big gun attack" on the NAACP.

On December 16, just 11 days later, he filed a petition with the state Supreme Court seeking concurrent jurisdiction with the Bar Rules Committee in prohibiting the illegal or unauthorized practice of law. He apparently changed his mind about the tactics he would use and dismissed this petition in three days.

### 'Big Gun' Suits

On December 23 he filed the "big gun" suits in Circuit Court, one before Cockrill and the other before Amsler. The suit before Amsler asked for an injunction to stop the NAACP proper from operating in Arkansas because its "agents, servants and employes"—an apparent reference to the affiliated Fund—practiced law illegally in Arkansas, Bennett alleged. A corporation may not practice law under state law.

The suit in Cockrill's Court asked for a similar injunction against the Fund. If granted, the injunction would bar the NAACP and the Fund from the state. This appears to be the goal Bennett has aimed for right along. He apparently wanted the records of the two organizations to supply the ammunition for his main attack. Finch said Marshall's statement provided evidence to substantiate some of the allegations contained in the suits for injunctions.

### NAACP Denies Charges

The NAACP and the Fund resisted by denying charges that they were practicing law in Arkansas. They also demurred to both suits on the ground that Bennett did not have authority to try to stop alleged illegal practice of law.

**Marshall Asks Denial**

In the suit against the Fund, Thurgood Marshall filed a motion November 14 asking Cockrill to deny Bennett's request. Marshall contended that it would work a hardship on the Fund officials to make the records available to Bennett and besides, they were not necessary for Bennett's prosecution of the case. The Fund has argued that it doesn't do business in Arkansas and has no headquarters or officers in the state.

In this motion Marshall said the hardships "outweighed" [Bennett's] reasons for requiring production of the documents, etc. * * * rather than use of interrogatories of the defendant." This apparently was a hint for Bennett to try the interrogatory approach for gaining NAACP information.

Roy Finch Jr., Bennett's chief assistant, termed it a "merry chase" led by the NAACP, by mentioning that when Bennett finally got around to filing interrogatories, Marshall objected to them.

**Statement Filed**

In an effort to satisfy Bennett's curiosity about NAACP records, Marshall filed on December 5 a statement on Fund activities in Arkansas during the past five years. The statement included this information:

It listed the national officers, members of the Board of Directors, former officers, executive employes, private attorneys on annual retainers, former executive employes and several other persons connected with the Fund. Among those listed was U. Simpson Tate of Dallas, Tex., as an attorney on an annual retainer.

The statement also listed Dr. Vernon McDaniel of Tuskegee, Ala., as a part-time educational specialist during 1954 and 1955. The statement listed nine speeches made by Fund representatives in Arkansas from June 1953 through November 1956.

The statement also listed as an activity in Arkansas a survey of integration attitudes in 20 Arkansas cities which it said Dr. McDaniel made from October 15, 1954, to August 30, 1955.

Bennett first used this information publicly when he said in a speech at Forrest City on June 24 that an NAACP "task force" had surveyed integration attitudes in Arkansas in 1954 and 1955.

The December 5 statement by Marshall mentioned these monetary compensations to attorneys: $500 paid to Wiley A. Branton of Pine Bluff and $000 (obviously a tyopgraphical error and probably meant to be $500) paid to J. R. Booker of Pine Bluff, both for their services on the same suit in which they represented the Fund in Bennett's attack; $1,000 to Branton for his services in another case, and two payments, $350 and $150, to Thad Williams of Little Rock for legal services in two other cases.

Marshall said the Fund helped to defray expenses of attorneys hired by individual clients in civil rights litigation. He said the Fund offered all its services gratuitously.

**Contributions Listed**

The statement listed these contributions in Arkansas to the Fund during the past five years. 1953 — 34 donors contributed $746.75; in 1954—8 donors contributed $619; in 1955—8 donors contributed $1,333; in 1956—11 donors contributed $144; and in 1957—8 donors contributed $186.41. Contributions totaling $3,029.16 during the five years.

Marshall objected to naming the contributors and giving their addresses on the ground that racial tension over the Central High School situation would cause embarrassment to the donors. Supporting this argument, Marshall filed an affidavit by a New York Negro newspaperman about how he was abused while covering mob violence at Central High, and another affidavit by a Little Rock Negro preacher vouching before Amsler. The suit before Amsler asked for an injunction to stop the NAACP proper from operating in Arkansas because its "agents, servants and employes"—an apparent reference to the affiliated Fund—practiced law illegally in Arkansas, Bennett alleged. A corporation may not practice law under state law.

The suit in Cockrill's Court asked for a similar injunction against the Fund. If granted, the injunction would bar the NAACP and the Fund from the state. This appears to be the goal Bennett has aimed for right along. He apparently wanted the records of the two organizations to supply the ammunition for his main attack. Finch said Marshall's statement provided evidence to substantiate some of the allegations contained in the suits for injunctions.

**NAACP Denies Charges**

The NAACP and the Fund resisted by denying charges that they were practicing law in Arkansas. They also demurred to both suits on the ground that Bennett did not have authority to try to stop alleged illegal practice of law.

Judge Cockrill and Amsler — since Bennett's jurisdiction was questioned in both cases — held a joint hearing on the demurrer March 21 and signed an order May 15 holding that he had such authority under his common law powers.

This was a green light for him to go ahead. He would have been out of court if he had lost the ruling on the demurrers.

Branton wrote a letter to Cockrill May 25 objecting to the ruling on the ground that it only pertained to Bennett's authority and did not go into another question raised by the demurrer —that the two suits did not state enough facts to constitute a cause of action.

**Amendment Filed**

Bennett replied by filing an amendment to the suits, bringing into the case certain Arkansas laws which he alleged the defendant corporations were violating. But the point raised by Branton is still awaiting a ruling.

Bennett finally got around to filing interrogatories for Marshall to answer — the same set of 21 questions in both suits. Marshall objected to 19 of them on the ground that they were "burdensome and improper." He answered these two:

Regarding the salary Dr. McDaniel was paid when he made his survey in Arkansas cities in 1954 and 1955, Marshall said he was paid at the rate of $6,000 a year. Regarding Dr. McDaniel's present residence, Marshall gave an Austin, Tex., address as the last which the Fund knew of.

He won't have to answer the other questions — all of which concern the alleged "task force" participating in the survey — until after a hearing on his objections.

Then Bennett wants to take depositions — transcribed testimony before a notary which may be introduced later as evidence —from these witnesses: Mrs. L. C. Bates of Little Rock, state president of the NAACP; Mrs. Birdie Williams of North Little Rock, president of the city's NAACP chapter; Branton; Gwendolyn Floyd of Little Rock, principal of Booker T. Washington School; Teresa Warren of Brinkley, a teacher at Marian Andreson High School; Thad Williams; D. L. Grace of Fort Smith, an attorney in the Van Buren integration case, and Bertha Pitts of DeWitt.

---

## He Got Stung

Rantowles, S. C., Aug. 16 (AP).—Truck driver Edgar F. Fipps, 50, of Charlotte, N. C., trying to shoo off a bee that had lighted on his hand, swerved into the wrong lane of U. S. 17 near here. Arthur S. Black, 16, of Charleston, pulled his truck off the road to avoid a collision and overturned. Injuries: One slightly swollen hand by Fipps, who got stung after all.

August 19, 1958

Mr. Nat Griswold
1220 W. Captial
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

I am enclosing our check in the sum of $200 which represents the contribution made to the Arkansas Council by Mr. H. Charles Johnston. In order to cover tax exempt requirements we have to run his check through our books; that is why we did not endorse and return his check to you.

Enclosed is our receipt for $200. This may be used by Mr. Johnston for tax exempt purposes. We leave it to you to thank him for the contribution.

Congratulations on turning up so healthy a donation.

Regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
encls: check and receipt

August 25, 1958

AIR MAIL

Mr. Nat R. Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear ~~Mr. Griswold~~ NAT:

We can probably let you have up to two hundred copies of the May New South containing the Gainesville ministers' statement, if you think you can conveniently use New South for this purpose.

We are not certain whether you are interested in New South or some other reproduction of the statement. If you are interested in New South, we could let you have these copies free of charge since they apparently are for an excellent purpose.

Please let me know if you can conveniently use the New South for the members of the group you spoke of, and I will get them in the mail.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

*Arkansas*
# Council On Human Relations

1220 W. CAPITOL TELEPHONE FR 4-4521

*LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS*

*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*

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**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD *Executive Director*
JOHN W. WALKER *Associate Director*
VELMA POWELL *Sec'y and Program Assistant*

August 22, 1958

Mr. John Constable,
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. John Constable,

A group needs a basic statement of the issue of desegregation. Members have concluded that the statement of the Gainesville, Georgia ministers in ~~1955~~ is about the best they have seen.
May 1958, N and Smith

The question which they have is what is the most inexpensive way of getting multiple copies. They, perhaps, would use some 200 if they can be obtained inexpensively. Otherwise, they might use some 25 copies and work out some means of acquainting others with the content.

Will you please advise us promptly on this matter.

Respectfully yours,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

September 10, 1958

Mr. Nat Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

I have just discovered that the reason Mrs. Tilly didn't answer Mrs. Terry's letter was because there was not a return address either on the letter or the envelope!

When I wrote her we used the address you gave Harold over the phone. You might explain to Mrs. Terry the reason for our apparent dereliction.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

September 12, 1958

Mr. Nat Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

This is a belated acknowledgment of your letter of August 18. I had meant to write a responsive note on forwarding the Times-Dispatch editorial refuting the false pro-Communist charges against SRC. This, it seems to us, is an effective piece of Defense material - especially considering the source.

We're prepared to join in combatting any such charges - or other harrassment - that may be directed at ACHR. Keep us posted.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

Arkansas
# Council On Human Relations

1220 W. CAPITOL TELEPHONE FR 4-4521

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**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD
*Executive Director*
JOHN W. WALKER
*Associate Director*
VELMA POWELL
*Sec'y and Program Assistant*

August 18, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming,

The enclosed is for your information. If the pattern is similar to that followed in Louisiana, SRC may be involved and ACHR. We are finding out about legal limits of the Legislative Council and State's Attorney - powers and ground rules.

As in the past our policy will be to avoid hurtful involvement if possible, but to be prepared to defend ourselves if necessary.

Send any suggestions or ideas you may have.

Sincerely,

Nat. R. Griswold,
Executive Director

CONFIDENTIAL

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

September 16, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: Harold Fleming

From: Fred Routh

Re: Situation in Little Rock - report of telephone conversation with Nat Griswold

The city of Little Rock at least on the surface is calm. There is the obvious presence of the U. S. Marshals. There is a growing ground-swell, according to reporters with whom Nat has talked, to re-open the closed high schools, even on a desegregated basis. This sentiment got a shot in the arm when the school board voted to cancel all football games, dances, and other school activities for this semester since the schools are closed.

There is some evidence that the state would like to open a "private" segregated school system but fears that the federal government has anticipated this move and is prepared to counter it. Governor Faubus is trying desperately to hang the monkey on the back of the federal government but the man on the street is beginning to recognize Mr. Faubus as the hand-organ player.

Mrs. Terry, who has been in touch with Mrs. Tilly, is holding a meeting of church women. She reported to Nat that interest in this has increased terrifically, that many more people than she originally expected now want to come to the meeting.

A group believing in the non-violent approach to social problems has held an eighteen hour vigil in one of the Little Rock churches, praying for acceptance by the community of the court order. This was covered by the press, radio, and TV. Nat worked with the sponsoring group.

The State Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Commission has asked the Arkansas Council to do a study on the status of desegregation and civil rights in Arkansas. They have asked Cartwright to do the writing.

-:-

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

September 23, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: Harold Fleming

From: Fred Routh

Subj: Little Rock - a report of a phone conversation with Nat Griswold

The sixty-one lawyers who signed the statement opposing closed schools and "private" schools represent the cream of the Little Rock Bar Association.

The president of the student body at Hall High School polled the students; 70% voted for an open, desegregated school! This has caused quite a stir in Little Rock.

The Boards of two churches have gone on record opposing the closing of schools and defiance of the Court decision. Two ministers - one at Brooks Hays' home parish - preached sermons urging compliance with the Court decision.

The "ladies" went to the TV stations and asked for equal time to answer Faubus' speech of the other night. One TV station has granted this, the other will probably do so, too. The "ladies" have a panel all set to go - three lawyers and three laymen - who will hit at the constitutionality of the "private" school plans. The Arkansas Council has had quite a part in this.

-:-

c. c. John Hope II
C. H. Parrish

Ark Council HR

October 2, 1958

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Mayesville
South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

We were delighted to learn you can be with us on October 30.

We will have an evening meeting, but hope you can plan to be with us a day or two at least.

We will wait until that date to discuss "Little Rock" with you.

Thanks for coming.

Sincerely,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp
cc - Fred Routh ✓ will write later

October 14, 1958

Mr. Nat Griswold, Exec. Dir.
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

We are putting your 100 copies of the Dabbs transcript in the mail today.

As to the books, as yet there is no paperback volume. We are expecting a consignment of 100 copies from Knopf within the next few days and can mail you two copies or more if you like at $2.50 per copy. Let me know your desires in this matter.

With best wishes for your meeting.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/bec

Arkansas
# Council On Human Relations

1220 W. CAPITOL TELEPHONE FR 4-4521

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*

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MR. MIKE WILLIS
MRS. DOROTHY OTIS WYRE

October 13, 1958

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John Constable:

We would like to have 100 copies of Mike Wallace's interview with Mr. Dabbs. We will appreciate having these as quickly as possible to use in our advance notices of the ACHR annual meeting.

Has Mr. Dabbs book, "The Southern Heritage," been printed in paper back form? If so we would like to have multiple copies available for our meeting on October 30. If it has not been done in paper back, what would be the most economical way for us to have several copies of the regular edition available?

Sincerely,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp

*Arkansas*
# Council On Human Relations

1220 W. CAPITOL TELEPHONE FR 4-4521

*LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS*

*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*

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MR. WALTER TRULOCK
MRS. J. R. VINSON
REV. E. B. WILLIAMS
MR. MIKE WILLIS
MRS. DOROTHY OTIS WYRE

October 16, 1958

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John Constable:

If you can spare them for us immediately, send eight (8) copies of Dabbs' book at $2.50 per copy.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold
by ra

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

*Arkansas*
# Council On Human Relations

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**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD, *Executive Director*
JOHN W. WALKER, *Associate Director*
VELMA POWELL, *Sec'y and Program Assistant*

November 7, 1958

Dear Member:

Our annual meeting with James M. Dabbs at Hotel Grady Manning proved to be an encouraging and stimulating occasion. Forty-six had dinner together. More than a hundred participated in the discussion led by Mr. Dabbs and chaired by Mr. W. M. Phillips. Mrs. Kyle Engler was named chairman for 1959.

Action taken included the following:

1. Constitutional provision for organization of local groups with encouragement from the state staff and Board.

2. Increase in membership dues effective January 1, 1959, $5.00 for individuals, $6.50 for couples.

3. Distribution of the statement, "Just a Reminder" to all members. See enclosure.

The financial report indicated that $1,600 should be raised in the state during October, November, December in order to meet ACHR's commitment to raise $4,000. Any help you can give?

Members in communities over the state may be able to use a tape recording of Mr. Dabbs' remarks, which have yet to be edited. You will find "something added" by Mr. Dabbs both on the tape and especially in his book, Southern Heritage.

Can you get together with other members of ACHR and like-minded persons in your town? Members of the staff or any Board member will be delighted to meet with you and talk over "what can we do."

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold
NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

John Walker
JOHN W. WALKER
Associate Director

*Affiliate of Southern Regional Council*
*Atlanta, Georgia*

# JUST A REMINDER

This annual meeting of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations is the fourth.

At the first, held in Gardner Memorial Methodist Church in North Little Rock, the speaker was Irene Osborne who had done special work in community relations with groups in Washington, D. C., prior to school desegregation there. Her views were discussed by a panel of persons concerned with schools, including Mrs. George G. Meyers, Mr. Virgil Blossom, Dr. T. C. Cothran, Mrs. Kyle Engler, Mrs. William J. Massie, and Mr. Paul E. Parks. The subject was "Developing Community Responsibility for School Integration."

At the second annual meeting in 1956, Dr. Robert D. Snyder of the St. Louis Council on Human Relations, Superintendent of Parkway Consolidated School, St. Louis County, gave "a factual account of the preparation for, initiation and operation of a plan for school desegregation." A luncheon was held for Dr. Snyder with civic, educational, and religious leaders, including three school superintendents, Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, President of the Community Council, the President and Vice-President of the Ministerial Association. Dr. Snyder described the St. Louis Council on Human Relations, its work and relation to the city's government.

At the third annual meeting, Miss Lillian Smith, Southern author, spoke on the subject, "No Easy Way Now" appraising the human and social forces involved in the South's dilemma.

At this fourth meeting, James McBride Dabbs is our speaker. He is president of the Southern Regional Council, a native of South Carolina, a farmer on the place where he "grew up." His book, Southern Heritage, was released by Knopf in August and deserves the description of a "classic statement of the enlightened Southern view of race relations in the long perspective of history."

This resumé of the programs at our annual meetings indicates that the Arkansas Council on Human Relations from the first has been devoted to the purpose of helping Arkansas communities to get through these years of transition with a minimum of disturbance and harm, and to the method of education and democratic interaction among individuals and groups.

In its folder of 1955, ACHR said of its focus: "It supports all efforts toward abundant life for all people--economic, domestic, recreational, and religious life....It undertakes to aid local communities in Arkansas to actualize the spirit and letter of those decisions (of the Supreme Court, 1954, 1955). It is committed to the view that the people of each community with integrity can achieve this without enduring bitterness....While the Council has a point of view on human relations, it fosters

a climate of opinion in which people of different views may work amicably toward a better life for all Arkansans....It accepts the faith of all high religions, faith in men as the children of God and brothers of one another."

In a pamphlet in 1956, "Simple Steps," ACHR reiterated its aim and approach, thus: "Because swift and smooth progress in the schools is so important at this historic moment, the Arkansas Council on Human Relations makes available these suggestions for community leaders....They are for those who seek a clear course of action in harmony with the law; those who seek sound and just solutions to recognized problems, without community discord or bitterness; those who ceaselessly seek to improve the education of all the children. Note, these are procedures, not solutions; but procedures validated by a number of communities where smooth and steady progress has been made toward full compliance with the law." In a foreword, the following influential persons affirmed the belief that these STEPS "deserve careful consideration by responsible local school people": George M. Reynolds, Bishop Paul E. Martin, Bishop W. R. Wilkes, The Reverend Roy L. Davis, Rabbi Ira E. Sanders, The Reverend W. O. Vaught,Jr., Dr. M. Lafayette Harris, Dr. Robert A. Leflar, Bishop R. Bland Mitchell, Harry S. Ashmore, Dr. John Q. Schisler.

In a folder in 1957, the Council described its work thus: "It uses and advocates the workshop and conference table before tensions tighten between the races rather than after they develop. It believes that the opportunities guaranteed in our Constitution can be made real to all citizens by majority leaders of local communities working together in mutual respect and good faith with minority leaders....This is the effective way for a community to 'get ahead' and to speed progress in Arkansas." Also, "the staff and state office is a service agency: a clearing house of literature and films, funded experience and facts from research, suggestive of action to local groups,...a center for ideas and information."

These quotations may serve to remind members of the nature of ACHR, its purpose and methods. In these days our self-image may become blurred!

Arkansas Council on Human Relations

Minutes - Executive Committee Meeting
October 14, 1958

Present: Cartwright, Johnston, Willis, C. Walker, Darragh, Woods, Griswold, J. Walker, Powell.

The Executive Committee of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations met on the above date. The meeting was called to order by the Chairman, Mr. Cartwright. Minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved. Treasurer's report was accepted and filed: Balance August 31, 1958 $1,143.40; Income in September $133.40; Expenditures in September $1,073.18; Balance on hand September 30, 1958 $203.62.

Mr. Cartwright made a report on letters which had been sent to influential people from the Council relative to the present situation.

Annual meeting plans were discussed. Date set for October 30, 1958. Special guest and speaker to be Mr. James McBride Dabbs, President of Southern Regional Council and author of Southern Heritage. Time schedule arranged as follows: Dinner at 6:00 p.m., Business Meeting at 6:45 p.m., Guest Speaker at 8:00 p.m. Meeting place to be arranged by Mr. Cartwright and staff.

Executive Committee recommended the following items of business for consideration of members: (1) amend the constitution under Article IX to provide a section whereby the state organization would encourage local organizations for intergroup activities; (2) change the By-Laws in order for the fiscal year of the Council to run from January 1 to December 31 instead of from October 1 to September 30; (3) change By-Laws to raise dues from $3.00 individual membership to $5.00 and $4.00 husband and wife membership to $6.50 to become effective January 1959.

Mr. Cartwright stated that the Nominating Committee had been appointed with the Rev. Charles Walker as Chairman.

Mr. Johnston, Finance Chairman, reported Council must raise $1,600 by the end of December. Discussed plans and asked for suggestions from Committee. Stated Finance Committee would be glad to write or contact any person turned in as a prospect. Plan one more concentrated effort to raise the money before the end of the year.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

Adell Woods

Mrs. Adell T. Woods
Secretary

Arkansas Council on Human Relations

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October 14, 1958

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Respectfully submitted,

Adell Woods

Mrs. Adell T. Woods
Secretary

November 14, 1958

Mr. Nat Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Enclosed is a memo outlining what the Council did regarding allocations to state organizations for 1959. I wish it had been possible to give you all that the Arkansas Council needed. You will note that Arkansas' allocation is the median. We obviously took into account the special grant from the RFB in making our decision.

Best of luck in the year ahead.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosure

Ark. Council

November 19, 1958

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

The Dabbs' books did not arrive in time for your meeting. Do you still want to purchase some copies of the book, if so, do you want the same number you mentioned in your earlier letter?

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

November 25, 1958

Mr. Nat Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 W. Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Thank you for informing us of the election of new officers of the Arkansas Council. How about giving us a thumb-nail sketch of Mrs. Engler and Mrs. Woods. I believe we have information on the others.

What will be Bert Cartwright's relationship to the Arkansas Council now? I trust he was kept on the Board and Executive Committee. He is a valuable and articulate person and we should continue to make use of his talents.

My best to all the gang.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

Arkansas
# Council On Human Relations

1220 W. CAPITOL TELEPHONE FR 4-4521

LITTLE ROCK. ARKANSAS

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**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD
*Executive Director*
JOHN W. WALKER
*Associate Director*
VELMA POWELL
*Sec'y and Program Assistant*

November 19, 1958

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred Routh:

The following officers were elected for the Arkansas Council at the annual meeting on October 30:

| | |
|---|---|
| Chairman | Mrs. Kyle Engler<br>836 North Highland<br>Fayetteville, Arkansas |
| Vice-Chairman | Dr. Tilman C. Cothran<br>A. M. & N. College<br>Pine Bluff, Arkansas |
| Vice-Chairman | Mrs. E. M. Sparling<br>Route #5<br>Hot Springs, Arkansas |
| Secretary | Mrs. Jesse B. Woods<br>1919 Ringo Street<br>Little Rock, Arkansas |
| Treasurer | The Rev. Charles C. Walker<br>1216 Chester Street<br>Little Rock, Arkansas |

Sincerely,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp

November 26, 1958

Mr. Nat Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 W. Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

At the recent NAIRO meeting the question was raised: Are there any white citizens in Little Rock who would be interested in bringing a taxpayer's suit to halt the expenditure of public funds now being used to support private education? This referred to the grants-in-aid now going to parents of kids attending the private schools.

I allowed as how you would know more about the possibilities than anyone else. What are the possibilities? Please let me hear from you as soon as possible.

One school of thought has it that this action is logically a part of the on-going legal action of the NAACP - perhaps it should be. You might ask Daisy about this, too.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

FBR - Assume you're getting the new officers registered in our files, lists, etc. HCF

HCF

F4! return FBR

# Arkansas Council On Human Relations

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MR. WALTER TRULOCK
MRS. J. R. VINSON
REV. E. B. WILLIAMS
MR. MIKE WILLIS
MRS. DOROTHY OTIS WYRE

December 1, 1958

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred Routh:

In regard to white citizens bringing a taxpayer's suit to halt the expenditure of public funds, there has been considerable discussion. I can merely give you what information I have and comments.

No school district funds are being allotted to support private education. The Court of Appeals blocked that.

There is a group of white parents willing to bring a suit testing the law which permits the Governor to close integrated schools. At the moment, this group is waiting on the mandate from the Court of Appeals to Judge Miller. There is hope that this mandate may be explicit enough to lead Judge Miller "a la Skelly Wright of Louisiana" to advise the school board that the state laws are to be ignored in carrying out the Court's direction.

As we understand it, the NAACP legal plans depend upon the mandate from the Court of Appeals and Junge Miller's subsequent instructions. The NAACP we believe wishes to avoid a new suit and would attack the legislation of Arkansas by bringing new parties into the present suit. We understand their attornies have a suit briefed and ready to enter along this line.

I did find out directly that the Legal Department of NAACP has been excited by the news announcement that district money has been allotted to those districts of the state now educating children out of the Little Rock system. It now seems that they have decided to wait on the action of Judge Miller. Inasmuch as the earliest date for the mandate from the Court of Appeals to Judge Miller was November 29, we expect action in this direction this week.

Legal action is very complex and apparently interminable!

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD

MRS. KYLE ENGLER - Chairman, Board of Arkansas Council on Human Relations. Has been on the Board since its beginning, for two years was president of the State Council of Church Women. She is the wife of a professor in the School of Engineering at the University of Arkansas.

MRS. JESSE WOODS - has been the secretary of our Board for two years. Her husband is a local doctor. She is active in church and social life, particularly Sororities.

C. S. CARTWRIGHT - continues on the Board and on the Executive Committee.

# Arkansas Council On Human Relations

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MR. WALTER TRULOCK
MRS. J. R. VINSON
REV. E. B. WILLIAMS
MR. MIKE WILLIS
MRS. DOROTHY OTIS WYRE


December 2, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

Enclosed you will find check for $100.00 made payable to Southern Regional Council from Fred Darragh. This is a contribution to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

Sincerely,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

$100.00 CR
rhc 12/4/58

NRG:vwp
Enc. check -(Fred K. Darragh
from (P.O. Box 86
(Little Rock, Ark.

RHA sent SRC check - 12/4

*Arkansas*
# Council On Human Relations

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MRS. DOROTHY OTIS WYRE

December 4, 1958

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Anthony:

Will you please send us 12 copies of "The Commission on Civil Rights" pamphlet.

Sent 12/8/58 wf

Sincerely,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp

*Arkansas*
# Council On Human Relations

1220 W. CAPITOL TELEPHONE FR 4-4521

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*

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December 9, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RHA 12/11/58

Dear Harold Fleming:

Enclosed you will find check for $100 made payable to Southern Regional Council from H. Charles Johnston, 312 Louisiana Street, Little Rock. This is a contribution for The Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

Sincerely,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp
Enc. $100 check

VIA AIR MAIL

December 16, 1958

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 W. Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Thanks for your letter of yesterday giving me the latest information on the Louisville plans. I am perfectly happy to have you and Mr. Lamb handle it in any way you think is best, and let me know what the total expenses were. I assume that this will include both the expenses of the travel and accommodations in Louisville.

I will be looking forward to further word from you. Meanwhile, good look.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Arkansas
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**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD, *Executive Director*
JOHN W. WALKER, *Associate Director*
VELMA POWELL, *Sec'y and Program Assistant*

Dec 15, 1958.

Dear Harold Fleming:-

A phone message from Charles Johnston (our chief intermediary) over the week-end indicates Ted Lamb will go to Louisville and probably Mr Matson. The date is uncertain for a good reason: they do not dare leave town when a Board meeting might be called. The date Mr C- gave Ted Lamb in a phone conversation was December 18-19 (Thursday-Friday)

My thought on handling expenses. ACHR give check to me for travel. I give cash to them. (This could be done in an hour.) Then, if SRC is agreeable, it could write check to ACHR charged to consultant travel or whatever.

Write ~~this~~ hurriedly so you will know developements & may phone if there needs to be adjustments in this proposal.

Sincerely

Nat

(American air line ticket round trip $72.72 each)

**Memo** FROM THE DESK OF **JOHN CONSTABLE**

12/29/58

HCF:

Six of these came in the mail from Nat. I've given the remaining ones to Marge for filing.

For complete text of the Ark. hearings see "Criticisms - Ark. Legisl. Council hearings"

# Human Relations Council Strikes Back at Accuser

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations made an answer yesterday to Attorney General Bruce Bennett about the testimony dealing with the Human Relations Council given during last week's hearings on alleged subversion in Arkansas.

In a letter the Council said that its purpose was in accord with that of the Legislative Council sponsor of the hearings, in trying to eliminate the influence of Communists.

It also said that the investigating committee had not asked the Human Relations Council for information before the hearings and that this was to be regretted.

The letter, signed by Nat R. Griswold, executive director, was read to Bennett by a reporter but it did not satisfy his curiosity about the organization.

Bennett introduced testimony in the Legislative Council hearings to show that the organization had had an income of about $31,000 since its formation in 1955, that one radio reporter and one television cameraman had never heard of it until two or three months ago and that it is affiliated with the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta.

The radio and television men testified that, responding to what turned out to be fake messages by telephone, they were not admitted to a Human Relations Council Executive Committee meeting at the office at 1220 West Capitol Avenue a few weeks ago.

Bennett admitted yesterday that he too was on the scene in front of the Human Relations Council office that afternoon, but said he just happened to be driving by and saw the radio-television men. He stopped and talked with them and watched the persons leaving the house.

Griswold was asked yesterday if Bennett has asked him about the Human Relations Council's finances. He said Bennett had not. Later, Bennett said he had asked Griswold for a financial report before the hearings but that Griswold had not supplied one.

The text of the letter to Bennett follows:

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations by its nature is in accord with the declared general purpose of the Arkansas Legislative Council in its investigation: the elimination of the influence of Communists in race relations in Arkansas today. Communist logic and strategy can result only in discord and destruction in the South Since this is the sincere position of the Council on Human Relations we regret that your committee did not seek and secure additional available facts about our organization from our office at 1220 West Capitol.

You have put into the record a list of our Board members without identifying them. These forty-one Arkansas citizens from both Southern racial groups represent a wide range of professions, occupations and churches. They hold quarterly meetings. The Executive Committee meets monthly. These two groups are autonomous and determine policy and program for guidance of the staff. Members of the staff are all native Arkansans, known to many persons who could advise your Committee about them and their activities. At present they are Nat R. Griswold, executive director; John W. Walker, associate director; Mrs. Velma Powell, secretary. Officers of our Board are Mrs. Thelma Engler, president, Dr. T. C. Cothran and Mrs. Floy Sparling, vice presidents; Mrs. Adell Woods, secretary; and Reverend Charles C. Walker, treasurer.

As is generally known, we have benefited from grants from the Fund for the Republic, channelled through the Southern Regional Council. This distinction is shared by us with religious groups associated with all major faiths, with educational, professional, and patriotic organizations, as the Fund's Report filed by you shows.

Our Constitution, revised, filed in 1957 in the Pulaski Circuit Court, makes clear our relation to other similar groups: "The Council, an independent and autonomous organization, shall co-operate with other intergroup agencies in the South, especially with the Southern Regional Council." This has actually been the working relations from the beginning between ACHR and SRC.

The general purpose of the organization stated in the Constitution makes clear that the organization seeks to reduce tension between human groups: "to attain through programs of research and action the ideals and practices which will result in the greatest good for all peoples in the state; to reduce intergroup tensions and their causes * * *"

The Council has never deviated from its purpose of helping Arkansas communities to get through these years of transition with a minimum of disturbance and harm. Education and democratic interaction of individuals are its methods. The Council would foster a climate of opinion in which people of different views may work amicably toward a better life for all. The Council advocates the workshop and conference table before tensions tighten between the races. It believes the opportunities guaranteed in our Constitutions (state and federal) can be actualized for all citizens in local communities through the working together of the majority and minority leaders in mutual respect and good faith.

The staff and the state office of the Council seek to be a service agency: a clearing house of literature and films, funded experience and facts from research suggestive to local communities and groups.

The Council's printed and mimeographed materials since its beginning in 1955 have made clear these purposes and methods. As an educational group the Council is not a news-maker. But it certainly is not a secret group. The Council opened its office in May 1955 with full stories and pictures in the papers. In the spring of 1956 newsmen were invited to a Koffee Klatch on the occasion of the releasing of our pamphlet, "Simple Steps." In May 1956 at a symposium of six ministers news media were invited and TV cameras took pictures of audience and literature table. Newsmen have never been excluded from the annual meetings of the Arkansas Council. Newsmen have been present at numerous meetings under Council auspices.

The position of the Council on Human Relations is in accord with the declared faith of every major religious body. This is not a new or peculiar view. There is abroad in the world a Communist dynamics. It is powerful. Its spirit is that of arrogance and distrust. It is dangerous because it divides men and ruthlessly crushes persons. Opposed to it is a Christian dynamics. It is more powerful. It is beneficial because it unites men and gently exalts persons. To this latter we of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations are devoted. We pray we may have its spirit of humility and love sufficient to be worthy of its past.

Sincerely,
Nat R. Griswold
Executive Director.
Approved by the
Executive Committee

January 20, 1959

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Under separate cover we are returning the tapes of the hearings. If you have an opportunity to check and possibly recut them, if necessary, it would be good to have them back.

Was a pleasure to see you last week; trust you can get down again in the not too distant future.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

J C Please take care

# Arkansas Council On Human Relations

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MRS. DOROTHY OTIS WYRE

January 30, 1959

Sent 2/6/59 B.C.C.

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred Routh:

We hasten to reply to your memorandum of January 27 concerning answering the charges about Washington schools.

Please send us 100 copies of the pamphlet "The Truth About Desegregation in Washington's Schools."

Sincerely,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp

Va - 500 copies
NC - 100 copies

file

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February 9, 1959

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John Constable:

We assume the item of literature we received from you today are among those which you had that might be supplied without cost.

We would like to have 100 of each of the following, if you have that many on hand:

Reprint from THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, December 17, 1957.

Mike Wallace interview with James McBride Dabbs.

Sincerely,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD

NRG:vwp

February 12, 1959

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 W. Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Thanks for your letter of February 5. It came while I was out of the city. I will be glad to come out for your Board Retreat to be held February 20-21. I am arriving on Eastern airlines - Braniff airlines interchange - flight #902. I leave Atlanta at 11:37 on the 20th and arrive in Little Rock at 2:17 P. M. I can either take a limousine, get a U-Drive-It, or be met.

The only good schedule coming back is the return of the same flight (#901). It leaves Little Rock at 3:25 P. M. on the 21st. If it would be difficult for someone to drive me back in time to make this flight it would be best for me to get a U-Drive-It. Otherwise, I would have to stay overnight and not return to Atlanta until late Sunday, and I have an engagement Sunday morning.

Hope this meets with your approval.

Best regards, and I look forward to seeing you on Friday the 20th.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

FBR - Thanks. Have you written Nat? HCF

# Arkansas Council On Human Relations

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REV. NAT R. GRISWOLD, Executive Director

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REV. E. B. WILLIAMS
MR. MIKE WILLIS
MRS. DOROTHY OTIS WYRE

February 5, 1959

HCF
D'll go
FBR

AIR MAIL

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for transmitting special grant-in-aid.

We are planning a Board Retreat for February 20 (6:00 p.m.) and 21 (4:00 p.m.) again this year. Emory attended last year's. We would like you or Fred Routh to be at this one as a resource person and to give summary at close.

This will be an off-the-record meeting to get perspective and map course of staff activities.

Will one of you confirm your intentions to be with us?

Thanks,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD

NRG:vwp

Weather is still mostly cloudy here! Hardly enough sunshine to frighten a groundhog or encourage serious cultivation!

February 17, 1959

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 W. Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

I have re-arranged my schedule to take the Delta flight leaving Little Rock at 4:27 P. M. - as you suggested. So this should make possible my summing up the retreat.

Hope this helps.

Cordially (in haste),

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

*Arkansas*
# Council On Human Relations

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February 16, 1959

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred Routh:

We are delighted to know that you are coming for our Board Retreat February 20-21. We will meet you at the airport at 2:17 p.m.

The schedule of events at the camp on Saturday calls for you to give a summation at the close of the Retreat. This makes very difficult you making connection with Flight #901 at 3:25 p.m. By moving our complete schedule forward 30 minutes, we will be able to have you give the summation and catch the Delta plane which leaves at 4:27 p.m. This flight gets you in to Atlanta at 9:19 p.m. You do change at Memphis but your flight to Atlanta from there is direct.

We are very anxious to have you give the summation remembering your gift for this sort of thing. We realize this tight schedule offers some hazards but it would be very useful if it can be carried out.

Look forward to seeing you on Friday.

Sincerely,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp

February 27, 1959

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 W. Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

On February 2, I sent you a memorandum regarding the state advisory committees to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. In paragraph #3 of that memo I said we proposed to send you informational materials which you could submit with additional findings of your own to your State Advisory Committee.

Our research staff has pulled together this material and I am sending you, with this letter, the information we have regarding the status of civil rights in your state.

You should go over this information and check it against the information you have; you probably have additional information which should be added to the various categories listed -- or perhaps you know of other categories to add.

In the near future we will send you such information as we have regarding intimidation and violence in your state. You may file these with your State Advisory Committee as two separate reports or you may prefer to submit them together as an integrated report. You would know more about the advisibility of this than we would, removed as we are from the local scene.

Again, please re-read the two previously sent memoranda regarding the state advisory committees (August 1, 1958, and February 2, 1959). Please send us a copy of the report you submit to your State Advisory Committee.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
February, 1959

# CIVIL RIGHTS - DESEGREGATION STATUS: ARKANSAS

I. EDUCATION: Public Schools, Elementary and Secondary Level, Desegregated Since 1954

Total: Schools in 8 districts

| District | Level Desegregated | Pupils attending Mixed Schools White | Negro |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bentonville | All levels | 1,500 | 2 |
| Charleston* | | 500 | 11 |
| Fayetteville | 7th to 12th | 1,200 | 33 |
| Fort Smith | 1st grade | N.A. | 1 |
| Hot Springs | Auto and Nursing | 45 | 7 |
| Hoxie | All levels | 900 | 11 |
| Ozark | High School | 0 | 0 |
| Van Buren | High School | 550 | 11 |
| Total | | 4,695 | 76 |

* Situation as of 1954, school officials will give no information

(From: Southern School News Summary, October 1958)

(St. Scholastica's Academy in Fort Smith and parochial school of Paris are desegregated. Local check of other parishes advised.)

II. EDUCATION: Desegregated* Institutions of Higher Education (as of January 1959)

Total: 9 state, at least one private institution

| Institutions | Legal Control |
|---|---|
| 1. Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College Pine Bluff, Arkansas | State |
| 2. Arkansas A. and M. College, College Heights, Ark. | State |
| 3. Arkansas Polytechnic College, Russelville, Ark. | State |
| 4. Arkansas State College, State College, Ark. | State |
| 5. Arkansas State Teachers College, Conway, Ark. | State |
| 6. Henderson State Teachers College, Arkadelphia, Ark. | State |
| 7. Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Ark. (Formerly All Negro) | Methodist |
| 8. Southern State College, Magnolia, Ark. | State |

II. EDUCATION: Desegregated* Institutions of Higher Education, continued:

| Institutions | Legal Control |
|---|---|
| 9. University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark. | State |
| 10. University of Arkansas Graduate Center Little Rock, Ark. | State |

* Although some listed colleges may not have students of both races actually in attendance, it is their stated policy to accept all students regardless of race. Because of admissions and information policies, a comprehensive count of the extent of desegregation is no longer possible.

III. MEDICAL FACILITIES: Desegregated Hospitals (as of January 1959)

All Veterans Administration hospitals

IV. RECREATIONAL FACILITIES:

None.

V. SUFFRAGE

Negro Registration 1958: 64,023 (official)

Negro Percentage of Total Registration 1958: 11.4

VI. NEGROES HOLDING PUBLIC OFFICE

Three Negroes were appointed to the State Democratic Committee in the Fall of 1954; three others were named in June 1955. Present status?

Hot Springs: City Council - Fred W. Martin was elected to this body in November 1954.

Alexander: City Council - A Negro was elected to the city council in November 1955.

(Local check for more recent or additional information advised.)

VII. TRANSPORTATION: CITY BUSES DESEGREGATED SINCE 1954

| | |
|---|---|
| Little Rock | Fort Smith |
| Pine Bluff | Hot Springs |

(Results of a spot survey which may not represent a total figure. Local check of other cities advised.)

VIII. TRANSPORTATION: SEGREGATION POLICIES in Bus, Train, Air Line Waiting Rooms

Spot Survey in Summer of 1958 included the following Arkansas Cities:

Pine Bluff - Both the bus station and the two train stations maintain facilities which are to some degree segregated. Although the bus station has abandoned its old colored waiting room, a brick partition approximately 4½ feet in height encloses a small area in which Negroes are now expected to sit. One train station has a small partition separating Negroes from whites; the second station has two separate waiting rooms. There has been no effort to make a distinction between interstate and intrastate passengers. The airline waiting room is desegregated.

Little Rock - Bus stations maintain, but do not enforce use of, segregated waiting rooms. Train and air line terminals offer desegregated facilities.

(More recent or additional information would be in order.)

March 20, 1959

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Sorry to be so long replying to your letter about Bill Hadley. Apart from the usual frenzy, one reason has been my reluctance to reply pessimistically. So far as I know, our donor friend has given no financial assistance to individuals; the explanation, I should suppose, turns on the question of tax-exemption. Still, I wouldn't mind raising the question with him if an opportunity arises to do so naturally, in conversation; it's not the sort of thing I can very well write him about.

I don't know just when I will be seeing the gentleman again -- presumably whenever I am next in New York. Unless I hear from you meanwhile that the question has become moot, I will keep it on my agenda.

I don't have to tell you I share your distress that Hadley has had to pay so heavily for standing by principle. And if I find a chance to be helpful,

I will jump at it.

Incidentally, you should know that Adam Yarmolinsky is no longer associated with the philanthropy in question.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

*Arkansas*
# Council On Human Relations

1220 W. CAPITOL TELEPHONE FR 4-4521

*LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS*

*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*

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March 4, 1959

AIR MAIL

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Aururn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

I am writing you about our anonymous Santa Claus and your bag of tricks.

In quizzing me about organizations and people in Little Rock, one of the two asked pointedly if Brooks Hays suffered serious financial reverses because of his loss. This led me to wonder if they were giving grants to individuals who had suffered personal loss because of conscientious stand.

Bill Hadley (William H.), a man who has established his own office as a public relations consultant, formerly head of KATV news bureau, has lost, according to Charles Johnston his financial advisor, at least $250 monthly in one account because he was master of ceremonies for two TV programs last September sponsored by the Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools. Hadley is in serious financial condition. Fred can tell you about Bill Hadley, who was on our Symposium at the Board Retreat.

I do not believe the Rights of Conscience Committee of the American Friends Service Committee is still functioning in this regard. Do you have in your bag of tricks ways of approaching Mr. Anonymous and his friend Friday? Help would be life saving for this man who is having a good many personal problems including illness in his family.

Sincerely,

Nat

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp

April 13, 1959

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Enclosed please find our check for the past quarter. I am sorry we had to hold it up as we did, but I am sure you understand.

Your quarterly report this time was one of the best we have ever received. It was clear, concise and showed a broad range of activities. Congratulations on a job well done.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosure - 1 (check #2 - $900.00)

April 22, 1959

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

I am interested in an article concerning the growth of the Little Rock and Arkansas movement for opening public schools for NEW SOUTH publication. Bert Cartwright tells me you would be the ideal one to do such an article. There is no specific deadline, but I am interested in making such an article available to other states now facing the same problems. Paul Rilling is considering a similar article on Virginia for NEW SOUTH.

Do you think you would have time to do such an article? If not, have you any suggestions as to someone who might consider doing this for us?

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

May 6, 1959

Mr. Nat R. Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Thank you for your letter and the welcomed information that you are writing a NEW SOUTH article. I think the May 19th deadline is a good one and I am looking forward to seeing the finished product.

Again thanks, and best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

May 4, 1959

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John Constable:

I have done some work on the outline for a story about the movement to save public schools. We have in our office most of the information needed for such a story. One's conclusions and generalizations about the strength of the movement and its prospects for success require most thought.

I need a deadline. So I will undertake to have something for your consideration by May 19.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp

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STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

June 12, 1959

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

We have had an inquiry from a good friend in Racine, Wisconsin, about the Rev. Mr. Bass, who has recently come there from Little Rock. Anything you can give me about his racial attitudes, interests, and role in the Little Rock crisis will be appreciated.

Confidentially, the inquiry states: "He has only been in Racine for a few months, but he is inclined to set up facilities for Negroes rather than work with organizations in Racine which are trying to integrate existing institutions."

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

July 14, 1959

Mr. Nat Griswald, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capital
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Thank you for your information concerning the junket of the Little Rock school board members to Charlotte and Norfolk. Harold and I talked it over and decided about the only thing that we could do would be to inform our friends in these two cities of the impending visit in hopes that they could talk with some of the people in Charlotte and Norfolk who will be involved. This has been done. I don't know what the outlook will be in Charlotte but I believe that in Norfolk there is a reasonable chance that Superintendents Brubacker and others will present some useful ideas and experiences to the Arkansas travelers.

Sometime soon I should start some sort of swing around the various state councils in order to orient myself. I will be writing you soon about a travel schedule. Hope to be seeing you sometime in August.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sl

July 23, 1959

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

As one not too familiar with the day to day details of the Little Rock situation I found your recent quarterly report most helpful. This far away from Arkansas the press tends to present the situation in an overly simplified, over dramatic manner.

The spontaneous resistance to Acts 10 and 115 seems particularly encouraging. You and your staff should feel considerable pride about your constructive role in this matter. I have found school teachers in general one of the harder groups to arouse and involve.

Your efforts involving the Negro athelete at the University of Arkansas suggest a very interesting channel of action which I think might find favor in several of the Southern states. This is clearly one of the more palatable

ways in which to ease college desegregation and break the color barriers of the major football conferences.

We were interested here in John Thompson's report. It not only organizes some useful factual information but suggests some very important areas of education and action. Let us know what use you plan to make of this work.

You obviously have a most unusual secretary. She seems to operate effectively at a high professional level.

I hope that you and I can spend some time together soon so that I may get a first hand summary of the work of the Arkansas Council. Let us know if we can be of any assistance in the weeks to come.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sl

return PR

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

July 31, 1959

Mr Paul Rilling, Associate Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

Thanks for your comments on our report, As you know, writing these things is work.

In re John Thompson's dissertation we met at lunch yesterday with six down-town friendly but importantly-connected business men to whom he presented his thesis. They really picked-up on it. They advised us to get the C.of C. to sponsor a similar luncheon for representative main-street merchants to digest this matter further.

At this luncheon we learned that the Urban Progress Association, a high level new outfit, whose executive was with us is already interested in some of the points John raised, e.g, the proposed bus terminal downtown will undertake to correct the present rest-room conditions. This same man vigorously set forth the view that Little Rock by doing what now is recognized as needed could attract customers, white and colored, from cities across the state and from Memphis. (One recognized need named was operating decent schools!) So, we feel encouraged on one front.

On the school front, today finds us discouraged. Damn school Board!

Sincerely,

Nat

I should report that as of July 24, Mrs Velma Powell is not with us. Her husband refused to make the affidavit required. He will teach in California!

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

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*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

cc: Mr. Harry Meserve

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

August 12, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED AUG 14 1959

Dear Harold Fleming:

The enclosed document, although duplicated and distributed from the office of the Arkansas Educational Association, is the product of ACHR's, the ex-chairman of the Board and the Director. It has been put in the hands of Little Rock school officials, of the Women's Committee to Open Our Schools, of the Committee for Peaceful Operation of Free Public Schools. At one point it was strongly urged as policy and procedures for use by the Board, not by ACHR, but by AEA and some officers of the citizens committees. However, because of the vacations of certain persons, the Board has been permitted to move along swiftly and ignore practically all recommendations. Things are far from hopeful for a harmonious decent community and school, because up to now this Board, like Blossom, assumes that doing its job is merely "an administrative matter". Unless citizens' committees push them beyond this, the situation is very analogous to 1957: a vacuum in preparation of students, teachers, patrons, community - a vacuum in which disharmony can flourish and politicians plot.

We hope something can be done this week to implement some of these principles and procedures.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

Nat Griswold

NG:ra
Enclosure

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

July, 1959

As the Little Rock School Board prepares to open all of its schools this fall it is important that the Board (1) analyze the difficult position in which it finds itself; (2) develop a basic philosophy and approach to meeting these difficulties; and (3) work out specific and detailed administrative procedures for accomplishing its goal. This memorandum is an attempt to set forth some of the aspects of the Board's problems and some possible solutions in these three areas.

1. Analysis of the Board's Situation at Present

The Little Rock School Board in seeking to open the senior high schools this fall is confronted by a whole complex of pressures from various individuals, groups, and organizations. Some of these are completely at odds with the others, yet all have a certain amount of power and influence. The School Board finds itself in the midst of these pressures from all sides.

It is important briefly to note some of the most powerful and influential groups to which the School Board must somehow respond:

(a) Negro Plaintiffs. Basic to the problem is the fact that all Federal court litigation involves specific Negro pupils who have demanded through the courts their constitutional rights as interpreted by the U.S. Supreme Court. They exert power upon the Board through the courts. They are aided by the NAACP, and almost unanimously supported (as a Gallup Poll recently revealed) by the Negro citizenry locally and nationally. Beyond the legal power of the Negro plaintiffs is the political and social power of the Negro community generally whose reactions are largely determined in relation to what becomes of the Negro plaintiffs.

(b) The Federal Courts. The Federal Courts exert a pressure upon the School Board with the result that the Board's decisions must be made with reference to previous and anticipated actions of the Federal courts.

(c) Extreme Segregationists. The extreme segregationists have exhibited their power through continual harassment of previous school officials, the disruption of school classes, the successful attempt to get the previous school board and superintendent out of their positions, the election of three school board members, and the attempt to purge 44 teachers from the System. Although in the recall election they were decisively defeated, they have not been crushed, and still are determined to be as disruptive as possible. The recall election was sufficiently close to indicate considerable power at this point. The Mother's League and the Capital Citizens Council continue to be active.

(d) The Governor. The Governor has had the power to call the legislature into session and secure the passage of certain bills injurious to the Little Rock Public School System. He has had the power to close down the senior high schools. He has the power to inflame public opinion as well as to effect certain legal obstacles to the well-being of the public school system. Throughout the past two years the Governor has exhibited no desire to preserve the Little Rock public school system. Although the Governor has recently in vain put his weight behind certain attempts of the extreme segregationists to destroy the system, he himself has not been directly defeated in anything he has initiated. He still carries considerable power both in Little Rock, across the state, and in the Deep South.

(e) The President. The President of the United States, particularly through the Justice Department, exerts a power in the Little Rock situation. The Justice Department has consistently filed briefs in litigation, and presumably even if the NAACP were out of the picture would act on behalf of the Negro plaintiffs. The Justice Department also exerts an influence through the FBI, either for good or evil.

(f) The Moderates of Little Rock. There is a growing number of persons who are determined to get all of Little Rock's schools open on whatever basis necessary to get the job done. Two of these important organized groups are STOP and the Women's Emergency Committee. These groups have shown keen ability to organize and carry through plans. They played crucial roles in the recall election, and have demonstrated their power.

There are doubtless other centers of power exerting pressure upon the School Board but the ones listed above may be considered to be the major ones.

The Little Rock School Board has the unhappy task of reacting in one way or another to all of these centers of power and influence in its attempt to reopen its senior high schools. Its task is to find some basic approach to these centers of power which will result in accomplishing its own task of the orderly reopening of the senior high schools and preserving the public school system.

## 2. Developing a Basic Approach

In seeking some basic philosophy or approach to the task of opening the senior high schools, all of the above listed sources of power and influence must be considered. None must be ignored as of little importance. A real temptation is to center solely upon one or two of these powers and to plan strategy only in relation to these. To do this is to court disaster.

Basic to the School Board's approach must be the attempt to neutralize as fully as possible those powers who would sacrifice Little Rock's public school system in their desire to prevent any amount of desegregation, and to rally and re-enforce those elements which exert power for successfully re-opening the senior high schools and preserving the school system in an orderly fashion. Some ground or basis must be developed upon which the School Board can stand in accomplishing this task.

The strongest ground upon which the School Board can possibly stand is the obvious one of a determination to re-open the senior high schools, preserving the public school system, and at the same time restoring the good name of Little Rock and developing order and decency in the community. This is an unassailable position upon which the Board can take all comers. To stand upon these fundamental points does not make the Board members integrationists or segregationists. The Board simply has a job to do in the best interests of the community. It was really this outlook which was at the heart of the successful STOP campaign. It was a dramatic rallying to the well-being of the public schools and to the restoration of decency to our community. (NOTE: By "community decency" we mean the elimination of disorder, threats, intimidations, smearing, misrepresentations, and other things keeping the community disrupted and in turmoil.) The attempts to smear the STOP group and the PTA's with various labels was largely impotent. The grounds upon which the STOP campaign fought were unassailable.

With this platform the School Board can proceed with minimum desegregation. The Board does this not because its members are integrationists or segregationists, but because it is what must be done to preserve the public school system and to bring to an end the chaos which has enveloped Little Rock in the past two years. The appeal is to two very basic values--public schools and community decency. It is difficult for people to attack these values. It is important that both of the values be emphasized. When the plan to preserve the public school is attacked by indecent means it is important to arouse the community to get rid of just this sort of thing which continues to disrupt the city.

With this basic outlook the school board can evaluate each of the various centers of power and seek to neutralize or to capitalize on them accordingly. It is obvious that nothing is to be gained by trying to appear to be in the camp of the Governor or in the camp of the extreme segregationists who have exhibited no interest in the preservation of the public schools or the maintenance of community decency. In this connection it should be observed that the School Board of 1957-1958 sought somehow to satisfy and appease the extreme segregationists and the Governor by seeking to appear to join cause with them as "good segregationists". That school board in the end found that these elements could not be satisfied short of the destruction of the public school system and the continued deterioration of community decency. That school board, having taken this approach, unhappily ended up on the side of the extremists and at the same time was forced out of office by them.

The present school board does not need to fall into anyone's camp. It is tempting to pretend in public pronouncements to be one of the extremists, but no one is fooled. The only result is a weakening of one's basic position. Dissimulation is not conducive to developing community decency.

The Board can say that it is with all these powers just to the extent that they are interested in getting the senior high schools open, preserving the public schools system, and developing a decent community. This can be said to the Governor, the extreme segregationists, the Negroes, the President, the Federal Court, and the moderates. All can be called upon to rally to this cause and to show their colors. By doing this it will quickly be apparent that the Governor and the extremists are not sympathetic to the Board's aims. In meeting their opposition it is important not to try to lean over backward to please them or to appease them. The Board, by standing firmly on its original objectives and utilizing the positive forces in the community, can develop a moral crusade for schools and decency which can carry the Board's plans to success.

In developing its basic approach the School Board should be aware that Little Rock's situation has not so radically changed in the last few months but what some new approach must be used than that which the previous school board used. The same old approach will lead to the same dead-end. The most significant new element is the aroused local populus which is ready to give support to the School Board if given the opportunity. Neither the Governor nor the extremists have changed, but Little Rock's leadership has. The Board's outlook must be developed so as to use this new factor as fully as possible.

### 3. Developing Administrative Procedures

Administrative procedures should all be oriented toward the basic objective of the School Board: to re-open the senior high schools, preserve the

public school system, and maintain an orderly and decent community. The Board can make its stand for specific administrative procedure on this basis. Problems of administration may be considered under several headings:

a. The Use of the School Assignment Act 461 of 1959

It is apparent that ACT 461 of 1959 can be used to keep desegregation to a minimum. However there is no legal way of defining what constitutes a minimum. In 1957-1958 extreme segregationists felt the number could be considerably whittled down through harassment. This also indicates that this extremist element will not be satisfied with any numbers, so the decision must be based on considerations other than what the extremists want.

In the use of ACT 461 it is obvious for several reasons that it must be used in "good faith". There should be no attempt to use it so as to result directly or indirectly in complete segregation. The Federal courts would not tolerate this. Unfortunately, Little Rock is a sufficient symbol to the nation as a whole to exert tremendous pressures for some form of desegregation. If the attempt at complete segregation were made things would simply continue to be in turmoil with the basic problem no nearer solution than it has been. Furthermore, the Negro community in Little Rock will be much more likely not to push for maximum integration if they are convinced that the minimum effort is done in good faith. The basic issue in the Negro community is over recognition of equal dignity rather than over the offering of specific courses. A few Negro pupils given recognition of equal dignity can serve as a satisfactory symbol for the whole community. The whole orientation of the use of the school assignment act should not be to "buy time" but to get the school mess settled once and for all on the most satisfactory terms to the community that the Federal courts will permit.

The Board should indicate as early as possible just how it plans to use ACT 461 and the limitations under which it works in using the Act. It should be made clear as to why "good faith" demands some minimum amount of desegregation. It could also announce the appointment of a committee of educators to make the assignments. This committee would spread responsibility and would protect the School Board from some criticism. This committee should be appointed quickly and its decisions reached as soon as possible after registration time. It is important for the community to know that the Act is being used and to know what the number of Negroes will be and where they will be attending schools. These announcements can serve to cut to a minimum the many false rumors which will inevitably be spread.

It would appear wise to seek to set attendance boundaries so that some Negroes would be assigned to Hall High School.

b. Maintaining Order around the Schools

The School Board now knows that it must depend upon city and possibly county law enforcement personnel for keeping order. It should make every effort to see to it that no outside help will be needed. Studies of law enforcement indicate that the degree of law enforcement in a community largely depends upon the degree to which the civic leaders want laws enforced. The School Board should make every effort to see that the police personnel feel they are backed in their task of law enforcement by the civic leaders.

The whole approach to handling the problem of law enforcement can be based on the insistence that Little Rock is going to preserve its schools, get them open, and have a decent community in the process. The law enforcement officials can stand firmly on this basis and do their job without worrying about being dubbed "integrationists."

Citizens generally should be made well aware, ahead of the opening day of school, just what to expect from law enforcement officials. It would be well if a statement were made through news media or on a special TV program by the Mayor or Chief of Police ahead of time. Of course the City government should emphasize what it is going to do rather than what it will not do, as it has been prone to do in the past.

A basic principle of mob control is not to let the mob gather. This is particularly important because of the problem of dealing with teen-agers and women whom the police cannot treat roughly.

c. Maintaining Discipline within the Schools

Unless school officials find a firm basis upon which to stand from which to handle disciplinary problems, they will utterly fail in re-opening the schools and preserving them. School officials must make it clear that their objective is to re-open the senior high schools, preserve the public school system by having a climate in which teaching can take place, and have an orderly community. Whatever discipline is necessary to achieve these objectives will be firmly carried out regardless of who the persons involved are. No attempts at appeasing anyone should be made in this endeavor.

The pupils and parents should be made aware of this policy. They should be amply impressed that school officials mean business. One procedure would be to have all pupils and parents sign an agreement at registration time to uphold order in the schools. Another procedure would be to have the county prosecuting attorney explain in an assembly program on the first day of school just what the legal situation is. His emphasis could be on the fact that all are under an injunction. He could also explain the community's determination not to have a repeat of past chaos, and that persons causing trouble will be turned over to the proper authorities. His statement could be firm without beingbelligerent, but setting the "I mean business" tone of the school officials and the civic leaders generally.

The teachers must know what is expected of them in the way of creating and maintaining school discipline. They will need sessions in which they can discuss what must be done and how it is to be done.

It is imperative that school officials show no wavering in matters of discipline and that they remain firm in all they do.

At the heart of the problem of discipline is the creation of a situation in which there is no need to exert outward discipline. Certainly there must be a climate developed which will make the need for any type of law enforcement agents unnecessary within the buildings. To this end the morale of pupils should be kept high through football and band activities. To this end the pupils should be oriented toward each doing his part to keep the schools open, and redeem the good name of Little Rock.

An important aspect of creating a healthy situation in regard to discipline is the encouragement of PTA's to give support. Also student leaders should be encouraged through the Student Council to work on the problem.

The problem of bomb scares is difficult to handle. Nevertheless there are ways of handling them. There is a law against false reports on the state statute books. It might be possible to nip this sort of thing in the bud early in the term through cooperation with the telephone company. An arrest made on the first day of school on this sort of thing would be salutary. There are few who condone this kind of behavior and such action would indicate the community means business. In any case it is important to create a sufficient morale among the students that they can take such things in their stride and laugh them off. One of the most effective ways of dealing with the extremists is to laugh at them.

d. Maintaining Good Public Relations

Essential to the successful opening and operating of the public schools is good public relations. This includes both relations with the working press and relations with the public.

It is imperative that much thought be given to a program of community preparation for the opening of the schools. It is essential that the public be well-informed as early as possible and as explicitly as possible as to what to expect. This is the only way to prevent or dispel rumors. Already wild rumors are circulating. This aspect of the program must begin at once. Every means must be used to inform.

However, informing the public is not enough. As many of the people of Little Rock as possible must become personally committed to the successful program of the School Board. Just because they are informed does not mean that they are committed. They must be given opportunities to become involved in the successful operation of the schools. They must feel that success largely depends on what they do.

To accomplish this there must be a spirit and program similar to STOP immediately put into operation. A citizens' organization must be formed to coordinate these efforts. Its platform will be the same as that of the School Board's--to get the senior high schools operating smoothly, preserve public schools, and create a decent climate within the schools and community. A possible name could be Citizens for Order and Public Education or Citizens for Orderly Public Education (COPE). Such an organization could initiate efforts to get as many groups as possible to make public statements this summer supporting the School Board in its actions. It should be a source for ideas to which various groups could turn for aid in helping. It could hold a rally to exhibit strength and determination shortly before the school-opening date. This organization could keep the initiative out of the hands of such persons as the Governor and the extreme segregationists. If something of this nature is not done there will be a vacuum filled by the extremist element which will prove very harmful. At the same time many individuals will become personally involved in seeing that the school program is a success.

Basic to the whole success of the efforts of the School Board is the developing and maintaining of a new climate in the community where the rabid

segregationists are made impotent through their being ignored or put on the defensive. Something of this mood was felt during the STOP campaign and can be built upon. With a showing of an active and fairly solid front in Little Rock it is more unlikely that the Governor and the Legislature will step in. Legislators across the state are not too eager to pass special legislation which goes contrary to the expressed feelings of that city's leadership.

The matter of press relations is important. The policy should be continued of keeping the working press out of the school buildings. However, every effort should be made to accommodate the press otherwise. During the school year of 1957-1958 the press could get neither confirmation nor denial of rumors and thus went ahead and published the rumors to the harm of the school district. An attitude of frankness and honesty should be exhibited to the press. Every effort should be made to present the facts so that rumors need not be published. It is better for the School Board to report incidents to the press, putting them in their proper perspective, than to have rumors of incidents reported and them try belatedly to set the story straight.

A special study should be made of the various local news media as to how they can be dealt with and used most effectively. Some of the news media are sensationalists, some are hostile to the School Board's efforts, some indifferent, and some friendly. Every effort should be made to minimize the "sensational" reporting which particularly goes with mobile news units. Prominent businessmen could counsel with the proper officials in urging that the news media act responsibly in these crucial times.

It is important that there be one spokesman for the School Board and Administration. Otherwise it will be easy for newsmen to trap various officials into giving conflicting ideas or reports. It would appear wise to have a person on the staff who can devote major time to this one problem at least for several months. He cannot only help in making the immediate transition smoother, but can help interpret events to the nation and the world through the out-of-state press which will help redeem the name of Little Rock.

Such a person can regularly feed stories to the press each day throughout the summer and fall to keep the initiative out of the hands of the School Board's opponents.

### e. Relations with the Negro Community

Because of the high tension surrounding Little Rock the School Board finds it difficult to communicate with or to work with the Negro community. Yet the Board must do what it can, within the range of the realities of the situation, to prepare and secure the commitment of this growing segment of Little Rock's population to its program.

The recall election indicates the importance of the Negro community from a political stand-point. The School Board members need this support if it can be obtained without the necessity of sacrificing other things deemed also important. Also, it is important from the point of view of creating community decency and the elimination of racial incidents to develop the right morale among the Negroes as well as the whites. Beyond this, the School Board has an obligation to serve the Negro patrons as well as the white.

It is therefore important that the Negro community be kept informed, and that it also have a sense of personal commitment to the plan. This can best be done by the forming of a Negro group to support the Board in the Negro Community. It is important both for the immediate days ahead and for the long run that such leaders as headed the STEP organization be encouraged and made to feel they are a part of the effort to get the schools open, and to preserve order and decency. After all, it must be remembered that the Negroes have felt the brunt of closed schools even more severely than the whites, and that they are eager for some kind of settlement.

Knowledgeable persons indicate that Little Rock Negro leadership generally will cooperate in the School Board's proposal if they are convinced that it is made in "good faith". By "good faith" they mean that the few Negroes who are assigned to previously white schools are not harassed or intimidated so as to be forced out. It would seem to be the case that actually there is no conflict between the desires of the Negro leadership and what the white community has been forced to accept as the price of keeping the schools open. The School Board with the least bit of private attention to the Negro leaders can be assured of their support. The relationship of the Board to such a Negro group as is contemplated here would be similar to that which the three "moderate" Board members had to STEP. There would be no public or direct relationship, but an acknowledgement by the Board of the rightful concern of the Negro community to do what it can to maintain public schools and to get the schools open and to have a decent community.

It should be kept in mind that the Negro leaders are not necessarily the leaders in the NAACP. At the same time it should be kept in mind that the Negro community is united in its desire to end racial discrimination in the public schools.

It would be most unfortunate for Little Rock if the School Board felt it necessary to be "enemies" of the Negroes. The Board, while steering clear of being "integrationists", should welcome support from all sources. This can be done on its basic platform.

### f. The Need for Someone to Work Out Details

It is obvious that there are a multitude of details to be worked out in the actual implementation of the decision to get the senior high schools re-opened. The Board might seriously consider the possibility of immediately adding to the administrative staff a person whose sole task is to work on these problems. It is conceivable that someone already employed as a teacher could be elevated to this position. He would have the advantage of already being aware of many of Little Rock's problems. He could begin work immediately. There is a growing literature dealing with these problems facing Little Rock. He could see how some of these ideas might be adapted to Little Rock's unique situation. He could meet with the public and serve as a liaison between whatever citizen's group is set up and the Board. A very strong reason for having such a person is that there are enough problems relating to the elementary and junior high schools to keep the present staff occupied without this added burden.

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

September 2, 1959

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

John Walker is at the National Conference on Human Relations (Methodist) at SMU this week. He and I have not worked out anything but beginning strategy about Pine Bluff.

Here are some of his observations confirmed partially by Reverend A. M. Roberts, AME pastor at Pine Bluff. Attorney Howard feels a crisis at Dollarway will not come soon, that the court is likely to give a stay of the integration order until a final ruling comes. The ministers, according to Howard, in Pine Bluff are loosely organized, that two can be helpful in building morale among Negro patrons to avoid use of violence in retaliation.

W. Branton, who is NAACP chief attorney in Arkansas, is trying to get state NAACP (Mrs. Bates) to improve tactics for public relations (less sensational statements and fewer interviews at her home with Negro students present). He agrees with our efforts to get more substantial Negro citizens in Little Rock involved in dealing with the School Board. (All this is related to Dollarway, which has the same lawyer as the Little Rock Board who is calling all the shots.)

We have a few definite things already in process: a talk with cordial white ministers in Pine Bluff for two purposes: 1) to get them working with the Negro ministers in a program for interracial communication and non-violence; 2) to get them to activate business leaders in the interest of renewal of constructive action by the Pine Bluff School Board. This latter, if genuinely affirmative, would greatly strengthen morale of Negro citizens and would take initiative from WCC, "we act instead of reacting". We also have plans underway by Negro churchmen for meetings to preach doctrine of non-violent resistance. We think, too, that some Pine Bluff leaders may have access to Dollarway decision-makers to advise how to proceed so as to avoid another Little Rock or worse.

Will let you know how things go.

Sincerely,

Nat

NRG:ra

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

September 24, 1959

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

As my plans shape up at present, I will be arriving in Little Rock at 2:19 p.m., October 12, via Eastern Flight 902. I will be leaving at 3:25 p.m. on Thursday. This will enable me to attend the meeting of the Executive Committee and also the meeting of the Thursday Group, whatever the week that is.

Thank you for the further information about Dollarway.

I look forward to seeing you and John.

Sincerely,

Paul Rilling
Field Director

PMR:sm

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

September 9, 1959

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

John Walker and I agree the week of October 12 will be an agreeable date for your visit. Our Executive Committee has its regular meeting on October 13, 1:00 P. M. So you might consider this in planning your visit. If possible you might stay through Thursday morning for the "Thursday Group" at 10:30 A.M.

You will let us know your exact plans when they are completed.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

Nat Griswold
Executive Director

NRG:ra

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

September 4, 1959

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Thank you for your recent letter concerning the developments in Pine Bluff. It helps considerably to give us a clear picture of the way things seem to be moving in this critical spot.

I am anxious to come to Arkansas in the fairly near future to gain a clear idea of your program and to establish a good working relation. I have a vague feeling that we discussed some possible dates over the telephone recently but I can find no memorandum of specific committments. Check your schedule and advise me to a possible time I might spend several days with you in October, the week of October 12th would be particularly good for me but we could probably work it out the following week if this would be preferable.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sl

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

October 30, 1959

Dear Friend:

No doubt you read about the attack by the White Citizens Council on Reverend Carlos E. Martin, minister at St. Luke Methodist Church which is adjacent to Dollarway School near Pine Bluff. Dollarway is a center of violent feelings and litigation over school desegregation.

The enclosed copies of the documents in that dispute are self-explanatory. We knew you would be interested.

You note the attack by the WCC came almost seven weeks after the pastoral letter was sent to parishoners of St.Luke. The wire services were given these documents at this time by the WCC.

We think the issues raised by this incident go much deeper for churchmen than disagreements among citizens about school desegregation. We wanted you to have the first hand evidence.

You should know Reverend Martin's effective influence for good in his own parish has been weakened by this organization's attack. In addition, his livelihood is in jeopardy.

His address is 3 Carol Street, Pine Bluff, Arkansas.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra
Enc.

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

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COPY

Pastoral Letter to Members
of
ST. LUKE METHODIST CHURCH
by
Reverend Carlos E. Martin
on
September 4, 1959

Circulate
JC
PR

"AS YOU SOW SO SHALL YOU REAP"

This is the thought that has been running through my mind again and again these last few days. The fall season will soon be here bringing with it such harvest as God has given through the toil and effort of those who have sown the seed.

But I am thinking now of another harvest that is being reaped and will continue to be reaped for God himself only knows how long -- the harvest of the seed of hate. Already it is a grim harvest, one that will bring no cause for rejoicing as will the harvest of the good crops. A Jewish Synagogue bombed in Atlanta, Georgia....a school bombed in Clinton, Tennessee....children without a school in Little Rock for a year....mobs in the streets of our cities bent on one thing -- hating enough to cause bloodshed and strife....citizens' rallies in which the cry is made, "We'll kill the first 'Nigger' to set foot on our school ground". This I say is a small part of the harvest already reaped and who knows, who can tell, how much more of this grim harvest will come to pass. This is the crop of the seed sown! And let those who are continuing to sow the seed of hatred be not deceived, the harvest will come. The price of hatred always comes high.

As Editor Ralph McGill of The Atlanta Constitution has written, "it is the harvest of defiance of courts and the encouragement of citizens to defy law on the part of many Southern politicians. It is not possible to preach lawlessness and restrict it. To be sure none said go and bomb a Jewish Temple or church. But let it be understood that when leadership in high places in any degree fails to support constituted authority it opens the gates to all those who wish to take law into their own hands. There will be, to be sure, the customary act of the careful drawing aside of skirts on the part of those in high places. 'How awful', they will now say, 'Something must be done'. But the record will stand."

But you see this is only the immediate harvest. As these extremists of the Citizens Council and others along with political leaders incite with inflammatory words, they are sowing the seed that will open the flood gates of hate for years to come.

Our own Dollarway School now becomes the harvest of such words and actions. Because a school board does what it takes to be the will of the people, it pursues a course that leads to closed schools. Because the people desire to preserve their Southern way of life more than they desire education of their children we find the harvest. And to be sure it will be tragic. How awful that children are deprived the right, a natural right, to learn and grow and mature.

But the greatest tragedy of all is not closed schools. I see

(copy: pastoral letter continued)

something happening in my community far more horrifying than this.... I see an awful harvest being reaped in the lives of children and youth as they hate. For within the past few days I have heard groups of children and youth saying loudly "I hate Niggers, I hate Niggers". Something within me caused me to grow faint as the words echoed around. I look at these children and am moved to tears. They were good children from good homes. Their parents are good people. In fact I know most of them have been brought up in Sunday School and their parents are members of some church. But this thought only caused me to grow more faint. I said to myself this can't be true. This is America, Christian America. We do not teach our children to hate. And I began to wonder just what kind of seed had been sown. All their lives these children have no doubt been taught in Sunday School that "God is Love". Perhaps they even sing in Bible School "Jesus loves the little children, all the children of the world, red and yellow, black and white, they are precious in His sight, Jesus loves the little children of the world". And suddenly these little songs that sound so nice in Sunday School and church and the little fellow who can recite lustily "God is Love" seemed to become so meaningless. And this is the terrible harvest of seed sown. Children and youth being used as pawns for those who hate. Little children using the telephone to make obscene calls. This is the harvest! And to those parents who have sown the seed, the seed of hatred, you will surely reap.

But this is also the harvest of those so-called Christian Ministers who have chosen to preach hate instead of love, mercy and compassion. When the harvest comes let these find pious words and raise their voice in deploring the harvest. Better, let them hear the words of Jesus, "in as much as ye have done it unto one of the least of these ye have done it unto me."

This too is the harvest of the seed of silence sown by those ministers who have tried to talk out of both sides of their mouths, who say piously God is love and yet refuse to be drawn into any implications of this they preach. This is the harvest of the seed sown by leaders of our churches who have now piously come forward, but who have already betrayed, who have been betrayed into revealing who they really are and what their God really is! As you sow.....

"I hate". Those two words when applied to persons seem to be the hardest words in all of literature. They place a man who utters them farthest away from Jesus than any I know. No disease can eat away the vitals of a person quicker than those two words. Indeed when one utters them something within has already died. And let no one be deceived, you can not restrict hatred! Where will one draw the line on whom to hate? Tomorrow shall we hate the Baptist, Methodist, our neighbors, etc. As Mr. McGill says again, "you do not preach and encourage hatred for the "niggers" and hope to restrict it to that field. When the wolves of hate are loosed on any person or group, no one is safe".

DEAR GOD IN HEAVEN ABOVE, SOME HOW TEACH US HOW TO LOVE!....OR ELSE WE ALL PERISH!

Following is a copy of an anonymous rebuttal to Rev. Carlos Martin's pastoral letter. The rebuttal and the pastoral letter were printed by the Dollarway White Citizens Council, distributed at their meeting on October 20, 1959 and released by them to the wire services:

I have just read another article written by a proponent of integration. Sometimes, I become weary with the pretense, half-truths, supposition of these race-mixers, who upon every occasion, without fail, say, lets you-all mix, but never themselves. I have yet to see one of these do-gooders, bleeding-hearted, proponents of race mixing that wanted it for themselves.

They could, without a court decision, enter their children in a negro school, they could, without a court decision, arrange to marry their children, or even themselves to a negro. They could, without a court decision, rent or buy a house in an all-negro settlement and move in. They could, without a court decision entertain in their home regularly, negro people. They could without a court decision, take a negro or negroes to Church with them, and if the congregation objected, I am sure they could move their membership and themselves to an all-negro Church. Do they? No, Why? They yell for integration. If they are politicians, they are hunting votes, if they are business people, they have the idea, that to be known as a liberal will tend to increase their business. They are after the dollar. If they are preachers, they are usually the goober-gathering kind that wants to look good to the bosses in the hierarchy so they can get sent to a larger Church. Those are the real reasons. I use to think they had their brain-washed, but you cannot wash something that does not exist. They point their finger at decent white and colored people and call them, "Segregationist", as though that were some foul name. A segregationist is what all decent respectable people were before May 1954, and what all decent people, white and colored are today.

The preachers and do-gooders holler about the Law of the Land. Now every person who has any intelligence at all, knows that "the law of the land concerning this issue is whatever the State Laws say. Segregation is the law of the land in Arkansas, and many other States, and will be until they are properly changed by those legislative bodies that have the legal power to do so. Integration is contrary to the law, and every exponent of it is an outlaw - as far as Arkansas is concerned, and should be arrested, jailed and treated as any other law breaker.

You people, who have an integrationist (so-called) in your pulpit, are listening to an outlaw. If you say he doesn't know any better, then you are listening to an ignoramous. But there is some real laws of the land that preachers advise people to break. It is the law of the land that gambling at the race track is legal. Do you advise your people to live up to this law? It is the law of the land that the manufacture of, the sale, and the drinking of wine, whiskey, and beer is legal. Do you advise your people to live up to the law of the land? I have never known a preacher, religion, Chamber of Commerce, Women's Organization, Newspaper, Magazine, or any other group to launch a campaign trying to get people to do these things because it is the law of the land. There is nothing on earth as inconsistant as

(copy: rebuttal continued)

a person who yells for integration because they say "it is the law of the land". It is not. Any person who studies the Bible for a moment knows that the mixing of the races is unscriptural. They try to cover by saying the segregationist has "hate" in their heart. That is just another lie. They are wrong in their interpretation and perversion of the scripture, and know it. They find they do not practice what they preach. Their children always manage to go to some segregated school, even if they have to drive them to some other town and enroll them. Farther than this, there has never been a educational program launched, nationally or otherwise, to show the great benefits to be derived from race-mixing. Why? Because in every instance, where it has become a fact, trouble, heartache, crime, sin, bloodshed, destruction, a downward plunge of morals, decency, fears have increased, and people have migrated to other places in multitudes, trying to escape its effects. Let every vote-grabbing politician, every supposed liberal school board, Chamber of Commerce, lying ladder-climbing preacher, know that the charge for all the internal trouble in this Country caused by their asinine attempt to mix and mongrelize the races will be laid at their feet. They are not promoters of peace, but are the true rabble-rousers of our day. They are not law-abiding, but the real anarchist of our time. They are abomination of desolation standing in ten thousand places where they ought not. They should remember that it is a long lane that never turns. People who are fooled, deceived by this crowd are not acting very wise. May it never be said of YOU.

November 2, 1959

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

I was glad to have the opportunity to finally get to Little Rock and see you on your home base. Your general office set-up has created strong pangs of jealousy in me. You have the largest and most conveniently arranged office of any of our operations, including this one.

I have not heard from John Walker since talking to him on the phone. I am sorry we could not have been of more service to him and hope he will be able to work out something to his satisfaction.

We are quite anxious to hear as soon as the young Turks determine whether to offer a candidate in the coming election. I hope you will keep us informed on this.

I am enclosing all the information we could pull together concerning the use of special staff or committees by school boards to facilitate desegregation. It isn't much, but I hope it will help.

I hope to see you both at the state staff meeting in January.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm
Enc.

COMMUNITIES USING SPECIAL STAFF OR COMMITTEES TO ASSIST
IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

From: Action Patterns in School Desegregation

1. Ashland, Kentucky. Lay committees organized under Supt. of Schools, W. C. Shattles. p. 4

2. Perry, Oklahoma. Supt. Melvin Self appointed "sounding committee" from school board and faculties to report to administration.

3. Lexington, Missouri. Supt. Leslie Bell used his school board members as representative of the community to determine readiness for desegregation and the difficulties ~~might~~ ~~hight~~ ~~be~~ encountered. p. 13

4. Mayfield, Kentucky. School board set up advisory committee of lay white and negro citizens. Membership unknown to community. 131

5. Owensboro, Kentucky. Lay advisory committee set up by board. Again, membership unknown to community. 131

6. Hot Springs, Arkansas. Sixty member advisory committee. "to assist the school board in studying the problem of desegregation." 130

7. Hazard, Kentucky. Lay committee (four Negro, five white, plus Supt. of Schools.) 129

Plans for desegregation prepared by school administrators and staff.

8. Columbia, Missouri. Principals of the city school system prepared plan for desegregation. ( in summer seminar with consultant from the University of Missouri.) p. 134

9. St. Louis, Missouri.

10. Baltimore, Maryland

11. Louisville, Kentucky

133.

State Action. From: "Report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1959," p. 283.

1. "In Maryland, a committee of county school superintendents recommended that each county board of education appoint a biracial advisory committee on desegregation. All Counties did so."

2. Kentucky. "A 1955-56 school-year report stated that, in addition to districts already desegregated, bi-racial citizen's committees (with about 25 percent Negro membership) had been appointed by local boards of education in 60 districts and were working on desegregation plans."

(A resolution adopted by the Kentucky State Board of Education in the summer of 1955 having the effect of law, according to C.C.R. report, recommended to school superintendents the appointment of desegregation study groups in every community.)

November 25, 1959

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. Nat Griswold
Mr. John Walker
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat and John:

Paul was on his way out of the office when your letter arrived, and asked me to tell you he will answer more fully next week.

He is getting in touch with Mr. Wright for you, but suggests that since we have called on Dr. Mays so much, you might have better luck if you wrote directly to him.

Sincerely,

Sarah Miller, Secretary
to Paul Rilling

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

November 23, 1959

Paul Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

This will alert you on plans for the annual membership meeting of ACHR and ask your help in getting selected speakers.

Date: Either January 15-16 or 8-9; Friday 6p.m. through noon on Saturday.

The open meeting for members and guests would be 8 p.m., Friday. For this meeting the Executive Committee would like both Mr. Marion Wright and Dr. Benjamin Mays. Having both we feel would more than double the effectiveness of either. Marion Wright needs to be heard by all on the "rightness" of our purposes and the need to speak out; more persons, particularly colored, know and will come to hear Mays. Therefore we are anxious to have both, even though we know it sounds like a top-heavy order. We have some "side" uses for both men (Wright with lawyers and with Leflar, Chairman of Arkansas Committee on Civil Rights; Mays with the colored leaders). We could write them about particulars if they are available.

We plan to have three hours for a thorough Board Meeting Saturday morning with as many members as possible.

Will you help us get acceptances from Wright and Mays? Will you try to be with us for the whole meeting? We especially want your help at the Board meeting on Saturday.

You should know that we prefer the first date above, January 15-16.

We want answers as soon as possible. Thanks.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

Nat Griswold

John Walker

John Walker

GW:ra

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

November 30, 1959

Paul Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

In May we received from CCD Mass Media Committee an announcement of a proposed publication by Notre Dame Law School of speeches at a symposium held on May 8-9. The publication was dependent on contributions from organizations in CCD.

Was this symposium report published? Is a copy available for us? This was to be a special issue of the Notre Dame Lawyer this fall.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat Griswold

NRG:ra

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

Paul Rilling:

Please send us 2 dozen copies of the:

Transcript on "The Washington School Story" from the Atlanta television program featuring Dr. Carl F. Hansen. (SRC Special Report, July, 1959)

R.A.

12/2/59
Sent
SM

December 3, 1959

Via Air Mail

Mr. Nat Griswold
Mr. John Walker
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat and John:

Mr. Wright is available to be with you for your Annual Meeting and to speak Friday night, January 15. Since the other plans are still somewhat indefinite, I did not indicate to Marion that he would probably be one of two speakers. I indicated that you would write him directly and give him what information he would need to be prepared. I did say I thought you would use him with other groups such as lawyers during the day.

Marion did indicate that as of this moment he could probably come on the 8th if that turned out to be better, but that he would prefer the 15th. I'm not yet sure whether I can be with you for this period. I have a conflicting engagement in Talladega which perhaps can be changed.

Sincerely,

Paul Rilling
Field Director

PMR/s m

P.S. I checked with Les Dunbar about the symposium report. We are supposed to get copies of it when it comes out, and will forward one to you.

December 8, 1959

Air Mail

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

John Wheeler is currently in South Africa as I had feared. If you can't think of a good alternate for this type of job, check with us and we will see what we can do.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

December 10, 1959

Paul Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

Am enclosing nominations for recognition.

Among the three white ministers I do not find it possible to rank them. The Carlos Martin case and Byrd's support are much more recent. However, Wilder's influence was very effective and clear cut. While he is now at a different church, I am informed it was not due to his activities around school desegregation.

The case of Mr. McCullum I include because it is fresh and indicates real promise of leadership from him.

We are setting up a meeting for Wright with attorneys at lunch on Friday, January 15.

We may have to consult with you in the next few days about a substitute for Wheeler.

Thanks for your help -

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

Nat Griswold

NRG:ra

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

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**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

December 11, 1959

To: Paul Rilling

From: Nat Griswold

Please send us 25 copies of "If the Schools are Closed..." by Green and Gauerke.

sent
12/15/59

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

December 16, 1959

Paul Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

Could you furnish us enough of the published speeches of Mr. Marion Wright to help publicize him for January - some 250 copies of any one or of several together, the one on "public morality" or the "space age" or others?

Of course would like them at once. Thanks.

Nat.

NRG:ra

"Space age"
print. by J.C.
12/17

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

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*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

December 18, 1959

Mr. Nat Griswold, Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Since I had already mailed you twenty-five copies of "If the Schools Are Closed. . ." at Paul Rilling's request, I sent you only seventy-five in the additional package. If you find yourself running short as the campaign waxes harder, let me know and I think I can supply you some additional copies.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

December 29, 1959

Via Air Mail

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

We have just learned that John Wheeler is back from South Africa and is again home. It occurs to me that you might still want to try to secure him for the annual meeting or a subsequent occasion.

Mr. John Wheeler, President
Mechanics & Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina
Phone: Office - 3-1121
Home - 2-3466

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

January 6, 1960

Mr. Paul M. Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

copy

RECEIVED JAN 9 1961

Dear Paul Rilling:

A group of ten local citizens met an hour and forty minutes to make recommendations for the quasi-public meetings of the regional NAIRO conference in Little Rock, April 13-14. They came from a number of important groups besides ACHR: Women's Emergency Committee (the president), Urban League (secretary), University Industrial Research Center, church women, Party-for-Two-Parties (the executive , formerly with the L.R. Chamber of Commerce), League of Women Voters (president), church laymen (an attorney and a businessman). They weighed the expressed opinions of some twelve local leaders about speakers.

The enclosed represents their considered judgement as to speakers and topics. This part of the program will be "sold" as one piece, a "seminar for leaders".

As you see we are aiming very high. We think this program has great potentials for good. We will use every available channel to get representative persons across Arkansas from industry, business, schools.

We will need your help on approach to our speakers, notably to Collins and Phillip Hammer. They need to be approached immediately, particularly about the date. We assume you have or can suggest channels for invitations to Hammer and Collins.

Concerning finances. Of course, we will need what help you can give and suggestions too.

You should know, too, that we expect to have John Feilds, native Little Rockian, to moderate at the seminar sessions. Possibly also, a local "big shot" may give a preface at the opening session.

Yours sincerely,

Nat

Nat Griswold
for Area Committee

NRG:ra
cc: Wade Mackie John Lassoe
Fred Routh Thelma Babbitt
John Hope H. Fleming
John Feild

We are quite ambitious as you see. At the moment feel encouraged. Hope you can pull a little magic to help -

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

NAIRO Conference in the South Central Area

Place: Aldersgate Camp, five miles west of Little Rock.

Time: Thursday 2 p.m. thru Friday evening, April 13-14

THEME: LOOKING AHEAD

Conference of Professionals: Thursday 2 to 4 p.m.
Friday 9 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Seminar for Leaders (semi-public): Thursday 4:30 to 9:30 p.m.
Friday 4:30 to 9:30 p.m.

## Proposed Program for Seminar

Thursday, April 13

4:30-6:30 p.m. "Prospects in the South"

Presentation: Leroy Collins
Panel response
Discussion

6:30 p.m. Dinner

7:30-9:30 p.m. "Community Factors in Plant Location"

Presentation: Phillip Hammer
Panel Response
Discussion

Friday, April 14

4:30-6:30 p.m. "Human Factors in Industrial Growth"

Presentation: David Riesman
Panel Response
Discussion

7:30-9:30 p.m. "Role of Leadership Ahead"

Presentation: Thomas Pettigrew
Panel Response
Discussion

January 8, 1960

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:.

We had a note from Marion Wright this morning requesting that you make a hotel reservation for him the night of January 4.

Paul Rilling is in Detroit for a meeting this week-end but is, I think, planning to be with you also.

Sincerely,

Sarah Miller
Secretary to Paul Rilling

January 11, 1960

Mr. John Wheeler, President
Mechanics & Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

After consultations with some representative Negro citizens, we are convinced that you can really help us find our way. We would like to call you a consultant rather than a speaker. We would expect you to confer with individuals and small groups, especially of Negro leaders, about your organization in Durham, its origin and work, and its relation to white liberals and their organizations.

Since this is a consultation mission we have asked Paul Rilling if this visit properly can come under the consultation service of SRC. He perhaps will have direct communication with you shortly.

Meantime we request that you hold open for us the dates of February 5-6 as you suggested. We will proceed to set up conferences for you on those dates.

We do appreciate your concern and helpfulness.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

Nat Griswold
Executive Director

NRG:ra

cc: Paul Rilling

COPY

MECHANICS AND FARMERS BANK

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

January 18, 1960

Mr. Nat Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capital
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

This will acknowledge your letter of January 11 inviting me to spend February 5 and 6 with you as a guest of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

I am happy to accept your invitation and will notify you later as to the time of my arrival on Friday, February 5.

This morning I received a letter from Paul M. Rilling indicating that the Southern Regional Council is willing to consider this visit as a part of its Consultant Service. It appears that a copy of this letter was sent to you and as far as I am concerned, the arrangement outlined therein is satisfactory.

Sincerely yours,

J. H. Wheeler
President

JHW/p

cc: Mr. Paul M. Rilling

COPY

Attn: Paul Rilling

January 19, 1960

Mr. John H. Wheeler
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

We have a copy of Paul Rilling's letter to you about your visit here under the Consultant Service Program of SRC. We are working on plans for your visit on February 5-6.

As we concentrate on reaching and influencing people through your visit, it already seems important that you be here at least by noon Friday. Is this possible for you? Plane schedules are not good for doing this. (My information is from American.) Would it be possible to leave Durham so as to reach Little Rock Thursday night? Having a full day Friday and until P.M. Saturday would multiply the individuals and small groups with whom you could consult.

We feel embarrassed to ask for more of your precious time; but we are really anxious that something happen as the result of your visit.

Sincerely,

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra
cc: Paul Rilling

via air mail

January 22, 1960

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Henceforth, your reports to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund should go to David F. Freeman. Harry Meserve has recently left the Fund to join the staff of an organization concerned with religion and mental health, and Dave has assumed the race relations mantle. You will recall Dave, I'm sure, as the former officer of the Fund for the Republic through whom the earlier assistance to SRC and other Southern efforts was negotiated.

If you don't hear promptly from Dave, I'll be glad to prod his memory.

Since we have been in the throes of an inter-agency meeting and various other conferences this week, I haven't yet had a complete account of your annual meeting from Paul Rilling. But from his comments, I gather it was a good occasion.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

January 20, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

Within the next few days we will forward to Mr. Meserve a copy of our narrative quarterly report together with our annual financial report. We assume this would open the way for you to prompt his memory about forwarding the annual grant for the benefit of ACHR.

Paul Rilling was very helpful at our annual meeting. I presume he will give you a first-hand account.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat Griswold

NRG:ra

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

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**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

January 25, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

MF
Dwt -
1/28

The Greater Little Rock Ministerial Association plans to use James McBride Dabbs at its interchurch, interfaith service of worship at Vespers on Race Relations Sunday, February 14. Dean Higgins of Trinity is plotting publicity and has asked for two glossy prints for the newspapers. Can you supply them?

We have come up with no brave souls to go "up the hill" and down again. Arkansas' Attorney General will go to Washington to testify against federal registrars at the invitation of Senator McClellan.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat Griswold

NRG:ra

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

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**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

February 3, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

The following are willing to be invited to participate in the project you proposed. Included are the names mentioned to Harold by phone. - All are from Little Rock.

Grainger Williams, Insurance Executive, President, L. R. Chamber of Commerce (1959), National Old Line Building.

Miss Parma Basham, Fourth generation Arkansan, President, L. R. League of Women Voters (1956), 14 Longfellow Lane.

Mrs. Byron W. House, Jr., most active legislative worker for WEC, Past President Alumni Association of Hendrix College, 7101 Amherst.

Mrs. W. Peyton Kolb, very active church worker for the Southern Baptist. Furnished first office for WEC at her home, 224 Colonial Ct.

Mrs. Louise Vinson, closely related to some of the older influential families in Little Rock, 6115 W. Markham, Apt. 7M.

John and I will arrive in Atlanta on Tuesday evening, February 9 at 7:55 - Braniff. We will need reservations for that night and assume you can make them for us.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

Nat Griswold

NG:RA

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

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*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

February 16, 1960

Mr. Nat R. Griswold, Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Sorry but Mike Wallace's transcript is out of stock.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/lec

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

February 15, 1960

John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John Constable:

Do you still have a supply of Mike Wallace's interview of Mr. Dabbs? Since his current visit, we think more persons in Little Rock might read and get the points in his replies to Mr. Wallace. Could we have one hundred?

You will want to look at the Arkansas Gazette, February 13, for the good story on Mr. Dabbs' speech. Local T-V carried full coverage of his talk at the Brotherhood Day Service Sunday.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra
cc: Paul Rilling

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

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**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

February 16, 1960

Paul Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

Am in trouble on March 21-22 for our committee. Could you attend meeting March 28-29?

Please phone or wire your answer.

Thanks -

Nat

NRG:ra

P. S. February 18 REPORTER Magazine has an editorial based on the study of Frank Stallings' of the progress of students since integration. What do you know about the original study and where it was published. Can you get a copy to us?

Wrote - will see L-Report 2/23

Yes - do you know anything about this? S.M.

4 OB

4 WV

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

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**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

March 4, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

H. Charles Johnston is anxious to have printed Dabbs' speech on Brotherhood Sunday to the interracial meeting sponsored by Little Rock's Ministerial Society. It's title - "The Tragic Fellowship of Southerners", a good Dabbs speech.

Would this have value for a wider audience than Little Rock and Arkansas? Would SRC find copies useful? About how many? Would CCD?

All questions assume we could do an attractive job of printing. Do not have a copy of speech to lend you.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

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*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

March 9, 1960

Via Air Mail

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

The only direct parallel with the inquiry to the Arkansas Council for a detailed statement of all activities is the similar inquiry which was directed to the Virginia Council last October. Dan Bowers answered this question as follows and the answer was accepted as satisfactory by the Internal Revenue Service. Since there has been so little direct experience with this kind of thing we have very little counsel to give you except to suggest something similar. In making up a list of activities, it should be borne in mind that you are seeking to qualify as an educational organization and that your activities fall, therefore, fairly strictly in this area. You are not, of course, an action or political agency.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm
Enc.

EXCERPTS FROM VIRGINIA LETTER TO IRD:

1. A detailed statement of all activities in which we have been engaged and those in which we propose to engage in the future. Our activities have been thus: (1) Helping to establish and maintain local councils on human relations throughout the state. We now have organized councils in the following areas of Virginia: Richmond, Fairfax County, Norfolk, Arlington, Alexandria, Prince William County, Charlottesville, Lynchburg, Montgomery County, and the Peninsula area. Our purpose is to educate and to encourage understanding and goodwill between people of different racial, religious and cultural backgrounds, through group meetings, consultation with community leaders, sponsoring workshops, etc. (2) We have had and plan to have future workshops in the following fields: Job Opportunities, in which we work closely with the President's Committee on Government Contracts: Ministers Workshop on areas of discrimination and how to eliminate discrimination in schools, religious life, and other areas. (3) We supply educational material on social justice, race relations, discrimination, intergroup relations, desegregation - particularly in the area of public schools. We are in favor of public schools and we seek to educate the people to the value of the public school system, along with the value of obedience to the law, obeying of the constitution, etc. I am enclosing some of our materials, together with copies of our Newsletter, from which you may draw conclusions which may completely answer this question.

Please rush copies of "The Student Protest Movement" (SRC 13) to the following:

Rev. A. M. Roberts, 1123 Virginia, Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Rev. Robert Dickerson, 810 Harding, Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Rev. W. O. Byrd, First Methodist Church, Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Rev. David Shipley, Presbyterian Church, A.M.& N. Campus, Pine Bluff, Ark.

Rev. Ralph E. Leach, P. O. Box 1285, Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Mr. E. W. Freeman, III, Pine Bluff Commercial, Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Mr. Elijah Coleman, Townsend Park School, 2600-1 Fluker St., Pine Bluff, Ark.

Mr. W. M. Phillips, Box 25, A.M.& N. College, Pine Bluff, Arkansas

March 8, 1960

Dear Paul Rilling -

Since Pine Bluff, site of the State College for Negroes, is the most likely place for sit-ins in Arkansas, we want our friends that are listed above to have some perspective in advance.

Nat

sent via air
3/9/60
SM

March 15, 1960

Via Air Mail

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Unfortunately, Harold is out of town this week, sunning himself on Jekyll Island and will not have an opportunity to react in detail to your answer to the federal tax people. We did discuss it briefly before he left yesterday, but we felt that I should go ahead and answer it because of the time factor involved. Harold will be back in the office Monday if you should want to check your final draft with him before sending it on.

Harold feels that there is really no basis of experience by which we can measure the proper tactic here. Neither he nor our lawyer has had any direct experience with this particular kind of inquiry. We have to be guided only by common sense.

Both Harold and I tend to feel that your outline is excellent but perhaps too detailed. Again, we don't know but we suspect that the more specific information you give them the more chance there is that they will question one or two details or specifics. We would suggest an answer somewhat briefer and more general than indicated in your first draft. I do not think, however, that it would be wise to go to anything quite as vague as the Virginia answer, which I didn't like when I read it, but sent on because the Internal Revenue people apparently did.

In the interest of some condensation of your draft, I think you could get by with only three main headings, dealing

with the supplying of materials, the communications angle, and the organization of local groups. It seems to me that # III can be combined with # I; IV, V, and VI with II.

There are a few specifics that I would suggest you reword or delete. I think it quite important to put the emphasis on your educational and bridge-building activities, leaving no possibility of misunderstanding by the tax people that any of your activities are in the field of action. I would suggest the omission or rewording of I, 5. It would probably be better to suggest that you "supplied factual material and interpretation to interested groups during the Little Rock school crisis." I feel that the wording you have leaves an implication of involvement in the effort to reopen schools which could be construed as an action on political activity.

Under IV, I would eliminate the wording of this whole topic. To arrange conferences of "white and colored citizens with special problems" leaves the impression that your end is problem solving rather than communication or understanding. For the same reasons I would eliminate 3 and 4 under IV.

Under V, I would eliminate 2 and 3. These again I think are on the borderline of action projects even though they clearly relate to education. If you feel that this kind of activity should be included in the list, you might reword it something like "providing information on college openings to promising Negro students."

Under VI, I would again question the inclusion of 2 and 3 as seeming to indicate a problem solving activity. Again, if you want to refer to these specific activities, I would discuss them in terms of opening communications between white and Negro citizens in Pine Bluff and providing information to parents of white Seniors concerning possible problems connected with the commencement.

We are flying blind on all of this and your judgment is as good as ours or anyone else's. It is of course necessary to give a correct and balanced picture of the program activities of the Arkansas Council, but I think it is justifiable to select representative activities rather than attempting to detail all.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm
Enc.

P.S. We have sent for Mr. Dabbs' speech and will react as soon as we have had time to look at a

HCF FYI

March 15, 1960

Via Air Mail

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Unfortunately, Harold is out of town this week, sunning himself on Jekyll Island and will not have an opportunity to react in detail to your answer to the federal tax people. We did discuss it briefly before he left yesterday, but we felt that I should go ahead and answer it because of the time factor involved. Harold will be back in the office Monday if you should want to check your final draft with him before sending it on.

Harold feels that there is really no basis of experience by which we can measure the proper tactic here. Neither he nor our lawyer has had any direct experience with this particular kind of inquiry. We have to be guided only by common sense.

Both Harold and I tend to feel that your outline is excellent but perhaps too detailed. Again, we don't know but we suspect that the more specific information you give them the more chance there is that they will question one or two details or specifics. We would suggest an answer somewhat briefer and more general than indicated in your first draft. I do not think, however, that it would be wise to go to anything quite as vague as the Virginia answer, which I didn't like when I read it, but sent on because the Internal Revenue people apparently did.

In the interest of some condensation of your draft, I think you could get by with only three main headings, dealing

with the supplying of materials, the communications angle, and the organization of local groups. It seems to me that # III can be combined with # I; IV, V, and VI with II.

There are a few specifics that I would suggest you reword or delete. I think it quite important to put the emphasis on your educational and bridge-building activities, leaving no possibility of misunderstanding by the tax people that any of your activities are in the field of action. I would suggest the omission or rewording of I, 5. It would probably be better to suggest that you "supplied factual material and interpretation to interested groups during the Little Rock school crisis." I feel that the wording you have leaves an implication of involvement in the effort to reopen schools which could be construed as an action on political activity.

Under IV, I would eliminate the wording of this whole topic. To arrange conferences of "white and colored citizens with special problems" leaves the impression that your end is problem solving rather than communication or understanding. For the same reasons I would eliminate 3 and 4 under IV.

Under V, I would eliminate 2 and 3. These again I think are on the borderline of action projects even though they clearly relate to education. If you feel that this kind of activity should be included in the list, you might reword it something like "providing information on college openings to promising Negro students."

Under VI, I would again question the inclusion of 2 and 3 as seeming to indicate a problem solving activity. Again, if you want to refer to these specific activities, I would discuss them in terms of opening communications between white and Negro citizens in Pine Bluff and providing information to parents of white Seniors concerning possible problems connected with the commencement.

We are flying blind on all of this and your judgment is as good as ours or anyone else's. It is of course necessary to give a correct and balanced picture of the program activities of the Arkansas Council, but I think it is justifiable to select representative activities rather than attempting to detail all.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm
Enc

P.S. We have sent for Mr. Dabbs' speech and will react as soon as we have had time to look at a

PR + PA

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

Rec'd 3/14/60

March 12, 1960

Dear Harold Fleming:-

Am enclosing draft in the rough of proposed answer to major question by Mr Worley.

Some questions: Is this too much detail in light of Virginia's experience? Should I follow Virginia in a simple paragraph using the main headings in these answer? If it seem appropriate to send the material as it is, please suggest reworking, deletions, additions.

Worley's other questions have to do with financial statements and publications. We plan to send last descriptive folder and some sample newsletters about which there could hardly be a question.

We are anxious to get this ~~mail~~ mailed to Washington. Money's low. So will you give us advice promptly.-

Nat

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

(First Draft)

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Supplement to application for exemption from federal income tax. Information requested by Mr. Worley, March 2, 1960, (Correspondence code: T: R: EO: 3-RFB)

"Full details with respect to all activities in which you were actually engaged during the years 1958 and 1959."

Our program of education, for convenience, may be grouped under seven headings.

I. Supplying supplemental material and counselling church workers, educators and civic leaders and thus informing movements of citizens in the interest of the community and state. This service was given, also, to mass media of communication as opportunity arose.

1. Took the lead in getting six citizens to attend an Institute on Police-Community Relations in July 1958 at A & M College in Texas, including two from the public school system, two from the police force and two from the community at large.

2. Offices were used as the center for planning a student seminar on "How Can Youth Work for Peace" in March by an inter-church committee. A second seminar was held in November.

3. Conducted a film forum for Directors of Religious Education and Ministers in March.

4. Participated in a series of evening studies for colored and white on non-violence in religious protests.

5. Supplied factual materials and interpretations for the Women's Emergency Committee and others working to reopen the public high schools and break the impasse in the Little Rock School Board.

6. Served in resource capacity for a church workshop on "Christians in Racial Crisis". Experience of this church was shared with nine other churches.

7. Increased the supply of pamphlets requested from churches and educators, notably the book, Patterns in Desegregation, and the pamphlets, "If the Schools Close" and "The Truth about Washington Desegregation".

8. Mailed research releases of the Southern Regional Council to key citizens.

9. Participated in a number of national and regional conferences for students and churchmen.

II. Providing occasions and means of communication between groups.

1. Through both years our office continued as a meeting place for concerned citizens, colored and white, for frank discussion, sometimes these were arranged informal conferences. National organizations of churches, intergroup relations organizations, and national visitors used as as a means of reaching individuals and groups and for understanding events.

2. After April 1958 foreign visitors under the State Department Educational Exchange Service were sponsored through ACHR - from three to six each quarter. This meant communication among local groups and searching examination of local issues.

3. Shared major responsibility for weekly meeting of colored and white citizens for "Prayer and Conversation" about events in our city during 1958-59.

4. Brought together colored and white Christian ministers in Pine Bluff for weekly meetings.

III. Furnishing materials and consulting persons in position of decision-making.

1. Instrumental in arranging state-wide public meeting for white citizens and colored citizens for considering the "Herbert Thomas Plan for School Desegregation in Little Rock and Arkansas". Our executive committee submitted to the Arkansas Board of Education an analysis of the plan.

2. Consulted with Arkansas Industiral Development Commission concerning the relation of Negro workers to the maximum use of manpower.

3. Advised educators and other citizens in formulating proposed policy for opening Little Rock High Schools in 1959.

4. Consulted with President of the Little Rock School Board and an attorney of that Board transmitting facts as to temper among Negro citizens in July 1959.

IV. Arranged conferences for white and colored citizens with special problesm.

1. At their request arranged consultative conference for professors from five state and private colleges in March 1959.

2. Arranged for a professor of the School of Law to meet with teachers, colored and white, concerning the meaning of certain state laws.

3. With Urban League arranged a "summit ~~XXXXXXX~~ conference" of Arkansas Negroes.

4. Helped arrange a conference of Negro patrons with Little Rock School Board.

V. Providing helpful information and opportunities for Negroes.

Arranged for scholarships for college students to Citizenship Encampment during the summer.

Helped promising Negro student and athelete in his efforts to enter the University.

Assisted one of "the nine" Central High students in application for scholarship to "big-seven" college.

Guided Little Rock senior of Harvard in research on "Negro Customers on Main Street", followed by conferences with businessmen.

VI. Sharing materials and funded experience with persons at points of tension between races.

1. Through ministers in Van Buren during a school crisis over desegregation reached school and city officials with materials. ~~The situation was stabilized~~.

2. Consulted directly with some Negro and white citizens concerned with a school crisis at Pine Bluff.

3. Prior to commencement in Central High School, 1958, when the first Negro was in the graduating class, conferred with parents of white seniors concerning arrangements for a smooth occasion.

VII. Cultivation of Local Groups on Human Relations.

1. Groups are developing in Pulaski County, Fayetteville, Monticello, pine Bluff and Hot Springs.

2. Workshops for members of the Board have been held each year for two days.

3. Occasional newsletters go to members at various towns.

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

March 23, 1960

Paul Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

Using all funds now in sight we will be able to pay salaries only through April 1.

We mailed our supplement to our application for tax exemption March 18. But we scarcely believe in the kind of miracle which will get clearance before April 15 payday.

We thought we would talk with you next week about possible sources of loans or funds.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

March 23, 1960

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 W. Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

We got a copy of Mr. Dabbs' Brotherhood Sunday speech and have gone over it carefully. We are not prepared to reprint it but we would be happy to buy 2,000 copies which might make it possible for the Arkansas Council to manage the deal. If you do reprint the speech, I trust it will be prominently noted that Mr. Dabbs is president of SRC.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

P. S. I will be arriving Sunday night at 8:51 p.m., via Trans-Texas flight 124. I plan to go directly to the Sam Peck, at which I trust you have made me a reservation.

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

April 13, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

This is to confirm my understanding of your explanation of the matching feature attached to the $2000 special gift for ACHR.

1. Because of time elapsed you thought time limits (Dec.1 to June 1) could be extended. How much? July 1, August 1?

2. You trust us to raise $1000 locally to match the $1000 already sent (Thanks!). Above this $2000 each dollar raised locally would be matched by SRC up to $1000.

We are undertaking this matching and hope it may jar loose, as your Executive Committee thought it would, some money for us.

Does the above state your understanding of the conditions?

Sincerely,

Nat R. Griswold

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

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*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

April 18, 1960

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Just a word of congratulations to you and the ACHR on your newly won tax-exemption.

Have you written to Dave Freeman? If not, I suggest you do. The tax-exemption, meaning that ACHR can receive the grant directly, is a good basis for writing.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

April 3, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

A letter from Mr. Worley of the I.R.S. Friday brought the news that A.C.H.R. is granted tax exemption. We sent our supplemental material March 18. How is that for bureaucratic speed!

Naturally, we hope this undams the river of dollars flowing our way. We have not heard from the Brothers Fund.

We expect to mail our quarterly report to Paul on the fifth. I will write him concerning the regular time for our quarterly report.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat Griswold

NG:msg
cc: Paul Rilling

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

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*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

April 19, 1960

Via Air Mail

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Upon checking all of the documents, etc. relating to the conditions of the special grant I find that things are even worse than we thought. I myself did not remember correctly when you and I were going over the thing last month. It now seems that our original letter to you is not completely clear.

The situation is as follows: $2,000 of special funds was set aside for the Arkansas Council under the following conditions 1) $1,000 to be made available immediately. 2) Up to an additional $1,000 to be made available as of June 1 on the basis of matching evenly funds raised within the state in excess of $2,000 between December 1 and June 1.

This means that the matching funds apply only to all funds raised above $2,000 within the state. The original $1,000 from the special fund is not to be counted toward making up this figure. The Arkansas Council would have to raise a total of $3,000 locally to claim the full additional $1,000 from the special grant. This is the lowest local quota which was given to any of the staffed state councils.

I believe that the time limit could be extended from June 1 and could be put about anywhere you think strategic. We could simply match funds as they are raised above the $2,000 figure from time to time until December, or we might set a more specific time limit in the fall. I have no

authority to alter the terms of the grant but I think it entirely possible that the time limit could be extended into late fall if you wish.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm
Enc.

April 27, 1960

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

This will acknowledge with appreciation your recent quarterly report. You will be interested to know that the use you made of John Wheeler in Little Rock has provoked widespread interest and there are plans in Virginia and elsewhere to try to involve him in a similar fashion.

The Ministerial Fellowship in Pine Bluff seems to be playing a very constructive role in the potentially explosive community. The Arkansas Council should feel proud of this particular contribution.

We are trying to study and analyze here the effectiveness of the recent fad in favor of appointing official biracial committees on a temporary or permanent basis to deal with the challenge posed by sit-in demonstrations. Let me know of any efforts in this direction in Arkansas and whether or not you see them as useful.

I enjoyed participating in the Committee of the Future meeting. Let me know how plans develop toward implementation of these ideas.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

May 2, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

We are undertaking to use the lever provided by SRC to hasten contributions.

To that end maybe we should set September first as a deadline to raise the $3000 to claim the $1000. If we find we are short about August 15 we may make special pleading for an extension of time.

This arrangement would cooperate with the intent of the Executive Committee of SRC and give us time for an honest effort to meet its conditions.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat Griswold

NRG:ra

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*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

May 9, 1960

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

We will extend the deadline for your matching grants to September 1 as you suggest. Generally speaking, the state Councils seem to be doing quite well about these matching grants. Hope that you can make it.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

VIA AIR MAIL

May 25, 1960

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

We have no information to indicate that a film of the TV show on sit-ins would be available. It is unlikely that the network would release it at this early date, particularly for a reasonable fee.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

May 24, 1960

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Anthony:

Is a film of the TV show on sit-ins available? Don Goddard narrated the show and CORE demonstrated a training session.

If the film is available will you notify us about details by telephone?

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold
ra

Nat Griswold

NRG:ra

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*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

June 9, 1960

via air mail special

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

We still cannot find copies of "A Statement To The South And The Nation." If you or Thelma Babbitt wish to mimeograph it I am sure it is in the public domain.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encl.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

June 6, 1960

Mr. Nat Griswold, Exec. Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

We do not know of a statement issued by the "Southern Leaders Conference on Transportation." A check with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which is Dr. King's office, did not turn up a copy either.

Do you have a copy that you could send us so we could run it down a little easier?

Sincerely,

John

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/bcc

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

June 3, 1960

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John Constable:

Thelma Babbitt, in preparation for a third conference of community unity, has asked me to help get some brief materials on the morality of the segregation-integration controversy.

We would like one hundred copies of "A Statement to the South and Nation" issued by the "Southern Leaders Conference on Transportation", January 10-11, 1957, at Atlanta. If you do not have these, would the office there of the Christian Leadership Conference or Dr. Martin Luther King be able to supply them?

The conference will be Saturday, June 18. So we need prompt action in getting these.

Thanks -

Nat

Nat Griswold

NRG:ra

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

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*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

mailed 5-26-60

May 25, 1960

SPECIAL

John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John Constable:

Please rush us 30 copies of Morland's "Lunch-Counter Desegregation in Corpus Christi, Galvenston and San Antonio".

Thanks -

Nat

Nat Griswold

May 9, 1960

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Copies of Governor Collins' speech went to the L-Report list, all categories. We are mailing you the additional copies under separate cover.

We do not have additional copies of A Report on Nashville, but you can probably secure the needed copies from Miss Louise Young of the Tennessee Council.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

May 3, 1960

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John Constable:

We would like to have about two dozen copies of the speech made by Governor Collins. We would also be interested to know which Arkansas mailing list was used in the original mailing from SRC.

Please send us also seventy copies of A Report on Nashville by Wallace Westfeldt.

Thanks -

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

Nat Griswold

NRG:ra

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

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*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

PR - Any reactions?
HF

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

July 5, 1960

Tip for this myself, as you can see!

Mr Harold Fleming:

Thomas Pettigrew and Kyle Haselden have agreed to participate in a two-day retreat for representative ministers of this area, October 6-7. As a Christian ethicist and Social scientist, they will help in finding applicable answers to the question:"What Can a Local Church in Arkansas do Now to Help the Desegregation Process?". We expect to limit the number of ministers to forty, so we can get maximum participation. They will live together for two days at Ferncliff Camp outside Little Rock.

We now have the copperation of the Dean of Trinity Cathedral who is the new president of the Greater Little Rock Ministerial Association. Also, the Secretary of the Arkansas Council of Churches and the Director of Christian Education for the Presbyterian Synod of Arkansas. Others will come along.

My question to you: would one of these project-mad foundations buy this sort of venture and pick up the tab? Which one would be best to ask? The cost would be approximately $1000.00 with ministers paying a token part of their bill for food. Out of this we would hope might come an innovator group in Little Rock and Pine Bluff which would feel strong enough that it might begin some real leadership, might even break through the silence and intransigence. Some hope!

We have had this in mind for many months. It now seems promising. Any suggestions will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

Nat

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*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

July 8, 1960

John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John Constable:

Am enclosing a copy of a speech by Ben Heller given on June 18 to ~~some~~ 115 Little Rockians in an all-day Conference.

It was an effective speech. It needs to be heard. But some hard questions arise: How can best use be made of it? Would it be useful in N. S.? Would an accordion folder permit wider distribution? Does local reference and color limit its use outside Arkansas? Is there a national publication which might use it?

He gave ~~the title~~ the speech no title. That is mine. So an editor can take full liberty with that. Also, I assume liberties may be taken in editing out local referances and dating allusions.

The sad fact is that Dr Heller left Little Rock on June 29. He will go to Milwaukee where he will teach and head the Veterans Hospital. He and Doris (Secretary to our Executive Committee) are rare birds. Quality population leaves faster than quanity population!

Let us have some word from you on this matter.

Sincerely,

Mat

copy to Paul Rilling

See John for speech.

COPY

July 11, 1960

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Harold and I have discussed your suggestion of foundation money for your retreat for ministers October 6 and 7.

We do not feel that it would be fruitful to approach a foundation on this matter, both because of the small funds involved and because of the nature of the workshop. It is our experience that most foundations would consider this something that should be handled as part of the on-going program activities. If you know of foundations that would be particularly responsive to this kind of thing, you should feel free to make a pitch to them, needless to say.

It might be possible for SRC to provide $100 or $200 for this effort out of ~~my~~ special state aid funds. You will remember that we set aside a few hundred dollars for special activities and needs that might arise. I think this might well qualify under this heading.

I think the idea is an excellent one. I hope you find it possible to carry through with this retreat. Have you considered applying for help from the Consultant Service Program to handle some of the expenses connected with your speakers and resource persons? If you would be interested in exploring this idea, write me about it.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

July 13, 1960

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Thank you for your report of June 30. It is most encouraging to learn that the Arkansas Council is winning wider reputation among moderate and liberal persons. I think this reflects a gradually changing political atmosphere which SRC has felt in relation to our work and publications.

John Walker's work in the important field of student transfer applications seems to have met an important and critical need in the Little Rock situation. I note in the Southern School News, however, that John and the Arkansas Council received public credit for this effort which is perhaps unfortunate.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

VIA AIR MAIL

July 13, 1960

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 W. Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

This is in reply to your letter concerning a request for renewed funds from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

My impression is that Winthrop is the key to your hopes. I have always understood that his interest in the Arkansas Council and his endorsement of the original request were the main factors in its approval. Therefore, if you have not already moved, I suggest that you try to get an appointment with him and assure his support in the renewal effort.

Otherwise, I can only second your plan to submit a written request to DannaCreel and David Freeman (it might be wise at least to keep Freeman informed) and to offer to come to New York and discuss it with them as they wish. My guess is that they will not feel it necessary for you to do so.

I don't think it would be worth the expense and effort for you to come to Atlanta. If you

would like us to read the draft proposal, we will gladly do so and will pass on any suggestions we may have. In any case, I hope you will let us have a copy of what is submitted so that I will be in position to lend any support I can to your request.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

/PR - F.Y.I.
Return HF

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

July 5, 1960

Mr Harold Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

We plan to present our request for continuing grant from the Brothers this month.

Do you have suggestions? We will send a written application to Dana Creel. If it seems useful we would send a team for interviews. How does this seem to you? Does the Arkansas member have weighty influence in our case? Maybe a conference with him after application would be sufficient.

Any suggestions or notions will be helpful.

Sincerely,

Nat

Would it pay us to come to Atlanta for a conference with you?

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STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

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**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

July 14, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

Thanks for your letter of encouragement re retreat for ministers.

We indicated, I believe, that both Pettigrew and Haselden have accepted and we have reserved Ferncliff for October 6-7, Lodge and a cabin nearby. In early August a local committee of ministers will plot exact plans for presentations by the resource persons and participation by ministers. Since Haselden is a Baptist we expect to get some Baptist participation. Our present plan is to concentrate on ministers in Little Rock and Pine Bluff.

Consultant Service of SRC had been in my mind, I was uncertain as to whether it was elastic enough now to permit so much local control of selection of consultants. If Haselden and Pettigrew will meet requirements of the Program of course we would be grateful for that big assist. Would you wish to suggest additional consultants? How much responsibility could CSP take? Plane travel for Pettigrew will be $196.46; for Haselden $102.20. Would your customary honorarium of $40.00 per diem apply?

Help from the CSP plus a boost from your special funds would enable us to handle the retreat without depleting our program budget. What other details of the plans will you need to make decisions?

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

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July 18, 1960

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 W. Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

I believe that we can quite possibly assist you via the Consultant Service Program but there are certain policy difficulties involved. Normally, when a project comes under the Consultant Service Program, John Hope or I would be involved to some extent in the planning of it, the selection of resource persons, etc. We are, for instance, skeptical of the need to bring two persons from so very far away - involving such large expenses for a small workshop. Quite clearly, however, these are the kind of resource persons that we would want to involve in any such program;

In order to help me with this would you indicate whether the workshop is interracial and, if so, what the general breakdown will be. Would you indicate to a little more clearly the role that the two outside consultants will be playing and some detail concerning the organization of the workshop. This information will, I think, help considerably to justify the rather unusual procedure of allocating Consultant Service funds after the planning and arrangement have been completed.

I'm afraid it will not be possible for us to help you both from the Consultant Service Program

and from my special state-aid fund. I think the CSP will be a better bet and could provide probably a somewhat larger chunk if we can find it possible to take care of the total expenses of both outside consultants.

Have you made any commitments with Pettigrew and Hazelton concerning honoraria?

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/mf

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

July 20, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

Fred Darragh and I visited informally with Mrs. Thelma Irby, Administrative Assistant to Mr. Winthrop Rockefeller, on July 19 in regard to application.

She very graciously volunteered to arrange for us to see him early in September. Her suggestion was that we see him with our application in hand and let him send it to New York with his personal endorsement of it. This will be "nice work if we can get it"!

We will be sending you a draft of our application for suggestions.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

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HCF ✓
PR

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

July 20, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

A committee of ministers during August will work out details of the retreat for ministers in October. You may wish to get their plans. I can, however, share our thinking (largely mine and Cartwright's shared with a few church leaders.) Formulation here is all mine.

The expected results of the retreat would follow the needs for it in the first place. Even our ministers of greatest integrity profess confusion now as to role of minister and church in the race issue. This confusion revolves around the nature of the Christian faith and the nature of the Christian Church, especially as they relate to social change. As you see clarifying such confusion involves special knowledge and insight in theology and ethics, and especially in group dynamics and dynamics of groups.

To us it seemed obvious no one consultant had the specialized knowledge needed. Moreover, a single discipline (say theology) might add to confusion if not on the spot confronted or interpreted by the other (say, social science). Haselden has some excellent answers in terms of Christian thought. These need to be related to the answers about institutional implementation which Pettigrew with general knowledge and special knowledge of Little Rock should be able to give.

In Arkansas - Little Rock particularly - the heads of the churches operate under the dictum "The churchmen must wait on laymen to take the lead". This we do not accept. We think it possible to get a large enough group of clergymen in Little Rock and in Pine Bluff to provide mutual support for those wishing to articulate the moral meanings and moral solutions to our present impasse. A

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combination such as Haselden and Pettigrew living for thirty-six hours with such ministers may fortify such "innovator" groups at both places which could start activities which hopefully would evolve into a more general movement for sound solutions.

We have concluded that this sort of expectation warrants getting strongest men who will draw strong men. We expect the news conference with the consultants after the retreat to further influence public opinion.

The retreat will be interracial. The racial and denominational breakdown of participants has not been surveyed. We may let denominations designate representatives. Our criteria will be simple, basicly will require a participant to desire deeply to help do something and to be ready to learn. These would exclude some top church administrators but they would include some strong individuals.

We have no commitments as to amount of honoraria for consultants. We indicated that we felt sure the honorarium "can be made satisfactory to you". They made no allusion to this in their replies.

We will give you further details in August.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat Griswold

NRG:ra

August 3, 1960

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

The Consultant Service Program will be happy to take care of travel expenses for Haselden and Pettigrew in connection with the retreat for ministers in October. Since a considerable sum of money is involved, however, we can contribute only $80 toward honorarium for these consultants. I hope that this will be adequate or that the Arkansas Council can supplement it as may be necessary.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

August 16, 1960

Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

In regard to the matching fund. According to our final understanding we were to raise $3000 from December 1, 1959 to September 1, 1960 in order to claim the additional $1000 held by SRC.

We now lack $553 as of today acheiving this $3000. We feel a bit grim about raising this balance by September 1. Our application for a new grant from the Brothers must be in final form by September 1. We are hand picking and conferring with ministers about the retreat with Pettigrew and Haselden in October, to get it on their calendars. We are pushing this month for the contest in Negro churches. See flyer. John Walker is gone. Ruth Arnold is on two-weeks vacation. To raise the $500 can only be done by someone taking time to knock on some heads. But time is not available, for the remainder of this months heads are not either.

So, this is an alert to you. We may make an appeal for extension of time through September. We do have up a bit of steam about finances. One Negro leader, an optometrist, is beginning to move helpfully among professional men. We would like to claim that $500. This will enable you to make up your mind with deliberate speed.

We do appreciate your help on the retreat. Met with the president and vice-president of the Little Rock Ministerial Association, president of Pine Bluff Ministers Alliance, and Cartwright on Thursday about details. Cartwright and I meet Tuesday on the actual program.

Sincerely,

Nat

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# MAKE

# FIFTY DOLLARS

## For Your Church

by

## *Doing Only What You Wish*

## PRIZES of $50.00

**will go to each of two churches in this County for collecting poll tax from members during September.**

## PRIZES of $35.00

**will go to each of two second place winners.**

### Contest Committee

Mr. Milton A. Lawson ..... Philander Smith College
Mr. C. A. Hicks ..... Arkansas Department of Education
Mr. Oley Griffin ..... Shorter College
Mr. M. B. Burke ..... Arkansas Baptist College

**WHO IS ELIGIBLE?** Any church in Pulaski County with at least _____ members of voting age.

### Rules of The Contest

1. Each competing church will be furnished a list of Negro citizens of the County holding poll tax receipts in 1959.
2. Each church will file not later than September 12 with the contest committee two lists:
   a) all church members holding poll tax receipts in 1959
   b) church members of voting age without receipts in 1959
   (Each church should also keep copies of these lists)
3. On September 19 and 29 churches will turn in member applications for poll tax with the money for same to the contest committee.
   (Each church should keep a list of these)
4. By October 3 each competing church will give to the contest committee a complete list of its members holding 1960 poll tax receipts and those applying in September for poll tax receipts, keeping the two separate.

### Awards

1. The church having the highest percentage of its members of voting age qualified as voters will receive from the contest committee $50.00 toward its budget; the church with the second highest, $35.
2. The church having the largest increase of poll tax payers in 1960 over 1959 among its members will receive $50.00; the second largest increase will receive $35.
3. In case of a tie prizes will be duplicated.

### Promotion Plans in Each Church

1. The minister will serve on all committees.
2. A committee of laymen and laywomen will be named as the contest committee for each church. (Names of this committee should be filed with the Contest Committee.) This committee will help make a list of qualified voters and non-voters, promote sale of applications for poll tax, and plan educational activities.
3. The minister will preach at least one sermon on exercising citizenship rights.
4. Adult training classes will hold discussions on responsibility to participate in community affairs!

August 26, 1960

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 W. Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

It was good to get your letter of August 16 and to note the good news concerning fund-raising. I believe that the Arkansas Council should be proud of this record to date. We want you to have the total sum of course and can arrange a deferment of time to, say November 1, if necessary.

Whatever did happen to John Walker? Is he in the Army or graduate school? My regards to your wife and to Ruth Arnold when she returns.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

September 1, 1960

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 W. Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

The draft request to the RBF is excellent. Of course, any document can be edited merely for language and style, but you and Bert can satisfy yourselves on that score. I find it persuasive in both content and expression, as does Paul Rilling.

One very minor point: Personally, I wouldn't use the short form "Brothers Fund," but either the full name or simply "the Fund."

I'll be most interested to learn what success you have with Winthrop, and of course will be prepared to give any support we can in New York.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - (Draft request)

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

August 30, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

Here is my unabridged application to the Brothers for a new grant.

As usual, in the process of formulation - including and excluding - I became paralyzed in my powers to criticize and rewrite. So you need exercise no particular caution in your suggestions as to change.

As indicated earlier we expect to take the revised form (Cartwright is going over another copy of this) to Mr. W. Rockefeller to get him to transmit it with his approval early in September. Mrs. Irby has promised to arrange a conference with him.

So, if you can let us have your suggestions promptly it will help.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

Nat Griswold

NRG:ra
cc: C.S.Cartwright

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

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*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all people*

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MEMORANDUM September 19, 1960

To: State Directors

From: Paul Rilling

September 1 has come and gone, and we have only one quarterly report.

Is one guy pulling your leg? Honestly, we expected to get ours in ~~by~~ with the "conformers", i.e. by October 1. What do you mean September 1? Delinquents really have a hard time reforming! Moralists all wage raise the standard on them when they try!

"Brevity is the soul of wit." Yours is better wit. Nat

PAW HCF PRC

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 201, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

October 12, 1960

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

The Nominating Committee for the Board of SRC met here recently and Mr. Wiley Branton was suggested as a new Board member. Mr. Branton's name will probably be presented to the Board for consideration at the November meeting. Our usual practice is to learn in advance whether those being considered would be willing to accept a position on the Board.

Would you be willing to talk with Mr. Branton and let us know as soon as possible whether he would be interested in serving as an SRC Board member if selected next month.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

Dear Paul-
via telephone, Mr. Branton tells us he would consider it an honor to serve on the SRC Board.

Nat

October 12, 1960

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

The Nominating Committee for the Board of SRC met here recently and Mr. Wiley Branton was suggested as a new Board member. Mr. Branton's name will probably be presented to the Board for consideration at the November meeting. Our usual practice is to learn in advance whether those being considered would be willing to accept a position on the Board.

Would you be willing to talk with Mr. Branton and let us know as soon as possible whether he would be interested in serving as an SRC Board member if selected next month.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

October 13, 1960

Mr. Nat Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Thank you for your recent quarterly report. I am sorry that I managed to confuse everyone this time concerning the due dates for the reports.

I ran into Will Campbell recently at a meeting in South Carolina and he reported a very favorable experience at your Minister's Workshop. From the program and from Will's report this would seem to have been a highly useful effort. I will get our share of the expenses to you as soon as possible.

Congratulations on your new Methodist Bishop in Arkansas. I only wish he had some jurisdiction over the mess in Alabama. Do let me know if you have been able to do anything in behalf of Bob Hughes.

The recommended emphasis of focusing in the school area on districts with a light Negro student load sounds sound. Let me know how you come along in this direction.

We were all impressed here, as Harold wrote you, with your application for further assistance from the RBF. I hope this comes through in good shape and that your financial problems are only average.

Some time in the late fall I hope that we can get together in Arkansas.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

October 20, 1960

Dr. Thomas Pettigrew
Department of Social Relations
Emerson Hall, Harvard University
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Dr. Pettigrew:

I am enclosing a check from our Consultant Service Fund to cover a portion of the expenses and honorarium from the Little Rock workshop.

We understand from Nat Griswold that it was a very worthwhile meeting, and know your contribution was an important one.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Timothy Miller
secretary to the Field
Director

Enclosure

Attention: Paul Belling

October 17, 1960

Mr. Thomas F. Pettigrew
Assistant Professor of Social Psychology
Department of Social Relations
Emerson Hall, Harvard University
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Tom Pettigrew:

While we have not had a chance to knuckle down to a serious effort of evaluation for the Ministers' Retreat, we can say that we were highly gratified over the individual and combined helpfulness of the consultants. My belief is that any misgivings on the part of participating ministers about help coming from "experts" were completely dissipated by you and Haselden at the very first by your spirit, understanding, and useful knowledge. Later evaluations will be shared with you.

Your doubts about effectiveness of your talk to our Board probably grew from the sense of haste which time put upon you. We can assure you that reports from a variety of sources all concur that your analysis was meaningful and satisfying.

We are forwarding your travel expense item to the Southern Regional Council who are helping with costs. They will send a check for travel and forty dollars, honorarium. We are enclosing our check for sixty-seven dollars, honorarium and local hotel.

We do look forward to your being in these parts again. You would be useful at the University of Arkansas for some addresses and conferences. I spent this last week-end there. This might be arranged when you come our way again.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat Griswold

NRG:ra
Enc.

October 14, 1960

Mr. Kyle Haselden, Managing Editor
The Christian Century
407 South Dearborn
Chicago 5, Illinois

Dear Mr. Haselden:

I am enclosing a check from our Consultant Service Fund as a portion of the honorarium for the Little Rock Ministers' Workshop in which you participated.

We understand from Nat Griswold that it was a very worthwhile meeting, and appreciate your part in making it possible.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Timothy Miller
secretary to the Field
Director

Encl/

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

November 7, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

Would ~~Monday or Tuesday,~~ Wednesday or Thursday November ~~28,29~~ 30, December 1, 1:30 p.m. be a possible date for meeting with us?

Hopefully, by that time some reassuring word may have come from our Santa Claus. This would enable us to discuss an associate director and program activities with an ambitious scope.

Will you phone or wire your decision on the date?

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat Griswold

NRG:ra

OK. - Wood 11/11/60

Call to L.R. 8.40 - 10.31 DWA #475

4.33 - 5.14
6.50 - 9.58
8.21 A.M. Dist.

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PR - Assume you're handling this
H.

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

November 28, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

We are making tentative plans on a broad front for a sectional meeting of NAIRO, April 13,14. You can help in making a list of potential participants - members, associates, thoughtful friends, etc. - residing in this area.

Would you share lists which you have of concerned university teachers, members of ESCRU, Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, Christian Associations, groups related to NAIRO, Unitarian Service Committee, Church Women, State Councils of Churches, and the like. If selection of those living in reach of Little Rock is too tedious, we can do this if we have the lists with the addresses.

Have written John Fields, a native son, asking for leadership suggestions and asking that he put the dates on his calendar.

Of course my reckless optimism about financing the venture may undo me. But unless we have something worth paying for we might as well not try. If we do, I believe we can get finances.

Any wisdom from you or others will be appreciated. Thanks!

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

NRG:ra

Nat

P.S. Will talk to Paul about details on Wednesday.

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*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

via air mail

December 15, 1960

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

I talked with Claude Sitton yesterday about the Sunday meeting, the Dunbar Center angle, and so forth. He said their stringer, Foreman of the Gazette, would be the man to handle it. Perhaps you have talked with Foreman by now. In any case, Claude said he would be glad to call Foreman about it.

Hope this small impulse will help some.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

January 9, 1961

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

This is acknowledge both your recent communications.

I am sending you separately two (2) copies of the Pollitt memorandum. We have reproduced only a limited number of these and I regret this is all we can supply.

I am glad to have the Little Rock news item on "Operation Abolition." If I see an opportunity -- and most especially if this kind of thing continues -- I will pass along the word to appropriate persons in Washington.

Your plans for the regional NAIRO conference, while ambitious, look very good. I will talk with Paul Rilling about what we can do to help.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

January 4, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

We think Dan Pollitt's "The President's Powers in Areas of Race Relation" is really exciting. (We have Cartwright's copy.) Are additional copies available? We have two uses in mind: one for discussion at annual meeting by members on January 21; two, for consideration at NAIRO's regional conference here in April. (May have Pollitt come.)

We enclose copies of local news items in re "Operation Abolition". The danger of this business rekindling the McCarthy smudge pots across the South concerns us. The alliance of the armed forces with the "patriots" in shaping public temper seems a danger worthy of the attention of the new U. S. Attorney General. What do you think?

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat Griswold

NRG:ra
Enc. 3

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

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# Sertoma Club to See Film On Un-American Probe Fuss

(1)

"Operation Abolition," a motion picture about the troubles of the House Un-American Activities Committee in San Francisco last May, will be shown at Little Rock Wednesday.

The Sertoma Club will show the film at a noon meeting at the Albert Pike Hotel, Editor W. O. Clark of the Club's bulletin said yesterday.

Clark said that arrangements for the film were being made through a Navy official at Little Rock.

He said in the bulletin that it would "bring home shocking facts that tear away any feeling that Americans relax in smug thought that Communism is not a real and active threat to the security of America—NOW."

Student protests against Un-American Activities Committee hearings resulted in disorders which are the basis for the film. It was made with the active cooperation of the Committee and uses film shot by television stations at San Francisco along with other material.

Both the Reporter magazine and the Washington Post and Times Herald have alleged that the motion picture is unfair and intentionally misleading in its approach to its subject. The Reporter said that scenes shot at different times were grouped together to give the impression that communists were leading student protests when this was not the case.

The Washington Post called it a "flagrant case of forgery by film." The Post editorial concluded, "In every respect—in its distribution for private profit, in its falsification of facts, in its whitewashing of the Un-American Activities Committee — this film makes a dirty joke of the congressional investigating power."

In his bulletin, Clark said the film was titled, "It Can Happen Here." He explained yesterday that he had had trouble recalling the exact title and had used the one he did because it seemed to fit so well. He remembered yesterday that "Operation Abolition" was the correct title. The title refers to efforts by liberal groups and opponents of the Committee's tactics to have it abolished.

(2)

# Rigging Charges Cast Aside; Legion to Push Anti-Red Film

Gazette Dec

The Sertoma Club yesterday moved up by a day its scheduled showing of "Operation Abolition" while the Arkansas Department of the American Legion announced that it had bought a copy of the film, would preview it tonight for a selected group and hoped to show it everywhere in Arkansas eventually.

The 45-minute film was made by a private firm in close collaboration with the House Committee on Un-American Activities. It depicts troubles of the Committee with college students during hearings in San Francisco last May. The film seeks to show what the Committee has sought to establish, that the student riots were Communist incited and Communist led.

The Washington Post, the Reporter magazine and other publications have contended that the film is a deliberate attempt to create misimpressions by rearranging the sequence of events and through other methods.

## Sertoma Praise

The Sertoma Club, in its bulletin for this week, endorsed the film as sure to alert those seeing it to the menace of Communism in the United States.

Petty Officer Dick Barcafer, a Navy public relations man at Little Rock, said the film would be shown at a meeting at noon today at the Albert Pike Hotel.

The Sertomans changed their meeting date, he said, because the film had to be sent somewhere else by tomorrow. Barcafer said he had borrowed the copy of the film from Army officials at Little Rock. He said the Air Force also was circulating it.

Loyd McDermott, the Arkansas Department adjutant for the American Legion, said the Legion had seen the film at national meetings, had bought a copy of it and wanted to make it available to the schools, civic clubs, police agencies and anyone else interested in showing it. The state's Legion posts will get first call on the film, McDermott said. He said it had been bought jointly by the Department and by the Department's Boys State Commission.

## 'Part of Records'

What about the charges that the film is misleading?

"The only thing that I would say in reply to that is that the House Un-American Activities Committee considers it part of their official records. We think that everybody should see it," McDermott said.

Said Lilburn Harrison of Little Rock, a state Legion committeeman: "We feel it is a very good film. We feel it could happen here just as it could have happened in San Francisco. * * * We think we can get it into every little town in the state."

The preview showing will be at 6 p. m. today at the auditorium of the M. M. Eberts Post 1 building at 117 North Spring Street. Those invited include officials of local Legion posts, and representatives of high schools, the Arkansas Education Association, state Education Department, state attorney general's office, National Guard, FBI, police, city, Ministerial Alliance and other groups, McDermott said.

Ark. Democrat Dec. 20, 1960 p. 23

(3)

# Communist Riot Film Is Shown

A 45-minute movie that seeks to demonstrate that the student rioting last May in San Francisco was Communist-inspired was to be shown here today at a luncheon of the Sertoma Club in Hotel Albert Pike.

The noon showing is sponsored by the Navy Recruiting Service here. It was borrowed from the U.S. Army.

The club has endorsed the film as one that will alert viewers to the menace of communism in the United States.

According to Loyd McDermott, Arkansas Department adjutant for the American Legion, the Legion saw the film at national meetings and has purchased a copy of it for showings to schools, civic clubs, police agencies and others interested.

A showing is scheduled for 6 p. m. in the auditorium of M. M. Eberts Post No. 1 building at 117 North Spring.

# Red 'Scare' Film Blasted By Educator, Clergyman; Legion Stands Behind It

Dec 21

By PATRICK J. OWENS
Of the Gazette Staff

A churchman and a leader of teachers last night called the film, "Operation Abolition," inaccurate and misleading.

Forrest Rozzell, executive secretary of the Arkansas Education Association, said the film was an attempt to establish guilt by association.

Dr. Joseph B. Hunter, executive secretary of the Arkansas Council of Churches, said the film was misleading and warned that it could lead to lawsuits.

The Arkansas Department of the American Legion and the Department's Boys State Commission have bought a print of the 45-minute film for $100 from the commercial firm that made it, in close collaboration with the House Un-American Activities Commit-

The Legion held a preview showing last night at M. M. Eberts Post [illegible] invited school, church, civic a[illegible] officials.

Loyd McDermott, s[illegible] adjutant, estimated the crowd [illegible] the Post auditorium at [illegible]100 persons. He said the auditorium seated 200.

The narrator says the movie shows how a small group of Communists and Communist sympathizers promoted demonstrations by college students in San Francisco last May which disrupted hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee and which finally brought out the police, who broke up what degenerated into a riot with fire hoses.

It is made up of film taken by television cameramen plus close-ups of Committee members at their desks discussing the student demonstrations and calling them a threat to America.

## Mostly Quiet

The crowd listened quietly, with occasional murmured conversation. At one point, when a Negro was dragged bumpily along across the ground, someone shouted "Thurgood Marshall." There also was some laughter when students who refused to leave the hearing site were pushed or dragged downstairs.

There was some confusion as to identification, at least for persons unfamiliar with the cast of characters, so that it was hard to tell whether a Communist or sympathizer or just a d[illegible] talking or shouting.

There was sca[illegible]

## Attempts Rebuttal

Then McDermott, master of ceremonies, sought to answer some claims that the film is misleading, that sequences were rearranged to give misimpressions and that Communists, while present, did not start or control the demonstrations.

McDermott quoted J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, as saying that the riots were "Communist-inspired," that "these students were stooges" and that "this outburst [the riots] was typical of these Communist conspirators."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

(4) continued

McDermott had said there could be discussion after the film if anyone wanted it. The idea of the showing was that those present should decide if the film was the sort of thing their groups ought to see.

Alfred Lippman Jr. of Benton stood up to talk about a film he has for showing, "Communism on the Map."

## Little Rock Cited

Rozzell stood:

"At the risk of being accused of being a Communist myself, which I have no hesitation in saying that I am not," he started. Then he went on to ask what sort of a film could have been made of the Little Rock disorders of 1957 by someone who wanted to show that they had resulted from a Communist conspiracy. "How accurate would that have reflected the things that happened at Little Rock?" Rozzell wanted to know.

Dr. Hunter said he had information from clergy sources that the film was misleading. He added that if the film was misleading, then organizations that showed it might be subject to suits.

## An Old Hobgoblin

Mrs. W. F. McCray, who has been active in segregationist groups asked if a minister discussed in the film was "Bishop Pike," a reference to a San Francisco Episcopalian who is a hobgoblin of ultra-conservatives.

Mrs. Lippman (she explained later that both she and her husband are avid students and critics of communism) said she didn't know offhand but the man in question was an Episcopalian.

Mrs. Lippman added that the Legion need not fear litigation because the Un-American Activi-

(See FILM on Page 2A.)

ties Committee had made the film a part of its official record.

## But Is It True?

"I don't think that immunity is the point," Rozzell responded. "I think we're concerned about accuracy." Rozzell said he spent a week last summer at an American Friends Service Committee camp where he met a couple whose son was involved in the riots. He said he knew from them and from other sources that the riots were not Communist inspired.

"The students involved were not Communists and were not dupes of Communists," Rozzell said.

He went on to contend that truth was the American way and that communism could not be defeated by reversion to its methods.

"My confidence rests in the Constitution of the United States * * *," he said. "If our only security from communism lies in the House Un-American Activities Committee, God help us. Our protection is in our homes, our schools and our churches."

McDermott said he'd been a teacher 23 years and that one reason he wasn't one any more was that there had been a drift in the schools away from belief in Americanism.

James Guy Tucker, director of the Little Rock Social Security office and an American Legion post commander, said he couldn't understand why "a representative of the teachers of the state of Arkansas should stand up here and offer any objections [to the film]."

## Clergy Indicted

Lippman said the clergy was infiltrated intensively with Communists and Communist sympathizers. He cited J. Edgar Hoover as his authority for the statement.

Robert L. Parson, the commander of Eberts Post, closed the discussion, saying:

"I know that if this film is a fake, that I want to know it. I don't think it is. * * * But I don't think it hurts to have people ask questions."

He said America still was a place where someone could stand up and disagree.

Parson said the film would be shown again January 6 and that "one of the 10 best educated men in the United States in the field of communism" would be present at the showing.

(4) continued

# Criticized Film To Be Shown

5

By BOB SALLEE
Democrat Staff Writer

A special public showing of the controversial film "Operation Abolition" has been scheduled at M. M. Eberts post of the American Legion. Post Commander Bob Parson said today.

It will be shown at the Legion Hall, 911 Scott, at 7:30 p.m. Thursday, as a result of widespread public interest in the controversy over the film's accuracy and degree of editing.

Dr. Joseph B. Hunter, executive secretary of the Arkansas Council of Churches and a state delegate to the National Council of Churches, has labeled the film "propaganda."

It depicts the student riots which broke out during the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in San Francisco last May.

Hunter has said that he thinks the film was made by the FBI and the House Un-American Activities Committee, for propaganda purposes to help secure the committee's appropriation from Congress next month.

Mrs. Alfred Lippman Jr. of Benton, an avid student and critic of communism, has charged that Hunter and the NCC was attempting to smear the film and it's message.

Many persons have telephoned the Democrat and the American Legion asking to see the film.

Lloyd McDermott, state adjutant of the legion, said that a private showing of the movie has been requested by an individual representing some 20 persons. That showing will be held Wednesday morning at the Legion headquarters.

McDermott says that he and the legion will stand by the film "all the way."

McDermott said that the Legion believes that the film is accurate and was edited only to avoid repetition. It was taken on the scene by television and newsreel

See MOB on Page 2.

cameramen.

McDermott said that the National Legislative Committee Bulletin said concerning the controversy:

"Internally we are vigorously opposed to commun[illegible] version and strongly support such agencies and congress[illegible] as the FBI, the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Subcommittee. At the same time we stand ready to oppose any legislation which we believe would subordinate patriotism and Americanism or otherwise impair the security or welfare of our nation."

McDermott said the film would be shown to any group which requested it, either privately or publicly.

Commander Parson said in regards to the film:

"I am not concerned with public controve[illegible] because I believe that America and Democracy will triumph in any free exchange of ideas or ideology."

"However I am concerned with public apathy and stagnation i[illegible] the area of patriotic endeavor. I will not lend myself to personal recrimination against any sincere and good American no matter how wrong I consider him to be in his views."

"But I do believe that the views of Dr. Hunter are wrong and should be refuted."

Mrs. Alfred Lippman said her challenge to meet Dr. Hunter in public debate still stands and that so far Hunter has not replied either way.

Many persons are seeking the FBI report "Communist Target — Youth," which documents in detail the riots in San Francisco.

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

January 16, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

Enclosed is report for fourth quarter 1960.

Earliest date we could get with our auditor is February 13. So his report will not be available until the middle of February.

Our annual meeting is Friday-Saturday (January 20-21) with Will Campbell and Wiley Branton as speakers.

Our nominating committee are naming new state officers: C. C. Walker, President; Mrs. Joe R. Brewer, Vice-president; Reverend M. M. Miller (Hot Springs, Presbyterian) Vice-president; Dr. W. H. Townsend, Treasurer; Mrs. Woodbridge E. Morris, Secretary. You will recognize Mrs. Brewer and Mrs. Morris as prime workers with WEC.

Sincerely,

Nat R. Griswold

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra
Enc.

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

January 18, 1961

Mr. Nat Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Thank you for your thorough and informative quarterly report.

We are working on the invitations to Collins and Hammer for your NAIRO meeting. We hope to have word for your shortly.

Harold does not feel that we can nudge the RBF people for word of your grant. He fears that this would have adverse results for all of us. If they call any time soon, he will "incidentally" bring up the matter. This is the most we feel we can do, unfortunately.

I hope you will continue to send me the summaries of discussions of the Pine Bluff Committee. We have found them most interesting here. What information do you have on the transfer of the Negro student back to Horace Mann back in October?

The business of the cafeteria in the federal building begins to seem suspiciously like a pattern. The same matter arose in Richmond and protests are underway by several local groups including the Council on Human Relations. Perhaps we can try and check through some of our Washington contacts to see if there is in fact a pattern in evidence.

I am glad to get your comment that the WEC is beginning to see the necessity for ending token segregation. This is good news. Frankly, I saw little evidence of it during my trip to Little Rock before Christmas

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

January 23, 1961

Mr. Nat Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

We tried but we were not successful. Governor Collins claims that he has agreed to accept no speaking engagements outside the broadcasting industry until after his annual meeting in May. He was very courteous and indicated that he wo would be happy to be invited at a future time. Whether he means it or not, let us do it.

Phil Hammer, although somewhat defensive and reluctant, indicated that his schedule for April was simply too jammed to add another engagement as far away as Little Rock.

This is just to let you know the bad news. I will consult with my colleagues and see if we have alternative suggestions to offer.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

March 8, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

We enclose two pieces: Committee Report on Program Policy and a Job Description for the Associate Director.

We are ready to employ an associate. By policy this will be a Negro man or woman. You will understand our description is for the paragon. We do not really expect to find a person with all these qualifications. It does serve as a guide.

Will you help us in our search? We think you know qualified persons who would be interested in the job. Will you alert such persons to write this office for the description of the job and the organization so they may apply formally?

Of course we would like quick responses.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

This is going to a number of knowledgeable individuals.

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

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**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

March 9, 1961

Mr. Everett Tucker, Jr., President
Little Rock School Board
Tower Building
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Tucker:

The new ruling by the Court of Appeals gives added import to the enclosed legal summary of an analysis of the meaning of the various courts' decisions in the school desegregation cases.

You may wish to go to the original analysis by the professor of law. However, this summary focuses on the more relevant points about legal alternatives before Southern schools.

Sincerely,

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra
Enc.

cc: School Board Members
School Board Attorneys
Superintendent of Schools
Public Media (for release March 11)

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

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**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

March 13, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

You intimated in conversation you possibly could come up with a worthy substitute for Phil Hammer for the regional NAIRO conference to duscuss "Community Factors in Plant Location". The date now is June 1-2.

May we have any suggestions promptly?

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

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*Memo*

FROM THE DESK OF **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

John Gould —

March 17, 1961

Mr. Nat Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Les, Harold and I have all carefully considered your request in connection with the Kennedy article in LOOK magazine. We don't feel we can be of any help to you through any contacts we may have in Washington.

We feel that the article is sufficiently temporate in tone that we do not have enough grounds to express a strong concern about it. Frankly, although we can see how certain statements might boomerang in Little Rock or in certain other communities, we feel that on the balance the impact of the article is as constructive as can be hoped for at this time. It does at least express a moral commitment on the sit-in situation, a belief that "integration should take place today everywhere." We feel that the article does some good as well as some harm and that we don't have a strong enough case to take any action.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

March 20, 1961

Miss Ruth Arnold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Ruth:

We have no immediate insights on the Peabody deal. I am checking with our contacts in Nashville for suggestions on how best to move. You will be hearing from us shortly.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

March 17, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

We have a complaint to make about the George Peabody College Survey Team that serves as special consultant to school districts - but we don't quite know how to go about making the complaint.

Their report to the Little Rock School District showed no recognition of the 1954 Supreme Court Decision. It included a recommendation for a new junior high school for the graduates of specifically named elementary schools - all of which had only Negro students. This recommendation was in exact accordance with the school board's wishes!

Their Fort Smith report recommends a four room school to take care of 65 Negro students in an all Negro section. This is a fantastic proposal to be made by anyone identifying himself as an educator. Building a four room school in a city the size of Fort Smith is sheer idiocy, even to a layman. (A study by the same group just before 1954 recommended discontinuation of this same school.)

The Peabody team is currently preparing a report for Pine Bluff - so this is an on-going program in Arkansas - and I suspect in other states too.

Any suggestions?

Sincerely,

Ruth Arnold

Ruth Arnold

**OFFICERS**—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

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*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

March 28, 1961

Miss Ruth Arnold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Miss Arnold:

I talked at some length with Dr. W. D. McClurkin, Division of Surveys, Peabody College, regarding the Arkansas recommendations you reported.

Dr. McClurkin corroborated your report, and explained Peabody's policy. Their field service operates to improve the quality of education under whatever local conditions prevail. Their surveys make recommendations regarding tax support, physical facilities and program. He described it as helping the local school system to "do better whatever they are going to be doing."

Dr. McClurkin stated his personal resentment that the schools had become the battleground in the civil rights issues, and that children were pawns in the battle. He was positive that nothing said by an outsider could be helpful on the subject in Arkansas, and if it had any effect it would precipitate a squabble which would have no beneficial effect on the educational program. In speaking of the desegregation orders he stated, "I am professionally indifferent to that."

We discussed this matter at some length. My position was that desegregation was the law of the land, and that school recommendations should be in keeping with it. He feels that any comments from Peabody on this would only obscure or confuse the recommendations for upgrading education. On the Ft. Smith situation, he states that the earlier recommendation had been to abandon the school building which was in use, since it was below minimum standards. The replacement recommendation, he defends, as in keeping with the educational needs of the children. He states that their recommendations will not impede any desegregation which the local communities determine to effect. He thinks the whole issue in Arkansas is now in the hands of pressure groups and that teachers, school officials and school board members are without power.

I am sorry to make such a discouraging report. If you desire to write to Dr. McClurten, you can reach him in care of Peabody College, Nashville, Tennessee.

Sincerely yours,

Katherine Jones

Katherine Jones
Executive Director

KJ:nlh
cc John Hope
Paul Rilling

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

March 29, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

Mrs. Joe R. (Vivian) Brewer, chairman of our membership committee is tackling the problem of expanding our membership.

Her committee will want to list descriptive quotes about us and would like you to give an "endorsement of the role ACHR plays." Can you "dash something off" and send it directly to Mrs. Brewer, Route 1, Box 314, Scott, Arkansas.

Sincerely,

Ruth Arnold

**OFFICERS**—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

**STAFF**—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

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March 30, 1961

Mr. Nat Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

We have received your 1960 audit and appreciate it. We are concerned about one matter. Your audit does not show a balance sheet of the type that is normally included in an audit. Without such a statement of assets and liabilities, we really can have no idea of the financial status of the organization. I note that the auditors statement specifically states "receipts due or amounts owed at December 31 are not reflected in this report."

Could you check back and get the auditor to draw up such a balance sheet. If this would create a great deal of additional expense, then send me an informal statement that I can append to the audit and instruct the auditor to remember the balance sheet next year.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

March 31, 1961

Miss Katherine Jones
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Katherine Jones:

Thank you for the details of your interview with Dr. McClurkin of the Peabody team.

We are frustrated on how to pursue this matter further. Somehow this "educator" should be confronted with the professional evasion which he chooses to call indifference.

Perhaps Paul Rilling or John Hope have some ideas.

Sincerely,

RA

Ruth Arnold

cc: Paul Rilling
John Hope

April 3, 1961

Miss Ruth Arnold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Ruth;

I have no particularly brilliant ideas on how to pursue the Peabody matter further. My inclination would be to send a formal letter of complaint to Dr. McClurkin and to the president of Peabody and to see what follows. I think the letter might hint that the Arkansas Council was considering a public statement on the matter. This is calculated to sow considerable apprehension and unrest with the Peabody people.

I will try to comply with your request for Mrs. Brewer today.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

April 3, 1961

Mr. Nat Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

We have not been able to come up with much in the way of suggestions for a speaker on community factors in plant location at your regional NAIRO meeting. I trust you will have heard from Les by now indicating that he will be on hand to do the chore requested. At least we are trying to be helpful.

On the economic matter, I have only three suggestions, none of them particularly exciting. One would be Mr. Jim Montgomery, business editor of the Constitution. He has written an economic analysis in this area, copy of which is enclosed. Another possibility would be Dr. Ernest Swanson of the School of Business Administration of Emory University. A third possibility would be Mr. John Gould who is associated with Phil Hammer in the firm of Hammer Associates. I have been trying to reach Phil for a solid week to check on the Gould possibility, but have been unsuccessful to date. Phis is considering moving his firm to Washington and is consequently under considerable pressure of decision, etc.

If any of these ideas seem particularly useful, I would suggest you move as follows. We have no close relationship here to Montgomery or Swanson and I would suggest that you write these persons directly, indicating if you wish that these suggestions came from us in case they should wish to check with us. It might be strategic in writing Montgomery to indicate that your interest was sparked by his article. In the case of John Gould, I would be willing to make the contact directly.

You might do better looking to Texas and points west for your specialist. Have you asked for suggestions from NAIRO contacts in the southwest?

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

pmr/sm

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

April 4, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

About the audit - - - We have made a date with the auditor for after his rush when he will help us "streamline" our bookkeeping procedures.

Unless there is some urgency about this balance sheet, we hesitate to bother him right now. We looked up the 1955 balance sheet ~~(our last audit)~~ which convinced me that this was not something I could work out myself. Can you wait?

Sincerely,

Ruth Arnold

Ruth Arnold
Secretary to Mr. Griswold

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

April 6, 1961

Miss Ruth Arnold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Ruth:

We can wait.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

4/7/61

Dear Paul Rilling -

Am delayed in writing narrative quarterly report. Delay only partly due to personal temperament, partly to a touch of virus, not at all to a "touch of Venus." Will mail early next week.

Delinquently,

Nat

April 10, 1961

Mr. Nat Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Ruth sent along the copy of the latest smear sheet being circulated in Little Rock about you and us. We are quite annoyed about this sort of thing and wish you would put a stop to it. This sort of smear has died down most everywhere else in the South and I consider this quite anachronistic and unnecessary cropping up in Little Rock now.

I don't know how widely this is being circulated, but if you feel it is having a real impact, it seems to me you might want to consider a strong public response either by way of the media or, more likely, through another mailing of your own. It is always hard to know how to react to such smears because of the danger that an answer would simply draw additional attention to the charges themselves. I would presume these are all pretty well warmed over anyway. There is the possibility that the charge of secrecy surrounding the Arkansas Council might provide an excuse for a positive restatement of the aims and program of the Council.

I am sending along some credentials on a possibility for your associate director's post. I have had three references on Mr. Brooks. I am enclosing a copy of one. The other two were by telephone and from local persons whom we know. One of these coming from the regional director of the Urban League was quite strongly enthusiastic. The other coming from the former director of the Atlanta Urban League was positive but more reservied.

I talked with Mr. Brooks briefly and was rather well impressed with his sincerity, intelligibility, and personality. One possible problem is that at his age and with family responsibilities, he did not feel that he could consider employment for less than $6,000. He is, however, interested in finding permanent employment in this field.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling

PMR/sm
Enc.

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

Dear Paul -

The enclosed mailing was apparently sent to "civic leaders" in Little Rock in response the the mailing we sent out, "The New Situation in Little Rock".

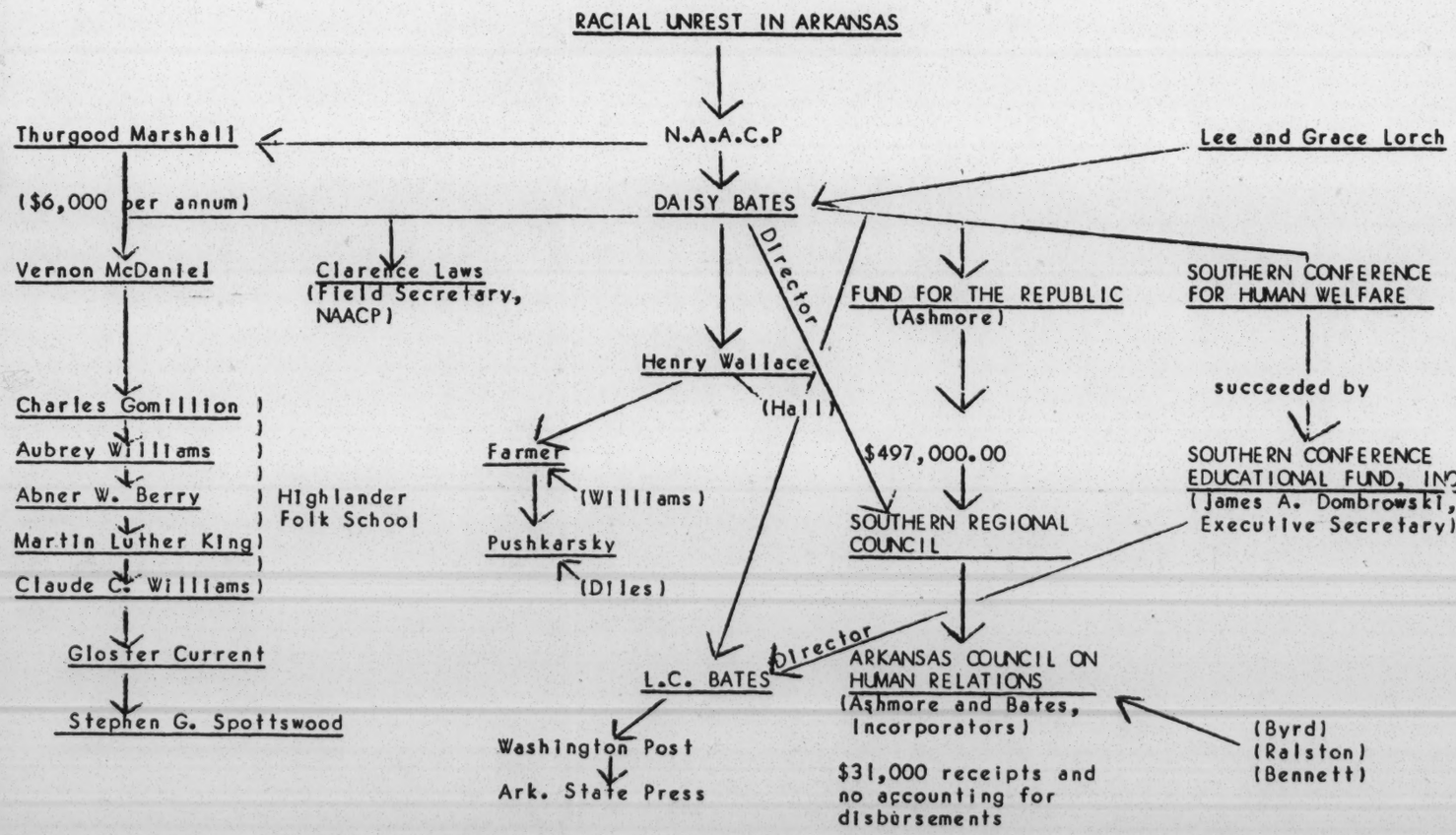
Vivian asked that I relay her thanks to you for your "endorsement of the role ACHR plays".

Thank you, sir!

RA

HEARING
BEFORE
THE SPECIAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE
OF THE
ARKANSAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

Held December 16, 17 and 18, 1958, commencing at 9:30 O'clock, A.M. December 16, 1958, in the House Chamber, State Capitol Building, in the city of Little Rock, Arkansas.




ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT
Thursday, March 2, 1961

*Run of the News*

# SRC Requests Kennedy To Force Race-Mixing

By KARR SHANNON

The Southern Regional Council, in a bulky report, has offered President Kennedy a blueprint of 18 points designed to force race-mixing in all avenues of life throughout the United States.

The SRC was incorporated in January, 1944, in Atlanta, Ga., with Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, Methodist Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of the Atlanta (Negro) University, and Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Negro president of Fisk University, among the incorporators.

Here are 10 of the 18 points submitted to the President:

"That the President use the influence of his office to broaden Southern support for civil rights.

"That there be frequent appointment of qualified Negroes to high-level administrative posts in government service here and abroad.

"That the President affirm his support of the Supreme Court's 1954 decision and his opposition to segregated schools; and that the Department of Justice test in court its existing authority to intervene in or initiate segregation suits.

"That special attention to racial equality be given in federal aid for vocational training and the schooling of children of military personnel.

"That no federal research funds be granted to colleges and universities that restrict admission because of race, creed, color or national origin.

"That the Department of Justice be vigilant in the prevention or control of violence and intimidation connected with school desegregation or sit-ins.

"That the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice be adequately staffed.

"That the separate-but-equal clause in the Hill-Burton hospital construction law be examined for unconstitutionality.

"That a final decisive effort be made to end segregation on common carriers in interstate or intrastate traffic.

"That the federal housing programs be guided by a policy of encouraging integration."

The Southern Regional Council is successor to the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which suspended after being branded as a "Communist front" organization by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Arkansas Council on Human Relations, an affiliate of the Southern Regional Council, was organized in Little Rock in April, 1955. Funds for maintaining the ACHR came from a grant by the Ford Foundation to the SRC in the inter-racial field.

The ACHR came under heavy fire during the hearings on Communism conducted by Atty. Gen. Bruce Bennett before the Arkansas Legislative Council in December, 1958. But the organization apparently is still in existence. It is listed in the current edition of the telephone directory with address at 1220 W. Capitol.

worth answering?

LWD ✓
HCF ✓
SM
TAV ✓

Exerpts from the minutes of the

HEARING BEFORE
THE SPECIAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE OF THE
ARKANSAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

Page 10, Section 4

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations was incorporated in Arkansas in 1955. Harry Ashmore was one of the three incorporators, as well as Christopher C. Mercer, who at that time was legal counsel for the NAACP in Arkansas. Its articles of incorporation recite that it is beholden to the Southern Regional Council. Its avowed purpose is to assist in the integration activities in Arkansas. It is highly significant that after the Fund for the Republic-with Harry Ashmore as director-started making grants to the Southern Regional Council in 1954-with Daisy Bates as a director-the Arkansas Council on Human Relations was organized in Arkansas-with Harry Ashmore and Daisy Bates as officers-to participate in the receipt of these grants. At the height of the Little Rock incident in September, 1957, the Fund for the Republic by-passed the Southern Regional Council and sent direct grants to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. None of the television, radio, or newspaper people of Arkansas knew the objectives or financial setup of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations; however, the Council has received contributions of over $30,000.00 in the past three years but the disposition thereof is unknow.

Page 22 and 23

Herbert R. Byrd and Rusty Ralston, with radio and television stations respectively, testified that they had been actively engaged in gathering news for a number of years, and that when they recently called on the Little Rock Office of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, they asked Nat Griswald, Executive Secretary of the Corporation, what its objectives and program are. They testified that Griswald refused to give them any information whatsoever, was evasive, and so far as they could learn, no one in the communications field in Arkansas has been able to learn anything at all about the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

Therefore, it is apparent that the Southern Conference Educational Fund, successor of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare- which has been infiltrated with known communists and communist sympathizers-are of their very nature pro-communists. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations, child of the Southern Regional Council, necessarily follows the aims and goals of its parent organization must be willing or unwilling dupes, but in most instances, either through ignorance or inclination, have remained members; consequently, they are not worthy of the publics confidence and leadership.

**********

The complete minutes of this hearing is a matter of public record and may be obtained, free of charge at your Attorney General's office in the Juctice Building of the State Capitol.

IN THE BEST INTEREST OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS*BY WILLIAM RUCK, SCHOOL PATRON.

Recently you may have received a three page statement from one, Nat R. Groswold, who is director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. The secrecy which has surrounded this inter-racial group and the questionable background of its mother organization should cast such strong suspicions that all thinking citizens, (be they school officials, teachers, P.T.A. leaders or parents) would turn a deaf ear to the recommendations and veiled threats which were contained in the text of Nat R. Griswold's statement.

It is in the interest of racial harmony that I attempt to point out the questionable background of several organizations who supposedly work in the interest of our Negro citizens. It is my contention that their activities do nothing towards improving race relations. In fact, Little Rock had a record of racial harmony that was beyond reproach before the entrance into Arkansas of these organizations who strive for the suppression of the majority and create racial discord under the cloak of do-goodism.

Information revealed in this enclosure taken from the minutes of the hearing before the Special Education Committee of the Arkansas Legislative Council, held December 16th, 17th, 18th, 1958. Also, enclosed is a reprint of Karr Shannon's column of March 2, 1961. Upon reading Mr. Shannon's article one can readily see what is in store for all if we set back and let the Left Wing groups dominate our thoughts and actions.

COPY FOR YOUR INFORMATION

April
Tenth
1961

Dr. C. Shelby Rooks
Associate Director
The Fund for Theological Education
140 Nassau Street
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your letter of March 27, relating to the position with the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. The delay in response was caused by the fact that I have been tied up with a Regional Staff Conference and am just getting back to full operation here in the office.

Mr. Paul Rilling, of the Southern Regional Council, with headquarters here in Atlanta, and I have been working on this matter and while we have not come up with a suitable candidate, we are continuing our efforts in this regard.

We appreciate our Mr. Tucker referring you to this office, and we are glad to report that we are already at work on it.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

M. T. Puryear, Director
Southern Field Division

MTP:MW
cc: Mr. Tucker
Mr. Rilling

April 27, 1961

Mr. Nat Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Thank you for your recent quarterly report which we found particularly helpful here, and also for your excellent analysis of the new situation in Little Rock.

I was interested in your indications of retreat by the Ministers Association and by one of the more liberal churches. Do you think this is a general situation in Little Rock?

How effective is the Arkansas Christian movement? How much overlap in leadership is there between this group and the ACHR? I have noticed that these state and local groups affiliated with Martin King's SCLC seem to vary widely in nature and effectiveness.

I hope your plans are working out well for the NAIRO meeting. I think using William Nichols as the economics speaker is an excellent idea. I am ashamed that I did not recommend him to you at an earlier time.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

May 2, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

Thank you for your report on my report! It's good to think these are read even though they seem long.

The enclosed is the preliminary notice of the NAIRO Regional Conference. As you see we had to fall back on an old faithful - Wright. Nichols was much interested but had a conflict; gave me three other possible speakers.

We think this is a strong program. Budget estimate runs to at least $900, including $100 honorarium for main speakers. We are not committed to any honorarium.

On the basis of these leaders does SRC have any resources to help bear these costs. Pettigrew plans to be here on Thursday and Friday. He is even encouraging John Morris to come, too. We are mailing notices to lists from ESCRU, NAIRO, Catholic Council. We are trying hard for persons in universities in the region. In Arkansas we are inviting all knowledgeable, concerned, and amenable persons we can find - selling the citizens' seminar separate from the professional meetings.

John Lassoe will pay us a preliminary visit on May 11.

We hope to raise half the cost through registration. NAIRO has allotted $100 to each region. ACHR, of course, expects to help with costs above promotion expenses. If SRC can help, it will mean removal of some pressure in money raising.

We of course hope you can join in this conference.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

will answer some of your questions later.

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

# NAIRO

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS

INVITES YOU TO THE FIRST CONFERENCE

OF THE SOUTH-CENTRAL NAIRO REGION

THEME: LOOKING AHEAD WITH THE SOUTH

OBJECTIVES: to move ahead in intergroup relations with more know-how, greater faith, incisive knowledge, clearer insights, and understanding support.

SPEAKERS:

MARION A. WRIGHT, Linville Falls, N.C., Member of North Carolina Advisory Committee on Civil Rights, native of South Carolina.

C. VANN WOODWARD, Department of History of Johns Hopkins University, author of Strange Career of Jim Crow, native of Arkansas.

THOMAS PETTIGREW, Social Psychology Professor at Harvard University, author of Christians in Racial Crisis, native Virginian.

*OTHER RESOURCE PERSONS:

JOHN LASSOE, Executive Secretary of NAIRO

LESLIE DUNBAR, Director of Southern Regional Council

JOHN FEILDS, Assistant to U.S. Senator Phillip A. Hart, recent president of NAIRO, native of Little Rock.

HERMAN LONG, Director, Interracial Institute of Fisk University.

MATHEW AHMANN, Secretary of Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

TOPICS: "Non-Economic Barriers to Southern Economic Progress"

"Role of Southern Local Leaders"

"Role of Southern Negroes Ahead"

"Role of the Federal Administration in Southern Progress"

"Strengthening Intergroup Relations Agencies in the Region"

PARTICIPANTS: NAIRO members; natural associates of NAIRO, such as university professors and intergroup relations workers in religious agencies; concerned citizens.

PLACE: Aldersgate Camp, a well equipped, year-round camp, seven miles west of Little Rock.

WHEN: Thursday, June 1 (10 a.m.) through Friday, June 2.

COST: Details later -- but modest, indeed!

MORE: Details as to program, cost, registration, travel routes will follow soon.

NOW IS THE TIME TO MARK YOUR CALENDAR - - - FIRMLY.

*Some final confirmations still pending.

May 8, 1961

Mr. Nat Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Congratulations on the fine program you have been able to develop for the regional NAIRO meeting. This is really a first-rate list of names and a balanced group.

I think we would have some difficulty in finding any resources to help with this kind of conference, related primarily to another organization. Cannot NAIRO provide some assistance? Your budget is certainly a modest one. We will, of course, offer Les Dunbar's expenses and I suppose could stretch a point and take care of Marion Wright's travel. This is probably the best we can do.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

P. S. If NAIRO will approve, I would be willing to agree to the shifting of the $100 item allotted to the SE region to be used in support of this meeting. You see, I am the SE chairman, and plan no such conference.

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

May 23, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie Dunbar:

Mr. Patterson, the Arkansas Gazette publisher, promised to write the offices of The New York Times, Time Magazine, and Newsweek Magazine at Atlanta encouraging coverage of the Citizens' Seminar sessions of the NAIRO Conference in Little Rock, June 1-2.

We thought you might add a bit to such encouragement through staff persons of these papers known to you. Since, probably, they would not like to spend an idle day, reporters could cover the two sessions on June 1, 4 p.m. and 7:30 p.m. Copies of Pettigrew's speech for June 2, 7:30 p.m., might be furnished them.

Copies of announcement are enclosed for your convenience. Thanks -

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

P.S. Registrations of professionals and avocationals are very encouraging.

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

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*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

June 13, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

Mr. Ozell Sutton is our new Associate Director. Until this month he has been with Winrock Farms for two years. He was a news reporter on the Arkansas Democrat seven years and travelled the state. For one year he was Relocation Supervisor for the Little Rock Housing Authority, before going to Winrock. Thirty-five with three children. We think he can do us good.

He has sent his application for the Fisk Institute. Hope he has a chance to talk with you.

Marion Wright turned in his travel at $130.08. This ACHR paid. We hope you can refund us.

We have had a local evaluation session of the Regional NAIRO Conference. You will get some report of course.

As always Leslie Dunbar did a thorough and satisfying job.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

OFFICERS— THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, CHAIRMAN • THE REV. MAYNARD M. MILLER, VICE-CHAIRMAN
MRS. JOE R. BREWER, VICE-CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, TREASURER • MRS. W. E. MORRIS, SECRETARY
STAFF— NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • RUTH ARNOLD, SECRETARY

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

June 20, 1961

Mr. Nat Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

We are enclosing payment for Marion Wright's travel expenses in connection with the recent NAIRO meeting. In case you haven't yet heard, the NAIRO board meeting last week-end voted to make $200 available to help you with the deficit. This includes the normal regional budget for your area.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm
Enclosure

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

# WESTERN UNION
## TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

NSA107

NS NA054 PD NEW YORK NY 21 1054A EDT= 1961 JUN 21 AM 9 09

NAT GRISWOLD, ARKANSAS COUNCIL HUMAN RELATIONS

1220 WEST CAPITOL LROCK=

WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR AIRMAILING COPY DR. WOODWARDS RECENT SPEECH ON NEW SOUTH=

J G STEWART NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE.

June 21, 1961

For your information.
Of course we have mailed a copy to him.
RA.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Thank you!

No. 1345

June 23 1961

**Received of** Southern Regional Council

One-hundred and thirty and 08/100 **DOLLARS**

Ark. Council on Human Rel...

Little Rock, Arkansas

Travel for Marion Wright

$ 130 08/xx

Nat Griswold
by sa

Apr 15

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

August 1, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

We would like to make sure that the following are receiving Leadership Reports from SRC:

| | |
|---|---|
| Gerald Neal )<br>Joe Stroud )<br>Jim Powell )<br>~~Roy Reed~~ ) | Arkansas Gazette<br>Little Rock |
| Pat Owens )<br>Ed Freeman ) | Pine Bluff Commercial |
| Tom Dearmore ) | Baxter Bulletin<br>Mountain Home, Ark. |

Ozell Sutton gives a glowing account of the Institute at Fisk. We enjoyed getting a report from you through him.

We will be claiming our matching funds very soon!

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

Checked W. J. Faugna

OFFICERS— THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, CHAIRMAN • THE REV. MAYNARD M. MILLER, VICE-CHAIRMAN
MRS. JOE R. BREWER, VICE-CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, TREASURER • MRS. W. E. MORRIS, SECRETARY
STAFF— NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • RUTH ARNOLD, SECRETARY

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

Ark.
Gris

August 7, 1961

Mr. Nat Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

We finally found your quarterly report, which had been filed by mistake with some other papers. I was particularly interested in learning of the action of the ministerial association and also to learn that you were able to help with the sponsorship of a state student workshop.

You may have noticed that Harry Jones's newsletter reported that a group of white residents in Charlotte also objected to having a school re-classified "Negro," suggesting desegregation would be preferable. The Right Sell school incident that you note makes two.

I am still a little confused as to the function of the Committee for Community Unity as a movement. Did they ever find a president? I hope that the group has drawn on a different source of manpower than ACHR, so that this is not just proliferation.

Thank you for fielding the attack in the Arkansas Democrat.

I see that you had Bjorn Kumm in Little Rock. He has recently been here for some time. He arrived penniless and waiting for a check from overseas. He paid us back when it arrived and seemed to have a good experience here.

I note with interest your suggestions concerning improvement of your NAIRO meeting. We may try a regional meet in the Southeast next year.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Ark - NG

September 15, 1961

Mr. Nat Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Congratulations on your success in fund raising this year. I realize the considerable effort and fine cooperation from your membership involved in your success.

I look forward to seeing you September 25th. I hope we have a little time to talk. Now that we are through the school opening rush I am beginning to set up a travel schedule for the fall. Is there a time that would be particularly convenient or useful for me to come to Arkansas during the next three months?

Regards to your burgeoning staff.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

September 6, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., NW, Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

We enclose a report of funds raised from local sources, December, 1960 to August 31, 1961. As we understand the matching plan, this qualifies us for the $2000 from SRC. This report is an expression of the magnanimous spirit of the economically little persons who constitute our membership. Therefore we are pleased.

Some of us will be seeing you in Memphis, September 25. Miss McCullough has invited us.

The Conference on Community Unity named a five-man committee to speak and act on its behalf as occasions demand. This committee was chosen in mid-June and has taken no action to date. There are some interlocking personnel with ACHR. Mrs. Brewer and Dr. Lewis Long are on the committee and are active members of our Board.

Hurrah for Atlanta. We hope not "the last hurrah"!

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra
Enc.

OFFICERS— THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, CHAIRMAN • THE REV. MAYNARD M. MILLER, VICE-CHAIRMAN
MRS. JOE R. BREWER, VICE-CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, TREASURER • MRS. W. E. MORRIS, SECRETARY
STAFF— NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • RUTH ARNOLD, SECRETARY

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

October 13, 1961

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Eric Lincoln is available for the evening you suggested, November 17. He will have to be on his way Saturday, but can probably come late Thursday or Friday morning to be available during the day Friday. You should write him directly, at Clark College, 240 Chestnut Street, N.W., concerning specifics. As far as the financial arrangements are concerned, we are not able to contribute toward the expenses of a speaker but can assist in the case of a consultant. You have undoubtedly heard this one before. If you can confirm the kind of consultative opportunities for Lincoln that you suggested by telephone, we will pay his expenses or his $80.00 honorarium, whichever is greater. The Arkansas Council would handle the other item.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

ark
N6

L-D

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

TR

October 13, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

The newest "L" release, "Hard or Easy Way," contains materials which the Civil Rights Commission should have. Unfortunately it is not presented so as to be attention getting and holding. We presume this has gone to appropriate persons on the staff of the commission.

Our thinking here, as I am sure you know, is that school boards are not going to move from any simple persuasion without pressure - legal or political. The Commission might bring some pressure by publicity. Or, more effective, through recommended legislation or administrative action.

Anyway, we wanted to be sure our assumption is correct. Does the Commission have the facts about school districts with small Negro enumeration?

?
answer

Sincerely,

nat

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

P.S. Any word from Eric Lincoln?

OFFICERS— THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, CHAIRMAN • THE REV. MAYNARD M. MILLER, VICE-CHAIRMAN
MRS. JOE R. BREWER, VICE-CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, TREASURER • MRS. W. E. MORRIS, SECRETARY
STAFF— NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • RUTH ARNOLD, SECRETARY

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

October 17, 1961

Dr. Eric Lincoln
Clark College
240 Chestnut Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Lincoln:

We are delighted to know you can be with us on November 17 for our general membership meeting.

Your familiarity with our purposes and our methods means you do not need much suggestion from us about the topic for your address and discussions. We think you will at every occasion be dealing with the general subject of progress in race relations and the Black Muslims. This encompasses the forces, negative and positive, at work - the intransigent white leaders, the splintered and uninspired colored leadership, the confused and tense atmosphere, inspired and courageous youth, the opportunities for the forces of fear and hate, need for affirmative action.

Paul Rilling thought you might reach Little Rock late Thursday. This would suit us exactly. At the moment we are planning for you to consult with a wide sampling of Negro leaders Thursday night if possible for you. On Friday we expect to have you consult with white leaders - publishers and editors of newspapers, editors of church papers, some business leaders. They need your insights into such questions as these: What is the danger of violence in the South now? Is power of leadership among Negroes in control of responsible men? How do you visualize the coming of the new order in the South? How long will it take?

We have our meeting Friday evening in the Student Union of Philander Smith. Dr. R. D. Crockett is the new president. He and others at the college will join us in welcoming you to the city.

Please let us know your travel plans as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra
cc: Paul Rilling

We will confirm the consultation sessions.

Ark -
NG

VIA AIR MAIL
October 26, 1961

Mr. Nat R. Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

We can use 200 copies of the off-set reprint of Woodward's speech. We will plan to send about 10 to each of the state groups, advising them that they may secure others from you, if desired.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

October 24, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

Joseph Paull, Assistant Managing Editor, Washington Post, indicates they do not have mats of Woodward's speech delivered in June at the NAIRO conference here. He gives us permission to reprint. This we are about to do.

Could you quickly let us know how many copies would be useful to you there? They would be simply off-set reprints of the full newspaper page size 23" X 15". Probable cost, $6.00 per hundred.

Could your collective heads give us a quick decision on this?

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

OFFICERS— THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, CHAIRMAN • THE REV. MAYNARD M. MILLER, VICE-CHAIRMAN
MRS. JOE R. BREWER, VICE-CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, TREASURER • MRS. W. E. MORRIS, SECRETARY
STAFF— NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • RUTH ARNOLD, SECRETARY

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N6

November 3, 1961

Mr. Nat R. Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

The plans for Eric Lincoln sound excellent. The time limitation is unfortunate. Would you like me to check further with him as to the possibility of Thursday evening?

If you are able to arrange the two consultations indicated, we will be happy to share expenses on the basis earlier indicated.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

October 30, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

This will confirm plans for consultations here by Eric Lincoln.

Hugh Patterson, publisher of the Gazette, and Raymond Rebseman, head of Urban Progress Association and one of the most powerful business voices, definitely want an off-the-record conference with Dr. Lincoln. They are to formulate their basic questions in advance to help him orient his opening remarks to the group. They will have together a few of the high-level ("tower structure") business influences of Little Rock.

The Committee on Community Affairs, the most promising organization of Negro leaders with a broad base, want to have a gloves-off conference with Dr. Lincoln. They will seek his interpretation on current Negro leadership, change and promise, in the light of the phenomenon of Black Muslims. This group hoped to meet with Dr. Lincoln at length on Thursday evening.

In his letter just at hand Dr. Lincoln indicates arrival in Little Rock on Friday, 10:32 am. Since ACHR's membership program begins at 5 pm, this limits greatly the hours available for consultation - hours in the middle of a working day. We will try to work out these two important conferences within these limits. We will forego further plans for individual conferences.

What are your suggestions about sharing financial responsibility in the light of this new schedule?

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

OFFICERS— THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, CHAIRMAN • THE REV. MAYNARD M. MILLER, VICE-CHAIRMAN
MRS. JOE R. BREWER, VICE-CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, TREASURER • MRS. W. E. MORRIS, SECRETARY
STAFF— NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • RUTH ARNOLD, SECRETARY

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**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

# 1961 FALL MEETING

FRIDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 17
5 P.M. TO 9:30 P.M.
ON GAINES STREET, BETWEEN --

STUDENT UNION BUILDING
PHILANDER SMITH COLLEGE
- 12TH AND 13TH STREETS

SPEAKER: Dr. C. Eric Lincoln

SPECIAL GUESTS: Children and Parents Who Are Desegregating Little Rock Schools

PROGRAM SCHEDULE:

5:00 Get-acquainted and Refreshments

5:30 Brief Business Meeting
Staff Report by Ozell Sutton
Pin Pointing Problems
- Pine Bluff, Hot Springs, Fayetteville

6:30 Introduction of Special Guests

7:00 Supper - Cafeteria Style (one dollar)

8:00 "Black Muslims' Meaning for America"
- C. Eric Lincoln
Questions and Discussion

C. Eric Lincoln, professor of social psychology, Clark College, Atlanta, was trained in social science and law and is an ordained Methodist minister. His book, Black Muslims in America, was done at Boston University, where as a graduate student he was a Human Relations Fellow.

Gordon W. Allport, Harvard social psychologist, in a forward to the book writes: "(he) gives us a clear, moving, balanced account of the origins and rationale of this movement. (His book is) one of the best technical case studies in the whole literature of social science.

"We are not aware that a present battle rages between enlightened and fanatic solutions of our family problems. --- By deepening our insight, Dr. Lincoln strengthens the hand of enlightenment."

DETAILS

OVERNIGHT ACCOMMODATIONS will be arranged for those who ask.

TRAVEL EXPENSE will be paid for Board members - but share your cars!

GUESTS are welcome. You are encouraged to INVITE YOUR FRIENDS!

Tear off and mail in enclosed envelope:
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Please make supper reservations for ___ members and ___ guests.

Comments:

Signature _____

Ack
NG

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

November 6, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

As suggested in our phone conversation in re the consultation service of Dr. Eric Lincoln, we will undertake modest honorarium for his services if SRC can pay air passage. We can pay more fee for consultation and speaking than you are permitted to do for consultations alone. Even if you convince him to change his schedule to include Thursday evening, I see no reason to reverse these financial responsibilities.

Thanks -

Nat

NRG:ra

Nat R. Griswold

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MRS. JOE R. BREWER, VICE-CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, TREASURER • MRS. W. E. MORRIS, SECRETARY
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**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

November 20, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

Dr. Lincoln was with us Friday, November 17, from noon forward. The consultation with the "power structure" was good, except for the small number of whites participating.

He met with twelve leaders in the Negro community for 90 minutes beginning at 12 m. He met with me and three white leaders at 3 p.m. for 90 minutes - Hugh Patterson, publisher of the Gazette, Mr. James E. Powell, editor of the Gazette, and Fred Darragh.

You will be interested to know that we had more than 200 out for the evening meeting with him - many of whom we have never had before. The Negro students in desegregated schools and their parents were our special guests. They responded enthusiastically.

I indicated to Dr. Lincoln that SRC would pay his travel. We paid him sixty dollars as honorarium. We will settle for the books he sent as soon as he sends us a bill.

Thanks again for your help in arranging for his visit. Even the poor response to Patterson's meeting does not fairly reflect the present situation among some of our concerned business men. (Some very unusual, almost accidental, circumstances entered into the results.) The original reaction and response to Mr. Patterson's plans were much more affirmative. Because of this we have more hope for the next meeting with Carl Rowan, January 19.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra
cc: Dr. Lincoln

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STAFF— NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • RUTH ARNOLD, SECRETARY

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NG

November 29, 1961

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

According to my calendar, I am due in Little Rock December 7 and 8 or so, but I cannot remember any specifics. Do let me know if there is anything I should be prepared for or bring or anything.

I can arrive in Little Rock on Eastern 902 at 2:22 P.M. Thursday. There are no flights returning in the evening Friday. I suppose it would be best to stay overnight Friday and return Saturday morning, leaving at 8:24 A.M. Please let us know how this fits in with your plans, so that we can make reservations.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

765

PR:mm

Ark
NG

December 12, 1961

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

During recent months many of the state councils have assisted Reed Sarratt, Executive Director of the Southern Education Reporting Service, through a cooperative effort to promote Southern School News. SERS provided each state council with copies of an issue of Southern School News sufficient for all persons on the state council mailing list, and with mailing envelopes, subscription card, postage-paid return envelope, and postage cost for the mailing. The state council carried through the actual mailing, enclosing a covering letter from the director urging subscriptions on the part of his or her membership.

Thus far, the North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Florida, and Virginia Councils have cooperated in the promotional effort, with very good results. Would the Arkansas Council be interested in mailing copies of a future issue to its membership? We here think that Southern School News deserves all possible cooperation in its efforts to expand circulation; it has been an invaluable source of facts on the school matter, as you know.

I would appreciate your letting me know if you will be willing to undertake the project and, if so, the number of copies of the newspaper you will need. I will then make the necessary arrangements with Mr. Sarratt.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

ark NG

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

December 18, 1961

Marge Manderson
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Marge Manderson:

ACHR would like to have copies of an issue of Southern School News for its mailing list with appropriate promotional materials.

We can make good use of 250 copies.

Sincerely,

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

OFFICERS— THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, CHAIRMAN • THE REV. MAYNARD M. MILLER, VICE-CHAIRMAN
MRS. JOE R. BREWER, VICE-CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, TREASURER • MRS. W. E. MORRIS, SECRETARY
STAFF— NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • RUTH ARNOLD, SECRETARY

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ROCKEFELLER BROTHERS FUND
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, NEW YORK

COPY

File
Arkansas
Human Relations

PR ✓
HKB-file

January 15, 1962.

Dear Mr. Griswold:

Thank you for your letter of December 28 to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and for the final quarterly report for 1961 which you enclosed.

In accordance with your request we are glad at this time to make a payment on the Fund's pledge of February 2, 1961. Accordingly it is a pleasure to enclose the Fund's check for $8,000, payable to The Arkansas Council on Human Relations and designated for its general budget in 1962. The final payment under this pledge will be made in 1963 upon written requisition by a duly authorized officer of the Council.

Sincerely yours,

David F. Freeman

Mr. Nat R. Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

cc: Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar ✓

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

PA ✓
PRV
MJ-file

July 19, 1962

RECEIVED
JUL 23 1962

Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les Dunbar:

Our Board is proposing to Field Foundation that they make an annual $5000 grant to ACHR for three years, beginning July 1, 1962.

We base the request on the changed situation which opens new opportunities for us among both white and colored. These new opportunities have moved us into new and expanding activities which seem urgent and which demand greater expenditures. Especially promising are our chances to educate Negro leaders in a number of communities across the state. As you know Mr. Sutton is particularly adept and suited to this kind of activity.

This will alert you to the fact we are making the proposition to the Fields Foundation, Attention Mr. Hahn.

Sincerely,

Nat R. Griswold

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

OFFICERS— THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, CHAIRMAN • THE REV. MAYNARD M. MILLER, VICE-CHAIRMAN
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STAFF— NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • OZELL SUTTON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • RUTH ARNOLD, SEC.

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December 14, 1962

The Rev. Nathaniel Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Wiley and I both have a good feeling about the joint drive conducted by the ACHR and the Little Rock Urban League with the Voter Education Project. I was a little startled to read, however, in your November Newsletter your statement, "there is no way of accurately measuring results." Inasmuch as the research obligations of VEP require that results be measured, I was a little bothered that your readers might get the impression that this wasn't being done. We have, as a matter of fact, now on hand Osell's very satisfactory reporting and analyses of results. I wonder if, in your next Newsletter, you might not point out this fact.

Best wishes, and Merry Christmas.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
CC: Wiley Branton
BCC: David Freeman

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

WB
PA
MA-file

December 27, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les Dunbar:

Of course our next newsletter will carry Mr. Sutton's statistical summary of the VEP in Little Rock.

We are flattered by your estimate of the potential influence of our newsletter among weighty persons. We felt the statement was understandable to all our readers. Perhaps, we should have added the clause "at this writing."

Of course we can understand your concern.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

OFFICERS— THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, CHAIRMAN • THE REV. MAYNARD M. MILLER, VICE-CHAIRMAN
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STAFF— NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • OZELL SUTTON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • RUTH ARNOLD, SEC.

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

January 8, 1963

The Rev. Nat R. Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

I have at last gotten a price from a local printer on reproduding Mr. Dabb's speech, "The Tragic Fellowship of Southerners," by offset: $190.00 for 2,000 copies.

We would like to have 2,000 copies, whether we do it or you have it done in Arkansas. You said that you might want to have some copies too, and perhaps adding some would not increase the price very much because the initial cost will be the plates.

Have you found out yet if the printer you used before still has his plates? If so, I expect you can get this done much cheaper and it would be best to have it done there. We do prefer a union shop. Even without the plates, you may be able to get a better price. Please let us know what kind of deal you can make, and whether or not we should go ahead with having the speech reproduced here.

It was pleasant seeing you in Nashville; I hope you had a less depressing impression of the role of the churches than I did.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

December 27, 1962

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

We have only eight copies of Mr. Dabbs' Tragic Fellowship of Southerners.

The printer here indicates it would be simple for them to make copies. He wanted to know how many are needed.

If you will give us the number you can use we will get his bid. Usually this printer is prompt with his work. 2,000

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

OFFICERS— THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, CHAIRMAN • THE REV. MAYNARD M. MILLER, VICE-CHAIRMAN
MRS. JOE R. BREWER, VICE-CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, TREASURER • MRS. W. E. MORRIS, SECRETARY
STAFF— NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • OZELL SUTTON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • RUTH ARNOLD, SEC.

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Hold

December 20, 1962

Mr. Dabbs

Montex Albright

Tragic Fellowship of Southerners

We have only one file copy left of this; we have written to the Arkansas Council to see if they have any left that we could purchase, or if the type is still held by the printer. If neither of these possibilities exist, I'm sure there will be some kind of consultation and decision regarding the reprinting.

Existential, huh? This cheers me a bit, because I find Existentialism in its pure form rather difficult to follow and understand, but I do understand what you write. So maybe I'll have another try at Camus or Sartre.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

# Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MA- how many copies do we have?

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Dec. 14, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
SouthernRegional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Les:

I am enclosing for your information two acceptances to membership in the Council. I do not suppose that any further correspondence is necessary here. If you think it is, you may welcome them, or let me know and I'll do it myself.

Another matter. Mary King, of the Regional YWCA, whom I met at the student meeting in Memphis recently, was very sorry that my pamphlet "The Tragic Fellowship of Southerners" was out of print. I gave her a dozen copies I had in my brief-case; I have some half-dozen here at home. She says it's written on an "existential" level that students can understand. I didn't know that but it sounds good. I suppose if a man knew ALL the things he was, he couldn't bear it! Connie's and my little club wouldn't be a drop in the bucket.

The point of all this is that you might consider a re-issue--when and if we have the money. I'm speaking to students at Greensboro on Jan. 11-12, at Laurinburg on Jan. 15, and at Camden on Jan. 24. There may be some existentialists among them!

As ever,

Dabbs.

Dabbs.
President

Return MJ

TAV

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS** — file

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

January 9, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie Dunbar:

Mr. Wheeler has agreed by phone to come for our annual meeting February 1. We think he can be of real help in Arkansas.

You may clear with him or with us the manner of handling travel costs. We appreciate your help in getting him.

Of course we still want you to come to see us in Arkansas. You can name your own dates. We will find plenty for you to do to serve our common interests. If you are here at the time of the regular meeting of the Executive Committee you can confer with more members over the state, especially from Fayetteville which is farthest away. The scheduled time is the third Thursday in each month.

Work on your schedule at that end. We are quite elastic here. Let us know when you plan to come. We will be glad to see you.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

cc: Paul Anthony

OFFICERS— THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, CHAIRMAN • THE REV. MAYNARD M. MILLER, VICE-CHAIRMAN
MRS. JOE R. BREWER, VICE-CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, TREASURER • MRS. W. E. MORRIS, SECRETARY
STAFF— NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • OZELL SUTTON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • RUTH ARNOLD, SEC.

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**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

PA-for MJ-file

December 26, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les Dunbar:

The Committee on Annual Meeting, including our President and Vice-president, asked that I write urging you to participate. The dates are February 1-2.

The session will begin on February 1 with a dinner meeting for members and friends. It will end the next day with an interfaith luncheon where Mr. Cartwright will report on the Chicago conference on "Religion and Race." If possible we would like you to be here all the time including the full day Friday for conferences with community leaders.

The committee wanted you and a select panel of ACHR members to explore the areas suggested by the question: At this juncture of events what objectives can state and local councils effectively realize? The explorations may include assessing progress, limitations, directions indicated, experiences in other places, and, particularly, areas of possible break-through within which "real programs" may be developed. This discussion will follow the dinner on Friday evening.

We do hope these dates are open for you. More than that, we hope you really want to come for the Annual Meeting.

Sincerely,

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

To A phone 1/4 Will have Dunbar

OFFICERS— THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, CHAIRMAN • THE REV. MAYNARD M. MILLER, VICE-CHAIRMAN
MRS. JOE R. BREWER, VICE-CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, TREASURER • MRS. W. E. MORRIS, SECRETARY
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RECEIVED
JAN 3 1963

December 31, 1962

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Freeman:

We are enclosing a copy of our narrative report for the final quarter of 1962.

Our promptness in writing may lead you to suspect that our funds are depleted. You would be correct in such a conclusion. We have had a busy year.

So we request that the Fund's pledge for 1963 be forwarded to us. We will be promoting special program activities in January, including our annual meeting February 2 and a public meeting in March.

Dr. Stephan reported to us about his meaningful association with you in the committee work of the Presbyterian Church. Do you ever come out our way? It would be good to have you visit Little Rock and us.

Sincerely,

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra
Enc.

cc: Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
For your information.

Arkansas Council on Human Relations

Quarterly Narrative Report
October-December 15, 1962

## I. Significant Events

### A. In the Communities

1. In Little Rock three organizations of Negro citizens bent on increasing opportunities and participation continued to function: (a) the Committee for Better Education, principally patrons involved in desegregation of schools; (b) the Council on Community Affairs (COCA), avowedly an action group; (c) Informational Fellowship, more inclusive of college and public school administrators.

2. Activities of (a) above resulted in a protest letter from Attorney Wiley Branton to the School Board attorney on October 15 asking about participation of Negro students in non-academic school activities and about the Board's plan for completing desegregation.

3. Activities of group (b) above included active sponsorship of Negro candidates, Dr. W. H. Townsend for the City Manager Board and Dr. M. A. Jackson for the School Board. This group also served as the nucleus of support for the negotiations of the protesting students. Also a member of this group, with inside information, prompted the Urban League to request and secure complete hospitality at the Marion Hotel for its dinner speaker on November 27.

4. On November 7, the day after the General Election, local students began a sit-in demonstration at Woolworth's lunch counter. No arrests were made during the three days following. The willingness of the business leaders to negotiate desegregation of downtown facilities was relayed to the student leaders over the week-end. The negotiating committee of two students and two Negro adults of their selection with a like number of strong business men met first on November 14.

   Because the white members of this committee were either unwilling or not empowered to negotiate "early dates" the students sat-in at Walgreen's November 28. The counter was closed "in the interest of public safety." When two student leaders returned to the closed counter and sat the manager asked for their arrest under Arkansas Act #14 of 1959, refusal to leave a place of business when requested to do so by the management.

   The student accepted bail on November 30 made by individuals in the Council on Community Affairs. After considerable delay (see below II) negotiations began again on December 12 with real promise of a happy conclusion by January 2.

5. Little Rock was host to the famous Schola Cantorum, singing group of the University of Arkansas, on November 16 in the municipal auditorium. The Chamber of Commerce joined in the sponsorship. Tickets were sold to all without distinction. Other years this group has had Negro vocalists in it.

6. Local reactions to events at the University of Mississippi were interesting. Hall High School, Little Rock, according to student reports from class discussions, was solid in condemning the action of Governor Barnett

and the racists, "If any one agreed with them he was too timid to say so." Central High School, on the other hand, had sympathy demonstrations by some one hundred students.

State political figures agreed with the stand of the Mississippians. Governor Faubus, freshly returned from being elected chairman of the Southern Governors Conference, expressed sympathy for Barnett and castigated the federal administration. He did say he doubted that Barnett "could get away with it."

School officials and business leaders in Little Rock took the occasion for self-congratulation for the "solution" Little Rock found. Mr. Bowen of the Chamber of Commerce in a prepared statement said, "we find ourselves with this social revolution largely surmounted...."

B. Events in the Schools

1. In response to a letter from Attorney Wiley Branton to Herschel Friday, attorney for the Little Rock School Board, Superintendent of Schools Parsons' reply to the press was only that the Board would discuss the matter of Negro students participating in school athletics, clubs, etc. He indicated the school had no official policy on this matter but might have to establish one.

2. A news story (Arkansas Gazette, December 16) on projected enrollment figures for the Little Rock schools as related to building needs gives Superintendent Parsons as the authority for this part of the story: "The trend is toward empty classrooms in the white schools (in certain areas) and overcrowded classrooms in the Negro schools. The Board probably will be faced with three solutions, according to Parsons. It can build more Negro schools and let the white classrooms remain empty, increase integration, or consolidate some of the enrollment and convert more white schools to Negro use. The chances are the answer will be a combination of more schools for the Negroes and the conversion of traditionally white schools (to Negro use), though there is no official position."

3. Related to item #2 above was the announcement by Little Rock school officials of progress on the "J. R. Booker Junior High School" building in the estreme eastern section of the city to cost 1½ million dollars. J. R. Booker is a recently deceased Negro attorney of Little Rock.

4. Arkansas school authorities and eleven school districts received letters in November from the federal government reminding them of the policy that segregated schools will not be accepted as a basis of receiving federal aid for educating children living on federal installations beginning in 1963. The Arkansas Department of Education said that only three Arkansas schools were in a position to be affected by the new policy and that all three had already desegregated. The department did not explain how the other eight schools happen not to come under the new policy.

5. Two of the four Negro children in Dollarway School withdrew in November because of change of residence.

C. In the Courts

1. Little Rock municipal judge postponed until January 17 hearing for

William Hansen and Worth Long arfested in sit-in demonstrations.

2. Federal District Court of Little Rock (Henley's) ordered the Dollarway School District to admit Sarah Howard to the tenth grade. Sarah is the daughter of Attorney George Howard, President of Arkansas Conference of NAACP. Previously Dollarway has admitted only those in the first grades.

Judge Henley again posed the question as to the need for a plan of desegregation at Dollarway in the absence of any real demand for admission by Negro students. However, he granted the School Board's request for another year's use of its plan.

D. In Politics

1. Dr. William H. Townsend on November 6 ran second in a three-man race for Director of the City Manager Board. He received a total of 5,800 votes which was 31% of the total. The race issue was at no time injected in the campaign. He conducted an aggressive campaign with newspaper advertisements and public appearances.

2. On December 4 Dr. M. A. Jackson ran ~~XXX~~ second in a three man race for membership on the Little Rock School Board, receiving around 4000 votes out of a 12700 total cast. He received actually 31% of the votes cast. Negro electors constitute about 18 % of the qualified electors. While the Negro vote disappointed Dr. Jackson and his supporters, approximately 44% of the qualified Negro electors voted while only 28% of all qualified electors voted.

On November 27th all candidates for the school board appeared together at a meeting sponsored by the Pulaski Heights Junior High and Elementary Schools. Dr. Jackson made a very favorable impression. An educated guess is that Dr. Jackson received a total of 500 "white" votes. The Women's Emergency Committee endorsed his white opponent while trying to swing all Negro voters to their other candidate, Mrs. Sara Murphy. Mrs. Murphy lost to Everett Tucker, President of the School Board. With this natural and contrived confusion the Negro voters split almost equally between Mrs. Murphy and Mr. Tucker.

3. Senator J. William Fulbright won handily in his race against the Republican candidate, Dr. Kenneth Jones. Mr. Fulbright in his campaign criticized the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 saying in several speeches that the court had "usurped the powers of the legislative branch." Again he said the court acted "with power but without right." In reviewing the Mississippi furor he said the first mistake was made by the Supreme Court.

4. The Faubus sponsored Amendment #51, the segregated education amendment, lost in the General Election by a narrow margin.

E. In Organizations

1. On November 27 the Urban League held its Equal Opportunity Dinner with a capacity attendance.

2. On November 27-18 the Arkansas Conference of NAACP held its annual meeting at Pine Bluff with Attorney Jack Greenberg as ~~XXXX~~ chief speaker. The conference endorsed the proposal of a law suit to

desegregate schools in Pine Bluff. No case has been filed.

3. The annual convention of Arkansas Council of Churches was held on November 5 in North Little Rock with Mr. Robert Fudge of Hot Springs as special speaker.

4. The Arkansas Civil Rights Advisory Committee met and organized into committees for inquiries into the following areas: education, housing, employment, law, and agricultural programs.

## II. ACHR Activities Related to Events

### A. In the Communities

1. ACHR and some of its members were certain last Spring that the dinner for high school honor society seniors this year would include those from Horace Mann School (Negro). A news item on October 1 announced that the Chamber of Commerce of Little Rock would sponsor a luncheon on November 5 for the honor students of Hall, Central, Mount St. Mary's, and Catholic High. The staff called concerned persons. The Director wrote a letter of concern to the Chamber. A member of the luncheon committee Dr. Norton) and the Chamber President-elect (Mr. Will Mitchell) called at ACHR office to "explain" their problem. They proposed to have the luncheon for the whites and to present certificates to Horace Mann students at a special assembly at their school. The latter proposal was refused by Horace Mann's administrator and advisors. The lunch was held without Horace Mann. The next day the Executive Committee of ACHR issued a statement of criticism. (copy attached)

2. On October 2 the Director wired President Kennedy of support in his role of "defender of minority against the majority" in Mississippi.

   He also took the occasion to write the Attorney General commending his efforts at "solution in a frame of sanity" and at the same time trying to point up how Mississippi illustrated the nature of resistance in the whole South and the nature of the federal help (legal and legislative) needed.

3. On October 1 Dr. William H. Townsend phoned ACHR office that he had received tickets for the concerts of the Community Concert Association of Little Rock. This meant that nine memberships sold to Negro patrons for the orchestra and mezzanine last March by the Director of ACHR had been honored and that for these events Robinson Auditorium was desegregated.

4. A number of calls for assistance have been answered during the quarter.

   Mrs. Velma Powell, former secretary for ACHR, a secretary to the Dean at A & M College called and asked for "simple steps" for desegregating a college community. This called for a letter showing ideas and experiences from other situations.

   The Reverend Donald Campbell of Little Rock, Board member of ACHR, asked the directors for Negro nominees for members of the Board of Family Services. As a member of the nominating committee of that agency an opening to desegregate the Board had come. The directors submitted three names on October 12 and one has now been elected.

The directors were invited to participate in the luncheon meeting for the organization of a Hot Springs Community Relations Council on October 10. Some twenty-three local leaders voted to perfect an organization.

5. The monthly meeting of ministers (breakfast first; coffee, next) is meeting now for lunch as guests of Philander Smith's cafeteria and student union. The Director has been asked to act as secretary. Discussions have pursued the line set forth by a visiting person who is involved in efforts for extension of opportunities to Negro citizens. Persons invited include students, parents, school principals, associate director of ACHR.

6. ACHR's office and staff have been involved at interpretation of the sit-ins in Little Rock and in negotiating solutions. These activities, in brief, have included the following:

   a. Asking concerned white ministers to act as observers of the demonstrations.

   b. Explaining the nature of the demonstrations and what or who is behind them to a well-placed downtown attorney who phoned the Director.

   c. Calling Georgia Council to get name of the manager of Richie's for reference to the manager of a local department store.

   d. Interpreting to Negro leaders their relation to the student protestors and bringing them together.

   e. Serving as a member of the negotiating team named by the students (the associate director).

   f. Getting negotiation resumed after it had broken down by direct contact with the white head of the committee who asked and received from the Director concrete suggestions about the process of desegregating facilities.

   The net results of all events working together during November and December promise now to be much more desegregation downtown than anyone thought possible.

7. Through Mr. Harry Fleischmann of AJC, beginning November 21, the Director has been in touch with Actors' Equity in regard to the devious ways by which New York dramatic productions sponsored by the Little Rock Junior League are in fact being kept segregated although the contract calls for no discrimination.

B. Mass Media

1. The Executive Committee authorized wide distribution of reprints of Gerald Walker's article in November Redbook, "Little Rock - Five Years Later."

2. The Director has continued to seek and get the counsel of the publisher of the Arkansas Gazette in re news treatment of Negro candidates, student protests, and desegregating facilities.

3. Mrs. Gertrude Samuels of the New York Times spent several days in

Little Rock in November and early December. She seemed to be making a study in depth of progress and regress in desegregation. She spent some time with ACHR Director on December 1.

C. Miscellaneous

1. The Director conferred with Jack Greenberg in Little Rock on November 18 in regard to the need for legal aid to enforce clear interpretation of school desegregation laws in Little Rock and across the South in order to realize the benefits of victories won for Negro youth.

2. ACHR received and answered two confidential requests about hotel hospitality in Little Rock for Negroes (from John Lassoe and Rev. John Morris). The answers given in early November were revised on December 4 to say that the leading hotels are open.

3. ACHR still served as sponsor for guests from other countries, particularly those in the employ of U.S.I.A. The program officer of U.S.I.A., Miss Charlotte Loris, visited Little Rock on December 3 and was honor guest at a dinner sponsored by ACHR with Little Rockians who have helped in this program of international hospitality.

4. The committee of the Arkansas Civil Rights Advisory Committee for the study of education is headed by Mrs. Elaine McNeil of Fayetteville, a member of ACHR's Executive Committee.

   She has the help of Mrs. Ruth Arnold of ACHR's staff in the inquiry as to denial of the rights of Negro students in certain school districts, the costs and the educational waste. Mrs. Arnold has involved persons in Arkansas Teachers Association staff, in the Arkansas Department of Education, in the Arkansas Education Association.

5. Mr. Carnes, Professor of Law at the University of Arkansas, has made two trips to ACHR for materials on school desegregation. He is a fellow in a south-wide study of what has happened as a part of and a result of litigation. The study is being sponsored by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

Arkansas Council on Human Relations

Quarterly Finance Report

October-November-December, 1962

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Balance brought forward September 30, 1962 | | | $ 356.98 |
| **INCOME** | | | |
| Matching funds via SRC | | | 2,200.00 |
| Transfer from savings | | | 1,500.00 |
| Local income | | | |
| Contributions | $ 921.50 | | |
| Memberships | 108.00 | | |
| NEW SOUTH | 56.00 | | |
| Literature | 13.25 | | 1,098.75 |
| | | TOTAL | $ 5,155.73 |
| **EXPENDITURES** | | | |
| Rent | $ 195.00 | | |
| Telephone | 116.54 | | |
| Office Supplies | 54.32 | | |
| F.I.C.A. & W.H. Taxes | 629.14 | | |
| Literature | 60.90 | | |
| Bank charges | 2.48 | | |
| Postage | 42.78 | | |
| Travel | 190.44 | | |
| Salaries | 3,408.99 | | |
| Program | 14.06 | | 4,714.65 |
| Check book balance December 31, 1962 | | | $ 441.08 |

PA - ✓ more concentration on Little Rock

SB ✓

WB - for info ✓

MAV

MF - file

January 14, 1963

Mr. Nat R. Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

Thank you for your letter regarding the reprint of Mr. Dabbs' speech. Since your printer is saving us about $85 on the 2,000 copies, I am indeed happy that you have gone ahead with getting it done there. Since there will probably be postage charges too, and maybe tax, we'll wait to send you a check when we hear from you as to the total cost.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

January 11, 1963

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

We have placed an order for the reprint of Mr. Dabbs' speech with Union Printing Company, which is what its name implies, a union shop.

The price for 2000 will be $105.60! This price really surprised me. We added 500 for our use here.

At this price we felt you authorized us to go ahead. The "bug" will be on it. The company while new is headed by the editor of the Arkansas Labor Bulletin and will be dependable.

We will forward the reprints as soon as they are ready.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

Nat R. Griswold
Executive Director

NRG:ra

OFFICERS— THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, CHAIRMAN • THE REV. MAYNARD M. MILLER, VICE-CHAIRMAN
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*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

File

TAU
MJ-file

November 15, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les Dunbar:

After adding the emphases you suggested we are forwarding our "Proposal" to Field and Eleanor Roosevelt memorial Fund.

Also, may we trouble you by asking for another twenty-five copies of the L-Report which gives the resolutions of the chambers of commerce (Greensboro, Durham, Knoxville) and a dozen copies of Morland's "Token Desegregation and Beyond".

Were these sent? No!

Thanks -

Sincerely,

Nat R. Griswold by ra

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

(25 - L-43 Chambers of Commerce resolutions
25 - Morland
Sent 11-21-63
MA)

OFFICERS—MRS. JOE R. BREWER, CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REVEREND GEORGE W. GUNN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • DR. G. P. FREEMAN, TREASURER • MRS. W. E. MORRIS, SECRETARY
STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • OZELL SUTTON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • RUTH ARNOLD, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

File
State Councils

December 18, 1963

Mr. Nathaniel R. Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

Enclosed are two glossy prints and biographical sketch for Les Dunbar. When you have made use of the prints we would like them returned.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosures - 3.

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

December 12, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les Dunbar:

We are pleased that you can be with us for our annual meeting January 4. As you recognize this is a hurry-up meeting, as compared to other years. It will enable Cartwright to be present and give an occasion to honor him before he leaves for Youngstown, Ohio.

You will speak at noon. Annual meeting of our Advisory Council will be at 10:30 a.m. with staff reports, etc. Following your address we will have annual business meeting concluding with the film, "Miss Smith of Georgia". In the evening ACHR will hold a reception honoring the Cartwrights with community leaders and citizens invited. Of course we hope you can be here for all events.

Will you please send us three glossy prints, biographic sketch, and other material appropriate for news release.

We will see you.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

OFFICERS—MRS. JOE R. BREWER, CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REVEREND GEORGE W. GUNN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • DR. G. P. FREEMAN, TREASURER • MRS. W. E. MORRIS, SECRETARY
STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • OZELL SUTTON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • RUTH ARNOLD, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

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... Sto + West

Del. #493 — Sat. L. 4

8:50 AM lv. ar. 11:07 AM

5th L. ~~(Sealing)~~ #446

lv. [illegible] 9:01 AM #845

Memphis G. Not avail.

ar. [illegible] 12:18 pm — G.

~~Jrno Tafe~~

~~#45~~

~~ar. — [illegible] 5:15~~

Sat. L. 4

lv. [illegible] 439 Memphis

ar. [illegible] 10:08

Memo from MILDRED JOHNSON

EA.

3:17 pm

8:13 pm

UA -

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

See "State Councils"

December 30, 1963

file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

501

Dear Les Dunbar:

We are reserving you a room at Hotel Grady Manning for January 3 and 4.

If you can come early enough Friday we can arrange some meaningful conferences with local persons.

We are pleased to have you.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

OFFICERS—MRS. JOE R. BREWER, CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REVEREND GEORGE W. GUNN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • DR. G. P. FREEMAN, TREASURER • MRS. W. E. MORRIS, SECRETARY
STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • OZELL SUTTON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • RUTH ARNOLD, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

file
Ark. C.H.R.

October 2, 1964

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Can you please find out for me as soon as possible the status of Dr. Roosevelt Crockett? This is the time of year when we must fill vacancies in Council membership, and I have heard that Dr. Crockett has not only resigned from Philander Smith, but is leaving the region. I'll be grateful for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

Rec'd 10/7/64

October 5, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie Dunbar:

Dr. Crockett, indeed, has left Philander Smith and the state. Philander Smith gave us the following as Dr. Crockett's address:

800 Fourth Street, S.W.
Capitol Park
Washington, D.C.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

OFFICERS-MRS. JOE R. BREWER, CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REVEREND GEORGE W. GUNN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • DR. G. P. FREEMAN, TREASURER • MRS. W. E. MORRIS, SECRETARY
STAFF-NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • OZELL SUTTON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • RUTH ARNOLD, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

File
Ark. C.H.R.

# CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

**NAME OR SUBJECT**

Nathaniel Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations

**REGARDING**

Financial support from SRC for Fair Housing Committee workshops.

**DATE**

PA's reply dtd. March 16, 1966

(SEE)
**NAME OR SUBJECT**

For full details and all correspondence see Moreland Smith files.

PA

March 11, 1966

Mr. Nat R. Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Mr. Griswold:

Thank you for your letter of March 8th informing me of the steps being taken to initiate a fair housing committee in Arkansas. This is indeed good news.

At present the Urban Planning Project is operating with limited funds. Until our program's relation and orientation to the Department of Housing and Urban Development is more firmly established we will not be able to formulate a budget for the use of the funds available. Since I fully support your efforts in this program, I am turning your letter over to Paul Anthony for his consideration for funding from the general budget. After he has reviewed your request you will hear from us further.

Sincerely yours,

Moreland Griffith Smith, FAIA
Director
Urban Planning Project

MGS/jdg

cc: Paul Anthony

file
Ac HR

March 23, 1966

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Enclosed is your proposal on which, as you will see, we have made only very small changes. It is a little repetitious, and I think you might delete, on page 5, the reference to C. Vann Woodward -- it seems weak.

It's a good proposal and a sound idea, and we shall support it with the foundation.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (A Proposal)

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

~~ES~~
~~MS~~
MT

file — Read 4/1/66

30 March 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul Anthony:

Here is the proposal as submitted to Les Dunbar and Field Foundation. Thanks for your suggestions and encouragement.

We have followed through on Mrs. Eunice Greer and expect her here for two workshops on May 5, 6. Your parsimony this time saved us from a mistake: I distrust Rutledge for our purposes.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

Nat R. Griswold
Executive Director

NRG:cit

Enclosure

OFFICERS – FATHER WALTER B. CLANCY, CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, VICE-CHAIRMAN
REVEREND A. M. ROBERTS, JR., TREASURER • MRS. FRANK N. GORDON, SECRETARY
STAFF – NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • OZELL SUTTON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

File Ark Council

Charged to #317 - Research

November 28, 1966

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Enclosed is our check for $500 to the Arkansas Council in support of your special research. It is our understanding that the first expense from this will be your trip to New Haven to talk with Dr. C. Vann Woodward. We are sending this amount in one sum so that you can make plans for future travel without first having to determine from us if support is available.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check, $500.00)

(6)

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

November 20, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Avenue NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

My memory is as long as an elephant's about some things -- longer than a Republican elephant's.

You indicated last spring that you had some discretionary funds which might help me on my writing project in some special need. Particularly you thought you might pay my travel for conferences in the East.

My work has advanced to the stage of utter confusion among a variety of alternatives -- as to the audiences for which I write, as to materials to be included, as to the style of writing as related to audience, as to which of three possible books I should try to write, as to what my limitations dictate in all these alternatives, as to possible publishers.

I am to see C. Vann Woodward in New Haven on November 29 for a protracted conference.

My plane fare round trip to New Haven is $174.40. I would have hotel, taxicabs, and incidental expenses beyond my meals for a minimum of two days. Can you help me on this travel expense?

A mendicant student.

Sincerely yours,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold
1220 West Capitol, Little Rock
FR 4-9758

NRG:mg

OFFICERS - FATHER WALTER B. CLANCY, CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, VICE-CHAIRMAN
REVEREND A. M. ROBERTS, JR., TREASURER • MRS. FRANK N. GORDON, SECRETARY
STAFF - NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • OZELL SUTTON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

| DOMESTIC SERVICE | |
|---|---|
| Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram | |
| FULL RATE TELEGRAM | |
| DAY LETTER | |
| NIGHT LETTER | X |

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S
E

# WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

| INTERNATIONAL SERVICE | |
|---|---|
| Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate | |
| FULL RATE | |
| LETTER TELEGRAM | |
| SHIP RADIOGRAM | |

| NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC. | PD. OR COLL. | CASH NO. | CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF | TIME FILED |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | pd | | Southern Regional Council | |

*Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to*

Mr. Nat Griswold, Exed. Director
ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Frank Loescher is scheduled to be in Little Rock Monday

January 9 so proceed with your regular scheduled meeting.

New Years greetings to you Chris and all my friends.

Fred Routh

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

# WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NSB521 NS LRA450 NL PD

LITTLEROCK ARK 1

PAUL RILLING CARE SO. REG COUNCIL ROOM 201

5 FORSYTH ST NORTHWEST ATLA

WHAT ABOUT MEETING OUR BOARD AFTERNOON NOVEMBER 21 AND STAYING TO OBSERVE COMMUNITY MEETING NEXT DAY

NAT.

NO!

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

TO: Paul Rilling

FROM: Nat Griswold

Please rush (airmail) us 6 copies of "The Student Protest Movement" (SRC 13).

If you can spare them we would also like another dozen by regualr mail.

Nat

✓ 3/18

Thus

JAN 27 1961

MEMORANDUM

TO: Paul Rilling, Wade Mackie, John Feilds, John Lassoe,
Mathew Ahlman, Garnet Guild, Thelma Babbitt

You might have known! Conflicts of dates in securing principal speakers for NAIRO Regional Conference. So, fixed date (April 13-14) for conference now unfixed. New date, possibly June 1-2. Let you know very soon.

NAT GRISWOLD

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

Dear Paul Rilling -

Please reserve room for Wednesday night, February 22. Arrive 9:58 p.m. ~~Delta~~ Delta Flight # 455.

Thanks -

Nat

Mr. Nat Griswold
2106 Nueces
Austin, Texas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

The man at the head of the Department of the Rural Church at Drew Seminary in Madison, New Jersey, is a devoted and informed person, of Southern background. He has put out three excellent pamphlets, copies of which I am sending to you.

We can play a part in strengthening the rural churches, and in firming their purposes. I hope that reading the booklets will strike sparks in your mind, and give you hints as to helpful things to do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Under separate cover
These My Brethren
Go Down, Moses
A New Gospel of the Soil

C O P Y

One of the difficulties in understanding a complex and emotional social problem is an unavailability of dispassionate contemporary analysis of its status. Such an evaluation of school desegregation and the law appears to have been made, however, by Professor G. W. Foster, Jr., of the University of Wisconsin School of Law, in a recent issue of a national magazine. ("1960: Turning Point for Desegregation", Saturday Review of Literature, December 17, 1960.)

Professor Foster, after an obviously thorough study of current law on the issue, believes that a perceptible pattern has developed. That pattern now affords some basis for legal prediction, always hazardous, but necessary in practical planning.

First, the legal issue (and the public one, according to a recent Gallup poll) has changed from "desegregation, yes or no?" to "how much desegregation?" and "how soon?" This change is more apparent in legal decisions than in newspaper stories. Professor Foster concludes that in spite of twin barriers of Negro reluctance and white fear and resistance, responsible consideration of a no-desegregation possibility has, by the end of 1960, virtually ended.

Three systems have been developed in an effort to satisfy the School Segregation Cases mandate, classified as the Alabama, Baltimore, and Nashville plans.

The Alabama plan places no affirmative duty on local school officials. It allows a child to transfer after initial placement in a segregated school. The initiative is shifted to the Negro pupil, and permission to transfer can be based on subjective evaluation which may cloak racial discrimination. The Wisconsin scholar finds that although courts first refused to invalidate

such plans on their face, a "decided change in tone" has appeared in recent judicial opinions. The federal appellate courts are now saying that school boards do have affirmative obligations to desegregate. Further, school assignment standards must be applied uniformly to all pupils, not just to those Negro students who seek transfer to heretofore white schools.

The Alabama plan, Professor Foster implies, has a relatively short future as long as it is used to aid segregation. He describes this system, incidentally, as the "core" of the court-approved plan in Little Rock.

The Baltimore plan permits the child initial choice of his school. One of its variations is the three school system: one for whites, one for Negroes, and a third desegregated; this particular form has been declared unconstitutional. Professor Foster sees major legal deficiencies in the Baltimore plan in that it makes the right to attend public schools without discrimination turn on the choice of other pupils in the same system.

The Nashville plan has found more legal favor. The Nashville school board started grade-a-year desegregation beginning with the first grade. Geography is the only criterion for assignment. Once a child has been assigned, he may apply for a transfer to a school of his own race only if he is a member of a racial minority at the school to which he was originally assigned.

Although the Supreme Court declined to review the original Nashville plan, the author states that its legal acceptance as a transition measure is an "open question". He believes that pre-existing academic disparity may justify it. Further, it does not put the financial and social expense of initiating desegregation upon individual students, and may ameliorate the most severe community reaction in allowing transfer by students

of a racial minority in a particular school.

The Nashville system has been combined with the Alabama plan, as in Dollarway, Arkansas. But such combination, in the words of the writer, serves to "maximize the constitutional doubts inherent in the Alabama-type plans."

Whatever the plan, Professor Foster finds the following principles necessary and/or wise: (1) it must apply uniformly to all schools in the system; (2) initial pupil placement should be by standards applied to all; (3) stair step plans should start from the bottom up, and provide for raising achievement levels in and permitting transfer from classes left segregated; (4) interschool transfer should be permitted after initial placement; (5) where needed, injunctions should be directed to persons who threaten to withhold state funds, close schools, or otherwise interfere; and (6) the court should announce clearly the continuation of its jurisdiction and the opportunity for modification as the transition progresses.

The article closes with two broad observations. First, the federal judiciary is getting a little tired of acting alone, without help from coordinate branches of the government, in enforcing the Constitution. Second, the author recommends that Congress "tackle--with a massive infusion of federal funds--the problem of upgrading the primary and secondary education in schools where achievement levels fall far below the national norm." This approach, undertaken without particular attention to segregation, would meet a general social problem which, in the final analysis, is as genetic to the issues in school desegregation as any.

LWD ✓
PA ✓
JC ✓
HCF ✓
PRV ✓

# ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

## Job Analysis

Title: Associate Director

Salary: Maximum $5000 based on educational background and experience.

Apply to: Personnel Committee
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol, Little Rock, Arkansas

I. Continuing Responsibilities

1. Articulate and popularize an adequate image of Negro persons in the New South and New World.
2. Devise methods and implement them by which local Negro citizens can constantly press for full responsibilities and privileges of citizens.
3. Conduct research and inquiries to substantiate and dramatize the disabilities now forced on Negro citizens.

II. Capabilities and Skills

1. Ability to work effectively with Negro organizations and officials.
2. Ability to evaluate and adapt methods used elsewhere.
3. Ability to analyze issues and forces and to relate these to activities.
4. Ability to employ dynamics of groups to maximize educational progress.

III. Experiences and Qualifications

1. Educational - college degree with training in group work and social research.

2. Social - active participant in community organizations; active leader in work with groups.

3. Personal - minimum age, 30 years (mature enough to gain and deserve respect of Negro adult leaders); married; unquestionable moral habits, including habits of work and dependability in social and financial obligations.

September 30, 1953

Hon. Brooks Hays
Post Office Building
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Brooks:

Hope you will like this. We are trying hard to get it used by local discussion groups - church, labor, teacher, folks,-all over the South. Object, to pull the question down from the closed-door offices of State officials and get it into the homes of citizens. Object of that: avoid political confusion when the decision comes down.

I sent one, incidentally, to Mr. Duncan, of the Arkansas Baptist, who said he would look it over and make such use as space and time would permit.

Warm regards from all Mitchells to all Brooklets.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo
enclosure

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
514 FEDERAL BUILDING

MEMBER
BANKING AND CURRENCY COMMITTEE

SECRETARY:
CLAUD D. CURLIN

# Congress of the United States
## House of Representatives
### Washington, D. C.

Little Rock, Arkansas
October 12, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear George:

Just a line to thank you for your thoughtfulness of sending me a copy of "Questions and Answers". This is an excellent statement and contains some information that I need. Of course you know that I am following developments closely. Some very interesting things are happening in Arkansas which I will tell you about when I see you.

Hope all goes well with you, and with highest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Brooks

January 7, 1954

Mr. John S. McLees
Executive Secretary
The Office of Senator Brooks Hays
U. S. Congress
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. McLees:

It was as kind of you as could be to send on down to me so promptly, and after taking so much trouble, a copy of the Reece Committee Report.

I would not for the world have this cost Brooks personally. So, I send in a dollar to reimburse his account, and hope that that is approximately the right amount.

We had the pleasure of a visit from Brooks in Atlanta just a few days ago.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

Hays

February 19, '54

Dear Brooks,

Many thanks for your letter.

I've been 'phoning and writing usefully with A. C. Miller, who bought 250 of our Q and A pamphlet, and has done other helpful things.

Various parts of a proper program:

1. The time has come for each Southern community with any substantial Negro population to appoint or elect an able, courageous, representative Negro person to the local school board. That's the price for getting through the next few years pleasantly, and it's a price that Southern communities can pay graciously. If the word gets down through Church circles that this is the next step, it will be done. Quietly done. Richmond, Lynchburg, Newport News, Roanoke, Raleigh, Darlington County, S.C., Atlanta, Augusta, Knoxville, San Antonio, and I believe Little Rock have done this, recently, and it works. You know how it will do the things that need to be done, and I needn't elaborate. I called Miller, some weeks ago, and urged him to go to owrk to this end, and he wasinterested. Not a matter to go into print about, a matter best done if done by word of mouth. But it needs doing. And the a pointments or selections made now will be worth more than those made after the decision.

2. There'S the positive problem of getting parents of a min to tell their children to be nice to those little children of the other group. That goes for both groups. Best done, indeed only done, if such a parental attitude becomes a part of religbus conscience. Again a job for the churches to do quietly, but pervasively. I've written Miller about this, and he has replied helpfully. Incidentally I've passed both these notion on to the right eople of each major Denomination having strength in the South.

3. There should be small, local, often bi-racial discussiion groups, about the Schools and the Courts. The first little knot of people in each town that meet and learn the issues, and then the facts, will make up some kind of plan, and the chances are goodthat their plan will carry through. I've done what feeble bit I could toward

getting such groups started. The two pamphlets we did are tailor-made for this job. The National Council of Churches has been giving us an occasional leg-man to go out and stir local people into tiny meetings of this kind, with quite significant results. You are a busy man, but I think you'll find time to read a whole lot of the attached report on the first use of that method. Most people I have shown it to have sat right down and read the whole thing. If the S. B. Convention would use its own great strength to get that sort of thing going, on its own, in town after town, areas by area, the job wouldbe half done. I really think this is the main task. My 'Pisky friends call it "operation log across the creek", and are trying hard to work it out on a goodish scale.

Those three jobs would keep everybody busy!

Best to you all, Brooks,

Sincerely,

G.

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT, ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
514 FEDERAL BUILDING

MEMBER
FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

SECRETARY:
JOHN S. MCLEES

# Congress of the United States
## House of Representatives
### Washington, D. C.

February 11, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear George:

As you know, I am a member of The Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention. We have not accomplished a great deal in the field of Race Relations, but the Commission does recognize our obligations and there is a continuing and wholesome interest in the subject. I believe it will be given priority in future Commission meetings and that in time we will be able to interest more of our Baptist people in this outlet for Christian service.

I wonder if you have any ideas that I might pass on to the Commission for the charting of a program? What should Baptists be doing about it? Any ideas that you might have would be gratefully received.

With high regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Brooks

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT, ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
514 FEDERAL BUILDING

MEMBER
FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

SECRETARY:
JOHN S. MCLEES

# Congress of the United States
## House of Representatives
### Washington, D. C.

December 21, 1953

RECEIVED
DEC 23
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear George:

I have just had a long-distance telephone conversation with Clif Case. Missed him in New York when I was there last Saturday. He seemed interested in what I told him about the Council. You may have learned by this time of the appointment of a staff member to advise the Foundation in matters of this kind. I am sure it is someone you know and am sorry I have forgotten the name. Clif is to see me shortly after the first of the year and is instructing his new staff member to get in touch with me. You can count on my presenting our point of view as forcibly as possible.

Do keep in touch with me. Marion joins in warm regards to you and Alice.

Sincerely yours,

Brooks Hays

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT, ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
514 FEDERAL BUILDING

MEMBER
FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

SECRETARY:
JOHN S. MCLEES

# Congress of the United States
## House of Representatives
### Washington, D. C.

March 11, 1954

RECEIVED
MAR 13 1954
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear George:

Just a line to thank you for taking time to give me this valuable comment on the problems with which our Baptist Christian Life Commission is working.

With high regards always, I am

Sincerely,

Brooks

May 31, 1954

Dictated May 28

The Honorable Brooks Hays
United States House of
Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hays:

So much has happened that I am disastrously late in sending you copies of the Fisk "DO" on railway segregation.

I see that the Congress has already gotten into action on the matter and that you played a man's part. But here are ten copies anyway.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

(Copies sent under separate cover)

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT, ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
314 FEDERAL BUILDING

MEMBER
FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

SECRETARY:
JOHN S. MCLEES

# Congress of the United States
## House of Representatives
### Washington, D. C.

July 6, 1954

RECEIVED
JUL 8 1954
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear George:

Here is a clipping from the Arkansas Baptist with a reference to the report of the Christian Life Commission. Perhaps you have already seen this. At any rate, I know you will share my feeling that the Baptists are at last making a contribution, and I am particularly pleased that there has been no explosive response to the statement which Dr. Miller and Dr. Weatherspoon presented to the St. Louis convention.

With warm regards,

Hurriedly,

Brooks.

RECEIVED
JUL 8 1954
Southern Regional Council

September 7, 1954

The Honorable Brooks Hays
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Brooks:

I read with much interest nearly all of the Hearings on the Heselton Bill, and particularly approved what you had to say.

We are concerned to get wider understanding in the South of the opportunity presented by clear Federal legislation in the field.

I do greatly hope that Betty and her husband will be coming to Atlanta. Please tell them to let us know, or you send us word, when, as and if they get here. I know a few people in the Public Health office, and Alice and I would be so glad to have Betty and Co. in this city.

Cordially,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT, ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
214 FEDERAL BUILDING

MEMBER
FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

SECRETARY:
JOHN S. MCLEES

# Congress of the United States
## House of Representatives
### Washington, D. C.

August 12, 1954

RECEIVED
AUG 16 1954
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am sending you herewith copy of the hearings before the Commerce Committee on the Heselton bill and related measures. You might have time to look over some of my comments; I hope so. At the moment it appears that the bill will not be acted on in these expiring minutes of the session, but there is a good chance that it will be taken up early in the 84th Congress and, incidentally, under a different chairmanship. Our good friend Percy Priest of Tennessee is scheduled to be chairman if there is a shift in party control. He is rather sympathetic, though for understandable reasons voted against the Heselton bill in committee.

It occurs to me that it would be a wonderful thing if between now and the opening of the next session we could do some work at the grassroots and get some support among Southern Congressmen for this bill. The big job is to distinguish the interstate travel non-segregation measure from FEPC and bills in that category. Sorry I have not had a chance to talk to you about it.

With regards,

Sincerely,

Brooks -

P. S. There is a good chance that Betty and her husband will be living in Atlanta. He has completed five years with the Point IV program in Mexico and Costa Rica and they are eager to return home. The Public Health Service will likely assign him to the Atlanta office.

December 13, 1954

The Honorable Brooks Hays
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Brooks:

Mighty nice of you to write to Fred Darragh. I am just back in the office and don't know what they have got going, but I am sure it will be good if Darragh is the head of it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

*Memo from the Desk of . . .*

**BROOKS HAYS,** Member of Congress
5th District, Arkansas

RECEIVED
12/8/57
Southern Regional Council

Geo -
The L Rock
group is fine -
Regards -
BH

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT, ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
214 FEDERAL BUILDING

ARR

MEMBER
FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

SECRETARY:
JOHN S. MCLEES

# Congress of the United States
## House of Representatives
### Washington, D. C.

December 6, 1954

HCF ✓
GTH ✓
TBR ✓

Mr. Fred Darragh
1401 East Sixth
Little Rock, Arkansas

My dear Fred:

I was glad to read in the Gazette of the formation of a Little Rock unit of the Southern Regional Council and congratulate you upon accepting the chairmanship of this important organization. There is a real opportunity for a service of this type. If I can help you don't hesitate to call on me.

With personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Brooks Hays

M. C.
FIFTH DISTRICT ARK.

December 29, 1954

The Honorable Brooks Hays
U. S. Capitol
Washington, D. C.

Dear Brooks:

Can you have someone in your office find me a copy of Brazila Carroll Reece's report on foundations and mail it to me?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT, ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
214 FEDERAL BUILDING

MEMBER
FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

SECRETARY:
JOHN S. MCLEES

# Congress of the United States
## House of Representatives
### Washington, D. C.

January 5, 1955

JAN 7 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear George:

It was grand of you and Alice to come to see us and you don't know how much I enjoyed the visit. Thanks for sending me the bulletin. This contains some material I wanted.

Hope you will be coming to Washington before long. You can be sure I will get in touch with you when we are in Atlanta.

With warm regards always,

Sincerely,

Brooks -

*Memo from the Desk of . . .*

**BROOKS HAYS, Member of Congress**
**5th District, Arkansas**

JAN 12 1955

January 10, 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

It was a pleasure for us to send you the Reece report, and I am returning the dollar as there was no actual cost involved. The report was simply charged to the Congressman's exchange account, and Mr. Hays was delighted to have this done. Thanks anyway.

Sincerely,

John S. McLees

J. S. McLees

KS - got this $1.00 + ret'd to P. Cash

June 1, 1955

The Honorable Brooks Hays
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Brooks:

You were so kind as to tell me that I might call on you Wednesday morning, June 8th.

Since that time we engaged Morris Abram as legal counsel on the whole matter, and he is asking the Treasury Office for a postponement of the hearing. So the June 8th trip and the hearing will not come off. But I am sensible and appreciative of your ready interest in our problem. I hope there will be a chance to confer with you later on.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT, ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
214 FEDERAL BUILDING

MEMBER
FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

SECRETARY:
JOHN S. MCLEES

# Congress of the United States
## House of Representatives
### Washington, D. C.

July 25, 1955

JUL 27 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear George:

When I wrote you last Friday I forgot to ask about Larry Hughes. How could I get in touch with him? I want to know something about the problem of determining costs on these water projects, and from what you told me Larry should have some information that might help with some of our Arkansas problems as well as some out West that we have to study. Would appreciate this information.

Sincerely,

Brooks Hays

Answered
phone
July 29 '55
ewm

Arkansas

FILE COPY

October 5, 1955

The Honorable Brooks Hays
U. S. Mission to the UN
2 Park Avenue
New York 28, New York

Dear Brooks:

Thank you for following through on Mr. Needham.

The situation in brief is this: The Southern Regional Council has had undisputed tax-exemption since 1946. The state groups affiliated with SRC (most of which go back with continuous history ten or twenty years) had never formally applied for tax-exemption. Most of them received numerous small membership contributions, and so far as we know the internal revenue people never questioned the claim of tax-exemption as attaching to such contributions.

When, about October, 1954, SRC was in position more substantially to assist the reorganizing state groups, we began to see that formal tax-exemption would be needful for state groups. The man in charge of the Georgia one, with our consent, applied to the Atlanta office of the Treasury for tax-exemption, and for this reason or that the application was sent in to Washington. Washington said that the Georgia Committee looked to them like a body to serve the needs of a particular group of people, and not like a broadly educational body, and, therefore, only the revenue of the Georgia Committee would be exempt from taxes, but contributions to the Georgia Committee would not be exempt. The ruling as it stands now would, of course, be disastrous. We contribute $10,000 or $12,000 a year to each state organization.

Treasury's ruling to the Georgia Committee said that the Georgia Committee might appeal. It did appeal, advantaged by the brief, copy of which Morris Abram sent you. That appeal has not yet been answered with a decision.

Meanwhile, the Kentucky Council on Human Relations (our Kentucky affiliate) applied to the Louisville office of the Treasury for formal tax-exemption and was granted it. Washington, of course, has power to overrule its Louisville office, but we hope Washington will not do so. No other state has as yet applied for formal tax-exemption, which means

that Arkansas has not applied. I think it is excellent for Mr. Needham to know of your high opinion of the value of the educational work proceeding through the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

I, myself, cannot avoid the feeling that broad precedents exist for the grant of full tax-exemption to the Georgia Committee, and therefore by precedent to the other state organizations assisted by SRC. But we recognize that the Treasury ruling is a chancy business.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Mr. Abram
(Encl - Copy of ltr from Congressman Hays dtd 9/28/55)

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT, ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
214 FEDERAL BUILDING

MEMBER
FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

SECRETARY:
JOHN S. MCLEES

# Congress of the United States
## House of Representatives
### Washington, D. C.

U. S. Mission to the UN
2 Park Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.
September 28, 1955

OCT 4 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I talked to Mr. Needham over the phone today and made a strong statement to him regarding the character and value of the work being done in Arkansas with your help. He is familiar with the Southern Regional Council, of course, and says there is no question regarding contributions to it. He was not familiar, however, with the Arkansas angle and said he would have to look into the matter to determine what is being done about it. Perhaps I need to be brought down to date since he indicated he would call me back when he looked into it.

I am doing my little chores for the UN and will be here until the General Assembly adjourns December 10.

Sincerely yours,

Brooks Hays

I used Arkansas as illustrative - I assume other States are involved -

Encl: "The Attack on Free Opinion"
SRC News Release re Cook's criticisms

November 14, 1955

The Honorable Brooks Hays,
U.S. Mission to the U. N.,
2 Park Avenue,
New York 16, New York

Dear Brooks,

A couple of weeks ago the Attorney-General of Georgia, one Eugene Cook, in a big speech fussed at the NAACP, which he said was about concocted by Communists, and in passing took a swipe at SRC, which he said was a "front", though I never found out whether he means we were a front for the NAACP or for the Communists. Anyway we answered him with a press release (enclosed), and we have put together a longer memo, giving the straight dope about SRC. This we haven't proposed for publication, but just to set people straight.

Meanwhile, there seems to be an axis at work vs. the Fund for the Republic. The Hearst Journal-American scours up some dirt, Fulton Lewis, Jr. spreads the dirt around. So we half-knew what was acook when INS asked us in early November for our Board list. That we think is public property, so we gave it. November 7 the Journal-American runs a front-page spread "Name 21 Pro-reds on Dixie Race Study Council". Jumped on Rufus Clement and on a Piskie Bishop and Charles Johnson, and GSM, etc., claiming we had this or that against us in the files of the House Un-American Committee (in a couple of instances in the files of the California Committee!). And duly Fulton Lewis, Jr. bleated the "charges" in Fulton Lewis's broadcasts for the next few days. Also the White Citizens Council bunches, at least in one instance Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, November 12, '55, have carried a large paid ad, reprinting the Journal-American story, abusing the Fund for the Republic, etc. (and incidentally comparing SRC to John Brown).

All mean, and silly, and I suppose to be expected. Just wanted you to know about it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eab

September 17, 1956

The Honorable Brooks Hays
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Brooks:

Do by all means come to see us when you come to Atlanta in October.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT, ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE
214 FEDERAL BUILDING

# Congress of the United States
## House of Representatives
### Washington, D. C.

MEMBER
FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

SECRETARY:
JOHN S. MCLEES

ASSISTANTS:
MRS. LURLENE WILBERT
MISS KITTY JOHNSON

IN CHARGE OF LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
H. A. EMERSON

September 4, 1956

Miss Elizabeth A. Brantley
c/o Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Brantley:

Just a note to let you know that Mr. Hays found it necessary to postpone his trip to Atlanta this week because of business in Little Rock. He will be in Atlanta in October and will get in touch with Mr. Mitchell while there.

Sincerely yours,

Lurlene Wilbert

Lurlene Wilbert
Secretary

Rec'd 9/5/56 - so did not call Mr. Hays' daughter
GPP

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

August 30, 1956

Dr. Mitchell:

October 2 - New York City for
Will Maslow

November 15 - Williamsburg, Va.
Bd. Mtg.

November 16-17 - Agreement (for
expenses) to be in
Washington for the
National Council of
Negro Women.

August 30, 1956

~~2677~~

Air mail

The Honorable Brooks Hays
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

In Mr. Mitchell's absence I acknowledge your letter of August 28th.

Mr. Mitchell will not be in Atlanta from Tuesday, September 4th through Friday, September 15th, and therefore will miss seeing you when you come through. As he returns from his present absence late Friday, he will get to see your letter and will probably leave instructions with me in re seeing you later on in the Fall.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth A. Brantley
Secretary

Wm E.

To call Brooks Hays' daughter (Mrs. Wm. E. Bell) and leave message that the Council's services are at Mr. Hays' disposal during his stay in Atlanta.

2679 Ridgemore Rd.

Sep 4 — 1956

BROOKS HAYS
4TH DISTRICT, ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE
214 FEDERAL BUILDING

# Congress of the United States
## House of Representatives
### Washington, D. C.

MEMBER
FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

SECRETARY:
JOHN S. MCLEES

ASSISTANTS:
MRS. LURLENE WILBERT
MISS KITTY JOHNSON

IN CHARGE OF LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
H. A. EMERSON

August 28, 1956

RECEIVED AUG 30 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I hope you will be in Atlanta next week. Marion and I are driving back to Arkansas and will stop there to visit with Betty's family a couple of days, and there are some matters I want to discuss with you. We expect to leave here Tuesday, reaching Atlanta sometime Wednesday, so I will be calling you Thursday or Friday. If I miss you this time I will look forward to seeing you later on in the fall. I expect to spend a part of October and November up here and hope we can get together.

With highest regards,

Sincerely,

Brooks -

Arkansas

September 21, 1956

The Honorable Brooks Hays
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Brooks:

I am having hard luck about getting with you! October 2nd and 3rd I am in New York!

But I will see to it that very soon we do get together, either in Washington or somewhere else.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

*Memo from the Desk of . . .*

**BROOKS HAYS,** Member of Congress
5th District, Arkansas

September 19.

Mr. Mitchell:

I had just forwarded your note of September 17 to Mr. Hays when I received this one to be sent on to you. Apparently your letters crossed in the mail.

Mrs. Wilbert
Secretary

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT, ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE
214 FEDERAL BUILDING

# Congress of the United States
## House of Representatives
### Washington, D. C.

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SECRETARY:
JOHN S. MCLEES

ASSISTANTS:
MRS. LURLENE WILBERT
MISS KITTY JOHNSON

IN CHARGE OF LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
H. A. EMERSON

Little Rock, Arkansas
September 18, 1956

RECEIVED SEP 21 1956

My dear George:

Marion and I are going to Washington for a stretch in October and will pass through Atlanta for a little visit with Betty's family. Will be there probably on October second and third, and will call your office. Hope we can get together. There are a lot of things to talk about.

Sincerely yours,

Brooks.

November 19, 1956

Honorable Brooks Hays
Member of Congress
The Capitol
Washington, D. C.

Dear Brooks:

I send you an edition of the Humanist with an article which on page 260 mentions Arkansas.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:fc

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT, ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE
214 FEDERAL BUILDING

# Congress of the United States
## House of Representatives
### Washington, D. C.

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SECRETARY:
JOHN S. MCLEES

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MRS. LURLENE WILBERT
MISS KITTY JOHNSON

IN CHARGE OF LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
H. A. EMERSON

November 28, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED NOV 30 1956

My dear George:

I certainly appreciate your letting me see what you had to say in the Humanist. I was tremendously interested in the article. It added to my eagerness to see Arkansas have that leadership role and I think it is entirely possible that that will happen. I am going back to Arkansas on Saturday for another ten days, then to New York for a disarmament conference, but will be here for Christmas. Betty's little family will join us.

With regards as ever,

Sincerely,

Brooks -

December 26, 1956

The Honorable Brooks Hays
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Brooks:

That was very nice of the Arkansas Gazette, and I appreciate it.

I still tremble in hopes that Arkansas will do what it should. It is not going to be any one man that will lead us through: it will be a state.

Notable quotation from the man Carmichael who put together the schools at Louisville, Kentucky. He was on a national television hook-up a couple of months ago, and one of the reporters baited him saying, "Mr. Carmichael, in a half-Western city like Louisville it could be done, but in a city like Richmond, Virginia, you wouldn't suppose that it could, could it?" Carmichael: "The trouble with Richmond was that leadership failed the city.

We will be going through Washington toward the Scotland boat along about March the second or third, and you and Mrs. Hays are very apt to receive a farewell telephone call from the Mitchells.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT ARKANSAS

HOME ADDRESS:
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

JOHN S. McLEES
SECRETARY

**Congress of the United States**
**House of Representatives**
**Washington, D. C.**

12/21

RECEIVED DEC 26 1956

Dear George -

I passed the Humanist item on to the Gazette correspondent with results shown in enc -

Hope you will be coming this way soon -

Power to you - and all good wishes to you & Alice from Marion & Brooks

January 7, '57

Dear Brooks,

Many thanks for warm letter. I am grateful. You are one guy who knows the situation.

As to boy at API:

(1) A man named Richard Plaut from the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, 6 East 82nd Street, N.Y. 28, Lyceum - 6 -5334 will send to you a list of outfits that lend money no-profit and interest-free to valid students.

(2) Next year, if the young fellow receives any scholarship aid from API, he can apply to Plaut's outfit and be considered for supplementary aid from Plaut's outfit. Should apply in July or August, 1957, for help in September.

(3) We think Fred Darragh or Ed Dunaway would probably be willing to help the young man out for the rest of this year. I hesitate to start that rolling without your knowledge. If you say O.K. I'll get our Little Rock people to work on it. Just write me OK, or nixie.

Sincerely,

We'll stop by, and hope to see you and Marian.

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT, ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE
214 FEDERAL BUILDING

# Congress of the United States
## House of Representatives
### Washington, D. C.

MEMBER
FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

SECRETARY:
JOHN S. MCLEES

ASSISTANTS:
MRS. LURLENE WILBERT
MISS KITTY JOHNSON

IN CHARGE OF LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
H. A. EMERSON

January 2, 1956

RECEIVED JAN 7 1957

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear George:

Marion and I certainly expect you and Alice to call us on March 2 or 3. Please save time for a luncheon or dinner engagement. We hate to see you leave this country, though we envy you the stay in Scotland. We ourselves have talked a little about a few months in South England when I retire.

I know you are busy these days and I don't want to add to your duties, but would appreciate any advice or suggestions as to how I can help a young Negro student at Arkansas Polytechnic College in Russellville. He is the first colored student there (one or two have entered since he enrolled a year ago). He is having a hard time meeting financial requirements but is doing fairly well with his studies in spite of the handicap. He is married and has an aged aunt to look after also. He is the "fry cook" in a cafe, working from 3 p.m. till 11:15 p.m. every day of the week, and I mean every day. He talked to me about getting one day off and I think the only way we can help him, since he can't afford to lose the money and his employer is non-cooperative, is to get some help to the extent of about $30 a month so that he can stand the deductions. He told me he would be willing to sign a note, payable when he gets out of college. I have heard of loan funds for non-interest bearing loans to college students. Can you refer me to anyone or do you know of some benevolent person who has a little money to stake on this young man?

George, I don't think I have ever taken time out to tell you how much I appreciate you and how high a value I place upon your magnificent contribution to the South's progress. I would like to see a great big monument erected to you but I know you have never been interested in honors or recognition. I hope the inner satisfaction that you derive from the unselfish service you have rendered will be commensurate. You have been an inspiration to me and I know how much Alice has contributed in your life's work.

Sincerely,

Brooks Hays

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT, ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE
214 FEDERAL BUILDING

# Congress of the United States
## House of Representatives
### Washington, D. C.

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EXECUTIVE SECRETARY:
JOHN S. MCLEES

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MRS. LURLENE WILBERT
MISS KITTY JOHNSON

LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT:
WARREN I. CIKINS

IN CHARGE OF LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
H. A. EMERSON

January 11, 1957

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I certainly appreciate your advice and help regarding Terry York. I assume from your comment that you are willing to write Fred Darragh and Ed Dunaway about this lad. I hope you will write to them, and if you want me to follow up your letter I will do so. Perhaps my letter to you gave all the information you need to inspire some interest on their part. Thirty dollars a month for the next four or five months would get him through this year, giving him a chance to pull his grades up. I have a letter from Mr. Plaut and am sending it on to Terry with the suggestion that he discuss it with the president of the College. While I am interested in Terry for his own sake, I have an added interest growing out of the fact that he was the first colored student to enroll. What happens to him will, of course, be influential in that part of the State.

We look forward to your visit.

Sincerely,

Brooks Hays

Ark - state files

February 8, 1957

AIR MAIL

The Honorable Brooks Hays
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hays:

Since Dr. Mitchell has left duty status, in preparation for his trip to Scotland, I am replying to your recent inquiry about use of the Williamsburg conference report.

There would be no objection whatever to your using the conclusions of that conference in the generalized way which you propose. We shall all be looking forward to seeing a copy of your forthcoming book.

Having been with the Council for almost ten years now, I know of the long friendship that you and George Mitchell have had. I hope that in the period to come we may continue to rely on your quiet friendship and advice.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

BROOKS HAYS
5TH DISTRICT, ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK OFFICE
214 FEDERAL BUILDING

# Congress of the United States
## House of Representatives
### Washington, D. C.

MEMBER
FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY:
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MRS. LURLENE WILBERT
MISS KITTY JOHNSON

LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT:
WARREN I. CIKINS

IN CHARGE OF LITTLE ROCK OFFICE:
H. A. EMERSON

February 1, 1957

RECEIVED FEB 4 1957

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear George:

I may have told you something of the manuscript I have been preparing for publication in book form. It covers the political and legislative history of the civil rights struggle and I believe some passages in the Williamsburg Conference report of May 1954 would be extremely helpful. Am I free to quote from this document? Members of the conference would not be identified, but if I could refer to it as the conclusions reached by some interested people of the South that would be what I want. Please advise.

With highest regards,

Sincerely,

Brooks -

Arkansas Council on Human Relations
Statewide Conference
on the

Economic Opportunity Act

and

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964

*********

Coachman's Inn
Little Rock, Arkansas
May 22, 1965

*********

Plenary Session

9 a.m.

| | |
|---|---|
| Presiding: | Nat R. Griswold<br>Executive Director, Arkansas Council on Human Relations |
| Greetings: | Nat R. Griswold |
| Invocation: | Rev. William Johnson, Minister<br>Miles Chapel C.M.E. Church, Little Rock |
| Purview of Concerns: | Lloyd Elliott, Staff Economist<br>Southern Regional Council |
| Overview - Poverty: | Samuel Yette, Special Assistant (for Civil Rights) to Sargent Shriver, Director of O.E.O. |
| Overview- Title VI: | Representative of the Dept. of Health, Education, Welfare<br>Dr. Karl Berns, NEA and O.E. |
| Affirmative Action: | Miss Harriette Ziskin, Representative<br>H.E.W. [Equal Educational Oppty Program, Off of Ed] |

Introductions, announcements, and instructions.

By latest def — 34.6 M poor
Agg. Income deficit — $11 B, annually.

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10 programs of OEO

(1) Work Exp. Program —
(2) Adult Basic Ed. Prog. — improve literacy skills
(3) Employment + Investment Incentives — SBA < start s'b's. / expand
(4) Poverty in Rural Areas — title III, farmers loans
(5) Job Corps — [OEO] — away from home
(6) Neighborhood Youth Corps — [Lab Dept] — at home JC
(7) Work Study Program — [HEW-colleges]
(8) Operation Head Start — [pre-school]
(9) VISTA —
(10) Community Action Program — OEO's umbrella

## Luncheon Meeting

1 p.m.

Presiding: Fr. Walter Clancy, President
Arkansas Council on Human Relations

Invocation: Rev. Daniel W. Adams, Minister
First Presbyterian Church, Morrilton, Arkansas

Introduction of Speaker: Ozell Sutton, Associate Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations

Address: Jacques E. Wilmore, Director
Memphis Regional Office, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

Introductions, announcements, and instructions

********

## Workshops

10:20 - 11:30 a.m. I session, Workshops:

A. Schools - Changes to be expected in September
B. Schools - Possible affirmative actions
C. Economic opportunities - Community actions

11:30 - 12:45 p.m. II session, Workshops:

Same groups, change topics and consultants

2:30 - 3:30 p.m. III session, Workshops:

Same groups, change topics and consultants

Note: Workshops are planned so each participant will view in depth each topic. Consultants for workshops will include representatives from the U.S. Office of Education, the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, and the Southern Regional Council.

# CONFRONTING THE LITTLE ROCK HOUSING PROBLEM

--By Greater Little Rock Conference on Religion and Race

## An Alarming Trend

> ".... almost all relocated families (in Urban Renewal) upgraded the quality of their shelter, but relocation frequently contributed to the creation of new ghettos."

> "Residential segregation in the urban South, however, increased, so that by 1960 it was more pronounced in Southern cities than in those of any other region."
> -Weaver, The Urban Complex, pp. 128, 249.

Much properly has been and can be written about the contributions of the federal programs of urban renewal and housing since 1949. These contributions are acknowledged and assumed herein.

But most serious evaluations of these programs say something like this: Slums have been unslummed but racial ghettos have been increased.

Slums vs Ghettos

Mr. Wagner Jackson, Assistant Administrator of Housing and Home Finance Agency in Philadelphia, in a speech at Little Rock, October 14, 1964, said, "It has been reliably estimated that without a change in present housing trends, by the 1980's at least a half-dozen of our largest cities will be predominantly non-white. And a further continuation would eventually see whole cities become racial ghettos, each surrounded by a ring of white suburbs. That alarming possibility is entirely too real. Those who see the danger clearly must, like watchmen in the night, sound the alarm to waken those who sleep."

Startlingly, the evidence indicates an advanced trend toward complete racial segregation in housing. On the night of Mr. Jackson's speech, a member of the audience asked Mr. Dowell Naylor, the Little Rock Housing

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Director: "Is development in housing in Little Rock drawing racial groups closer together or silently drawing them apart?" His answer: "Drawing them apart."

Some simple observations of the apparent convince us that Mr. Naylor is correct.

For example, here in Little Rock, as in other cities, high and middle income white families have been on the move northwest and west to the suburbs. They have left older substantial houses in the city proper which became available to lower and moderate income families, especially Negro families. This transformation continues.

whites move out

Meanwhile, areas to the east, south by southeast increasingly become the preserve of low income families, mostly non-whites.

Negroes stay and move in

Another evidence of this segregation trend is the pattern of schools which has developed especially since 1950. (Schools unquestionably are a cause and effect of the segregated housing pattern; but this need not be argued here.) Since 1950 white schools east of High Street have decreased from six to two elementary schools. In the same area schools for Negroes have increased from four to twelve, including one junior and one senior high school. West of High Street, on the other hand, white schools have increased from 14 to 24, including three junior and one senior high school. In this whole area there is but one elementary school for Negro children. (The number of Negro children in formerly white schools are negligible for the purpose at hand.)

schools separate east-west

So, even with this limited evidence, one seems justified in being perturbed over the trend toward racial-economic bifurcation of Little Rock. White upper and middle class gather on the periphery to the west, northwest, leaving the east, southeast and central residential city to non-white and low

--more--

income white families. The schools are strikingly separated by High Street.

In Mr. Jackson's figure, watchmen might well sound the alarm.

Some Forces at Work

"More than 2,000,000 whites deserted central cities in the same time that some 1,300,000 non-whites moved in."
-Weaver, op.cit. p.223

"The early governmental policy of segretation in public housing subsequently served to accentuate color consciousness in low cost housing at the same time it reflected the strategic role of authority in establishing racial Patterns."
- op.cit. p.59

"In the first place, many Southern cities started from a position of much more residential racial mixture. Secondly, from the beginning they have insisted that publicly assisted shelter be racially separate.

"Thirdly, because in most cities Negroes had relatively little political influence, the colored population had but slight voice in the planning and operation of local governmental agencies which set policy and administered programs.

"Finally, the inevitability of school desegregation in Southern cities gave impetus to a new and expanded program for residential segregation. Obviously, if during the period of resistance to the Supreme Court decisions on this matter and of token compliance in some of the communities, housing patterns could be manipulated so that colored residents were concentrated in well-defined areas, there could be school desegregation with little or no mixture of the races in the public schools.

"Urban renewal offered new and undreamed of possibilities in this direction."
- op.cit. p. 241

Seeking the forces making the trend, one is impressed even more with the fact of separation.

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appeal of space, status, better schools

The usual appeals of space, status and better schools magnified by the real estate broker's art moved people to the open spaces, the subdivisions west, northwest, Residences left in the older city provided for the first time a better quality of housing for Negro families with growing economic security. So there is now a mixed situation between Broadway and High and south of Wright Avenue, especially along State, Gaines, Izard, Chester, Ringo, and Cross. Rightsell Elementary School, 20th and Chester, was transformed from white to Negro over protests of both white and Negro patrons.

housing programs speed the trend

As suggested above, the programs of the Little Rock Housing Authority have made a major contribution to the separation trend. (This is a statement of fact, not a moral judgement.)

Prior to Presidential Executive Order 11063, November 20, 1962, housing projects were racially segregated without apology. In Little Rock the projects have been low-rent housing which followed the pattern, "Negroes to the east, whites to the west." Furthermore, these projects here as elsewhere intensified and multiplied social problems of occupants even while improving the shelter.

A cursory review of local projects illustrates the character of the trend toward separation and toward multiplying social ills. First recall the projects for Negro occupants:

Booker Homes, located out southeast on old Highway 65, concentrates 400 destitute Negro families, many with mothers as the heads, and with a total of 1388 children.

Hollingsworth Homes north of the municipal airport brings together 200 problem Negro families with 718 children.

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Amelia Ives Homes, between Scott and Cumberland, south of Roosevelt, puts in proximity 150 poor Negro families with social ills and with 300 children.

The projects for whites, Highland and Sunset Terrace, reflect this same picture of a collection of socially maladjusted families, both located west of High Street but within the older city area.

Regretfully one must say that urban renewal in Little Rock too has abetted the trend to residential ghettos.

urban renewal and housing patterns

Dunbar Urban Renewal Project was one of total clearance. It cleared out a pepper and salt residential area. In the foreseeable future it will be occupied by Negroes with only a token of white renters.

Granite Heights, a clearance project across from Booker Homes, has been developed as individual homes and sold exclusively to Negro families for $10,000 to $27,000 each.

Westrock Project along Cantrell Road in the valley between affluent white residences removed all the Negro families from the 54 acres and developed the area into homes valued from $20,000 to $35,000 and two high-rise apartment buildings. Accurately, the 1962 report of the Housing Authority proclaims, "Westrock joins its neighbors!"

University Park Project now being programmed calls for clearance of some 300 low and moderate income families including some 94 Negro families. This will remove practically all Negro families residing west of University.

Mr. Bernard Weissbourd, the President of Metropolitan Structures, Inc., speaking in general terms, seems to describe our plight in Little Rock:

"...public housing has also contributed to the condition of our cities... By rejecting all those whose income exceeded the prescribed limites, public housing has developed a concentration of those members of society who are

not able to support themselves. Coupled with the fact that most cities have followed a deliberate program of segregation in public housing, the result has been to create in many places an environment lacking in all the positive attributes of urban life. The second generation of many public housing occupants is now coming to maturity and it is already clear that many of them will never become viable members of society."

- Paper published by the center for Study of Democratic Institutions.

Possible Directions

"Cities seriously concerned with urban renewal are being made to appreciate that, both in terms of human potential and dollars and cents, there are sound grounds for public programs designed to accelerate the participation of those who are now rejected from the mainstream of modern life."

"No doubt we will have to do much experimentation in this area, but once there is commitment to meet the issue productive techniques can and will be developed."

- Weaver, op.cit. p. 265

Obviously this widespread malady of cities -- increase of social ghettos -- has become a challenge to the creative work of experts and local authorities. The forces behind the trend are powerful and complex. Part-time voluntary associations rightly cannot be expected to prescribe with scientific exactness. Professionals, "doctors", must be involved at every level in finding remedies and applying them.

role of persons of decision and power

More specifically, in Little Rock persons who have power of decision and execution in the Housing Authority, in the schools, among realtors, city officials and commissioners, must become convinced of the dangers to the point of planning and acting. These persons with the resources -- political, economic, program -- will have to devise the remedies and apply them. Lay citizens at best can help to stimulate such persons and support their purposeful efforts.

--more--

Such persons must be committed to halt the trend toward ghettoizing. They must accept this as a primary goal. As a primary goal it will drastically affect immediate economic ends. Such commitment means the courage to recognize conflict of interests and to adjust them or overpower some.

new methods are available

Of course, the professionals in the area of city planning know that they do not have to start de novo. Public and private funds are at work in many places probing for answers and experimenting. New legislation is being proposed by the Housing and Home Finance Agency and the President to improve housing programs. Some of the suggestions presented here are drawn from some of these newer methods and proposals. They are meant to suggest possible directions, not to be a blue print. While addressed to a specific group or agency each group of suggestions may be the concern of a number of others.

A. To Metroplan Commission and City Planning Commission

> "Thus, planning is no longer an esoteric concept of interest only to academicians. Planning is now part of the vocabulary of elected officials at the federal, state, and local levels of government in the United States. ....it will become increasingly important in the years ahead."
> - Weaver op.cit. p. 139

planning is basic

The "workable program" prescribed by the Urban Renewal Agency includes "A comprehensive plan for the community's future development." Planning now is done in terms of fifty years. So surveys, analyses, and plans, which are the specialty of your agencies have priority in all programs for purposeful change. We suggest, therefore:

1. Carry through the proposed population study with the question of social ghettos uppermost in mind.
2. Evaluate and adapt to the local situation the more fruitful projects in other places aimed at diversity in housing.

--more--

3. Especially, consider development of "new communities" centered around industries outside the city.

4. Persistently feed information and ideas to governmental and economic leaders as well as to the public.

B. To business leaders, county and city officials:

1. Put the problem of social ghettos on your permanent agenda. In reviewing all plans, all projects, always put this question: What effect does it have on the pattern of residential housing?

2. Place solid representatives of minorities, especially Negroes, on all planning and policy making boards and commissions.

3. As occasions arise, exercise governmental powers, taxation and eminent domain, to encourage the development of a "suitable living environment for every American family" which was the original goal of the Housing Act of 1949.

C. To private real estate developers:

In large developments, include in plans at least one neighborhood of moderate-priced homes for occupancy by all citizens.

D. To school officials:

1. Take comprehensive affirmative action without additional court orders to establish a unitary school system in Little Rock. This will hasten public preference for heterogenous schools and will discourage present migration of families because of schools.

2. Cooperate with housing plans to make an "excellent school" one of the inducements for residential renewal in the older parts of the city.

--more--

E. To the Little Rock Housing Authority:

"Already Urban Renewal, once identified as 'Negro removal' has in many localities become an effective instrument for facilitating non-segregated patterns of living....To realize urban renewal's full potential in this regard, local agencies and the Federal Government will have to be more sensitive to site selection and its implication for racial residential patterns."
- Weaver, op.cit. p. 134

"The original concept of urban renewal did not face up to these (human) problems. It was conceived primarily in terms of land values, tax revenues, and slum clearance."

"Concern for the human aspect of urban renewal indicates the need for new and expanded approaches to moderate and low income housing. ....We propose: 1. ...
2. Programs for utilizing, through purchase and leasing, existing housing for occupancy of low-income families."
- op.cit. p. 110 f

"In addition we shall propose use of section 221 (d) (3) for rehabilitation of one-unit and duplex houses owned by low and moderate income senior citizen families in rehabilitation and conservation areas with deferred principal payment."
- op.cit. p. 111

"The new community like St. Francis Redevelopment, will be a stable racially integrated neighborhood, .... But it will have an additional feature: it will be composed of low as well as moderate income occupants, and, perhaps, a few higher income households and individuals."
- op. cit. p. 136

1. Develop projects to provide neighborhoods of families of moderate incomes in larger communities of middle and upper families.

2. Develop new communities in the central city for the residence of the employees downtown, using the inducements now used for sub-

--more--

urbanites - space, good schools, recreation, status.

3. Plan the use of section 221 (d) (3) for the restoration of one-unit houses for occupancy by moderate income families, especially in conservation areas.

4. Locate new housing or urban renewal projects so as to counter the trend toward economic and racial apartheid.

5. In every program be influenced by the answer to this question: How does it affect racial separation in housing?

F. To Churches and Synagogues:

1. Keep members aware of, and sympathetic to, the housing needs of Negroes in the community.

2. Encourage the awakening self-respect that urges the poorly-housed to break out of their environmental housing trap.

3. Bring influence to bear upon those who plan for the community's housing problems to approach with a realistic and enlightened attitude the housing of Negroes in Greater Little Rock.

SUMMARY

The constant growth and the acceleration of racial separation in housing in Little Rock alarms us. The evidence convinces us we are moving from a city of tolerable diversity in housing to the dangerous conditions prevailing in eastern and northern cities -- the condition of racial ghettos and of economic ghettos.

The forces pushing this trend toward residential apartheid are powerful and entrenched, appealing to basic anti-democratic human desires and prejudices.

They cannot be countered or deflected by voluntary associations of

--more--

citizens alone. Officials and leaders of decision and power must become alarmed and counter the trend.

Strong affirmative resolution to change the trend will be required. Given this, ways can be found. Funds for research and planning can be had. Recommendations from the highest authorities are available. New empowering legislation is in process.

This is an emergency. Unless action is taken during the process of change, it will be too late. What has happened to other cities need not happen in this Southern city.

--30--

December 1, 1954

MEMORANDUM

TO: F.B. Routh
FROM: G.T. Hamilton

We were surprised to learn today that the Little Rock organizational meeting was being held on Thursday instead of Friday.

In view of the short notice it was not possible for Parrish to plan attendance at this meeting but is planning to arrive in Austin for the Texas meeting.

He will leave Louisville late Friday flying direct to Austin and will be there possibly for an evening meeting on the 3rd and for the Saturday sessions.

You will be able to let Sutherland know that both of you can be present for the meeting.

Hope things go well in Arkansas. It might be well to let the leadership there know that Parrish is available to aid the development of the Arkansas committee but does require longer notice ahead of time of meetings being planned.

rmf
Air Mail
Special Delivery
cc: CHP

December 1, 1954

MEMORANDUM

TO: Dr. C.H. Parrish
FROM: Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton

RE: Texas Meeting - Dec. 3-4

The meeting of the Texas Commission on Human Relations is being held in Austin Dec. 3 and 4. Fred Routh's contact in Little Rock is

% Mr. Fred Darragh
1401 East Sixth Street
Little Rock, Ark.

His contact in Texas is

% Tom Sutherland
309 West 21st Street
Austin, Tex.
Telephone - 78819

I suggest that you tell Fred that it is possible and you are planning to attend the meeting of the Texas Commission and when you will arrive. Ask him to let Mrs. Crate and Tom Sutherland know that you expect to be present.

rmf
Air Mail Special

November 30 - December 3, 1954

Arkansas Division
Little Rock, Ark.

Organizational Meeting (and
possibly Executive Committee

FBR attending.
CHP ?

December 6, 1954

MEMORANDUM ON ARKANSAS MEETING

Little Rock, Arkansas
November 30-December 3, 1954

The organizational meetings in Arkansas took place on November 30th and December 2nd. Both meetings took place at the Dunbar Community Center -- a modern, well-equipped brick structure -- in the Negro community. The November 30th meeting was a planning meeting for the organizational meeting of December 2nd. There were 17 people present at the first meeting and 35-40 at the second meeting.

The Arkansas group is a thoughtful, cosmopolitan organization evidencing considerable understanding in this field and considerable competency in organizational matters.

At the December 2nd meeting the group adopted the proposed constitution, a copy of which is being sent to the central office for approval. They elected a Board of Directors leaving space for further membership to represent broader areas of the state. The President of the organization is Fred Darragh, a manufacturer and half-owner of the Darragh Company, maker of Darco Products. Mr. Darragh is deeply interested in the field of race relations and is fully committed to a democratic society. He displays no evidences of paternalism in his attitude or working with Negroes. The Vice-President of the organization is the Reverend Charles Walker, a Negro minister of the Congregational Church in Little Rock. Mr. Walker is originally from Connecticutt but is well rooted and accepted in Arkansas. He is a thoughtful person who works for a fully democratic society without apologizing for his attitude. Mrs. E.B. Dawson -- Negro lady -- with the Juvenile Court was elected secretary and the Reverend C.S. Cartwright -- white -- minister of the Disciples of Christ Church was elected treasurer. The Executive Director of the Urban League, Mr. Perry A. Taylor -- formerly from Tampa, Florida -- was elected to the Board and an attorney from the NAACP was also elected to the Board.

It is my estimation that the newly constituted Board of Directors of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations is one of the most forward looking, professionally competent, widely representative and straight thinking groups that we have in any state.

Minutes of the meetings are being forwarded to the central office and will be filed with this report on receipt.

Further note -- a considerable strength in the Arkansas Council is Harry Ashmore, editor of the Arkansas Gazette. Another matter of interest is the close relationship that Fred Darragh, Harry Ashmore and Edwin Dunaway have with Mr. Winthrop Rockefeller who lives close by and has given rather heavily to charitable and progressive causes in this state and is amenable to the purposes of this organization.

Considerable gratitude is due Mrs. J. Bates, Methodist religious educational worker, for virtually carrying on the burden of organization over the past few years.

Frederick B. Routh

FBR/rnf
cc: GTH
FBR
CHP
Central File

Arkansas Council on Human Relations
Board Meeting -- Little Rock, (Dunbar Community Center)
Friday, Feb. 25, 1955

Both C.H. Parrish and I were in Little Rock and spent the afternoon sitting in on a series of interviews and screenings being conducted by the Personnel Committee of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, chaired by Reverend Cartwright. We were both highly impressed with the professional way in which they proceded.

We then sat in on a session with a small Executive Committee which was making final plans for the large meeting that night.

The large meeting that night was a dinner affair attended by the Board of Directors of the Arkansas Council and by a group of guests who were Girl Scout Field Directors from the middle-southern area. Both C.H. and I spoke to the group on what was being done in other states; what other methods of work were being developed; and what we hoped to see develop in Arkansas. The group leadership in Arkansas is mature and thoughtful. Both C.H. and I were impressed with the efficiency of the mechanics of the meeting and of the thoroughness of the content of the meeting.

I had a long personal talk with Fred Darragh and Harry Ashmore after the meeting. Both of them have a realistic attitude on how to proceed in Arkansas and a real willingness to back this thing and make it work.

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organization

rmf
3/18/55

Staff

MINUTES OF ACHR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING
DUNBAR COMMUNITY CENTER

June 10, 5:30 P.M.

JUL 5 1955

Present: Mr. Griswold, Mercer, Darragh, Dr. Eliot, Rev. Walker and Cartwright, Miss Conn, Mrs. Daisy Bates, Mrs. Wyre, and Miss Knox.

Mr. Darragh said that some of the Executive Committee would meet with Mr. Blossom at 4:00 p.m. on June 14th. Mr. Loescher of the FUND OF THE REPUBLIC would be in Little Rock, probably, June 15th, and board members will meet with him.

The Southern Regional Council is interested in paying expenses of two persons of each state, perhaps staff and/or one member of the Executive Committee, to the Fisk Institute of Race Relations, June 27th - July 9th. It is left up to the staff to decide whether both can attend, or should be away from Arkansas for the entire two weeks of the institute, and who will attend from the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. Mention was made that we might have a workshop in Little Rock sometime.

Mr. Griswold reported that there is the promise of some additional aid from Atlanta for operational expenses, which Arkansas will receive as the need arises. If needed, the full $3200 allowed for first 12 months.

Mention was made that the subscription to SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS will now be $2.00 per year. Members were urged to subscribe.

The Southern Regional Council now believes it was a mistake in not providing funds for two full time staff members, and is encouraging all states to have two. Mr. Griswold and Mercer have discussed the matter some, and Mr. Mercer will give serious thought to working full time for ACHR. The Executive Board agrees that this will be the best solution. Mr. Mercer will start July 1st. Other alternatives are to hire another half time person, or another full time person. It was suggested that a person in Eastern Arkansas would be helpful. (Mr. Mercer has decided to work full time)

Membership: 32 members resulted from the two letters sent out. It is thought that we must talk to people in person to better explain the organization. One person from Conway suggested that Mr. Joe Shaw, Arkansas State Teachers College, (Sociology) be added to the mailing list. In addition to the three new board members from labor groups who accepted in May, Miss Emma Scott, State PTA Treasurer has accepted. The new secretary, Miss Knox, was introduced.

Copies of estimated budget from April 15 to September 30, 1955, and financial report were distributed by Mr. Griswold. Balance on June 10th - $478.26.

Mr. Darragh welcomed guests from Fayetteville, Pine Bluff, and Conway. New board members - Mr. Stone, Thornbough, and Miss Scott were introduced. It was moved, seconded, and passed that the new board members be accepted.

Before report on conference, a suggestion was made by Mrs. Dawson that the ACHR might be concerned with a labor problem; the hiring of Mexicans at 50 cents an hour, while local people are paid 25 cents. Mr. Stone and Thornbough gave information on the problem. The U. S. Department of Labor has a contract with Mexico for three years, and it is hard to get people and jobs together, although both are available in the state. This is something the ACHR can think about.

Mr. Mercer reported briefly on conference at Camp New Hope, June 1st, 2nd, and 3rd. States were divided as follows: Hardcore - Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana; Mid bed - Alabama, Virginia, North Carolina, and Texas; Next best - Florida and Tennessee; Possible, Kentucky and Arkansas. Those attending conference seemed enthusiastic about Arkansas.

Mr. Griswold gave a more detailed report of conference. The ACHR program compares favorably with that of other states. In fact, some think we have a happy hunting ground; Negroes in graduate school without lawsuits, and two towns already integrated. Mr. Griswold has faith in the program, and believes we can live up to the good reputation. Our work is part of a world wide movement, but what is accomplished has to be done by people at the community level. We must remember we are working with people, not for them. The Supreme Court decision is the first chapter in the new book on human relations. Changes must take place with deliberate speed, and a lot of thoughtful driving, as we move from the separate-but-equal theory to pure human equality theory. Besides faith in program, Mr. Griswold has faith in what we can do as individuals; adding names to mailing list, obtaining new members, finding engagements for staff, finding persons in communities to distribute ACHR literature, answer propaganda and bring as much understanding as possible. The ACHR can help communities find out what their problems really are, and help them solve problems. We can help raise the level of all schools in Arkansas, which lag behind the rest of the country. Mr. Griswold mentioned meeting outstanding personalities, including Dr. Will Alexander, founder of this Interracial Commission on Cooperation and the possibility of bringing Irene Osborne to Little Rock to help with community groups.

A brief statement on a white America, Incorporated, meeting in Little Rock, opened to the public, was given by persons attending. This organized resistence to integration now has legal staff, and will be political. It will concentrate on

local school boards, and do its best to elect school board members who say they are White, and get rid of those who say otherwise.

Mr. Wiley Branton, NAACP lawyer, gave report on NAACP's interpretation of court decision. It is a reaffirmation of principle that all segregation laws are invalid. Good faith will have to be shown by local school boards, or else the NAACP will step in. According to Mr. Branton, the ACHR will have work to do in Arkansas for a long time.

Mr. Darragh announced another dinner meeting in the Fall.

Dorothy Otis Wyre
SECRETARY

(1955)

MINUTES OF ACHR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING
At Mr. Fred Darragh's Home

July 11, 6:30P.M.

Present: Mr. Griswold, Mercer, Darragh, Rev. Walker and Cartwright, Mrs. Floyd Bates, Daisy Bates, Wyre and Carter.

Correction to minutes of last meeting: Addition of Mr. Perry Taylor's name to list of those present.

Financial Report: Balance on hand, as of June 30th, is $286.34.

Membership Report: At present we have 72 members. A definite campaign for new members is planned for fall and spring.

New Business: Discussion of ACHR program emphases. Staff-prepared copies of suggestions for possible program emphases were distributed, read, and discussed at length, especially the possibility of working through existing church groups, sending editorials to newspapers throughout the state, working through and with the State Department of Education. Mr. Griswold emphasized that just bringing the races together may not mean communication between races. The ACHR must help bring about the atmosphere in which real communication is possible, and would counsel with whatever attitude a community has. It is felt that ministers of both races can be most valuable in achieving real communication between races.

After considerable discussion of what ACHR can do for its members it was decided that the staff will start a monthly newsletter. (First newsletter was published on July 27, 1955.)

Since the work of the ACHR is to be state-wide, and not centered in Little Rock, it was decided that the staff will try to contact personally ACHR members throughout the state.

School situation in Little Rock: Mrs. Daisy Bates stated that the NAACP will file suit in Little Rock, and will inform school board of such action day before suit is filed. (After meeting with school board on July 28, 1955, the school board stated it will make a policy statement in a week or so.) There was the feeling with some ACHR Executive Board Members that it may be unwise for the NAACP to take such action at this time, but agreement that what is, or is not, done in the Little Rock Schools will have an effect in other communities.

It is felt that the state school officials will ask the Attorney General for a statement of policy. If such a statement is not forthcoming, the ACHR should ask for statement from Attorney General.

Mr. Darragh gave report of a rather unsatisfactory meeting he, Mrs. Jane Bragg, Mrs. Barbara Ashmore, and Mr. Ed. Dunaway, had with several members of the Little Rock Junior College Board. The board apparently feels that it, as a private institution, will be safe from integration.

Mr. Mercer reported briefly on Institute of Race Relations at Fisk University, which he attended for two weeks. In addition to the opportunity to know such speakers as Lillian Smith, Thurgood Marshall, James Madison, and others, Mr. Mercer feels that those attending institute gained much to take back with them to their own communities.

(over)

The meeting adjourned with everyone agreeing that this had really been a good supper, and Mr. Darragh is some cook, and anytime he wants us to meet at his house, with or without supper, we will be happy to do so.

Dorothy Otis Wyre
SECRETARY

FOR YOUR INFORMATION
FROM
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVE., N. E. - ATLANTA, GA.

Special Report on Situation
in Hoxie, Arkansas, by Nat Griswold,
executive director, Arkansas Council
on Human Relations.
August 23, 1955

Confidential

## A DIRECTOR GETS INVOLVED

All of us were elated that Hoxie voted to integrate its twenty-five Negro children into its school of one thousand and did it without outside influence or advice on moral as well as practical grounds. For three weeks after school opened in July there was not one incident, not one case of discipline, "the best beginning we ever had."

Judiciously ACHR avoided playing any role: there was no need for help, no "outside influence." Then the report of outside influence, irresponsible influence, of White America Incorporated. Monday morning after the report Fred Darragh, ACHR Board Chairman, called about doing something. E. B. Williams, a minister, Harry Ashmore, Perry Taylor (Urban League) and Darragh came to our office for a noon snack of barbecue sandwiches and cokes and 90 minutes of conference. Decided: E. B. Williams, who knows personally three of Hoxie's School Board as well as many citizens, and I should go to Hoxie as soon as possible. Purpose: to find out the truth to help stabilize the situation.

"This is a powder keg," was the greeting we received. The School Board members were greatly intimidated - around the clock calls, anonymous abusive language to members of their families, distrust of neighbors. Belief that money was flowing like water from Mississippi to the Hoxie hirelings. The board members ready to resign, " we can't take any more." "We will not rescind our action desegregating the schools. We'll not send the Negroes back to that rat-hole. But we'll turn it over to 'them.' (meaning the other side)"

All afternoon we spent calling on individual board members trying to bolster their courage and resolution. At 6:30 P. M. we left uncertain of the results but certain of the gratitude of school administration. It was clear that the great need was for legal counsel. People were being led to foolish acts under false premises as to simple legal matters. The Board members were confused and frightened.

We spent next day in Little Rock with Harry Ashmore setting things in motion to give morale to Hoxie. With a member of the Arkansas Education Association and Edwin Dunaway, lawyer for Winthrop Rockefeller, we did some planning and acting: requested Federal District Attorney to investigate charges of intimidation (local protection is nil) (Believe this will modify bullying tactics.); planned moves to get Department of Education to stop dragging its feet ( a public statement from the department's interracial "expert" critical of the Hoxie administration was the straw which broke the camel's back almost.) ; Gazette would send its reporter to Hoxie to get the facts in re intimidation and confusion for a Sunday edition spread; ACHR Director would go to Hoxie and stay over weekend - holding hands, organizing ministers of churches for some concerted action (now planning to publicize reading in the several churches of each denomination's official position in re desegregation.) ; following-up on the matter of legal advice (established working relation between Board and one of the respected legal firms in that area of the state, which has deeper interest in the case than winning a suit.)

# GUIDELINES FOR DESEGREGATION

With emotions ranging from elation to trepidation, American communities now undertake with new urgency the task at which they have been working so long--the task of eliminating racial and ethnic barriers to an education that fits the American way of life. The elimination of statutory segregation in public education not only provides new opportunities for achieving the American ideal but also confronts the citizens of communities with grave problems.

Transition from one style of operation to another style of operation is seldom a pleasant experience. Yet, American citizens have never let the unpleasantness of change deter them long from working out new solutions to old problems. All they need, usually, are some guidelines. --Education In A Transition Community, Jean D. Grambs (Foreword by Dean Laurence D. Haskew.)

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Prepared for the

First Annual Meeting
of
ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
October 17-18, 1955

Selected Materials and Publications Obtainable
From

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
211 South Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

# F O R E W O R D

The materials listed in this bibliography do not by far exhaust the field of publications on Human Relations, nor are they necessarily the "crown heads" of the topics they discuss, but they were chosen because they give you valuable facts, ideas, and assistance, and represent the outstanding efforts and thinking in this field.

The focus, as is the focus in the field of Human Relations, is placed on Desegregation in Education, and we feel that all of the materials listed can be of invaluable service to persons interested in positive thinking and action toward democracy in the classroom. The range of the information in these materials extends from "general enrichment" to "programs for action."

We invite and encourage you to make use of these materials, and would welcome suggestions on how we can improve on this service.

# PAMPHLETS AND REPRINTS

## Text of Desegregation Decisions

ANSWERS FOR ACTION - SCHOOLS IN THE SOUTH: Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia.

Decision of May 17, 1954.

NEW SOUTH: Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, June 1955.

Decision of May 31, 1955.

## Background and General Enrichment

A STUDY OF THE STATUS OF THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES: From THE BULLETIN, (Official Organ of The American Teachers Asso. NEA-ATA Joint Committee Studies "Reprint" number.), Order from Dr. R.B. Marston, National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 1954, 48 pp., 50¢.

Study in two parts. Part I - "Legal Status of Segregated Schools" summarizes statutes, court decisions, and school cases when they were pending before the Supreme Court. Part II - "Progress of the Education of Negroes, 1870-1950" presents statistical data from the U.S. Bureau of the Census and the U.S. Office of Education.

SEGREGATION--A CHALLENGE TO DEMOCRACY: Margaret C. McCulloch, Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association Division (Board of Home Missions, Congregational Christian Churches), Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, 1950, 40 pp., 25¢.

Direct educational approach to segregation. For those who do not understand what it is; for those who understand but are confused; for those who want to act against it and need direction; for those who have yet failed to see the moral implications.

SEGREGATION AND THE SCHOOLS: Public Affairs Pamphlet #209, 1954, Public Affairs Pamphlets, 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y., 30 pp., 25¢.

Succinct summary of the book The Negro and the Schools by Harry S. Ashmore. Particulary useful for brief orientation to facts in the situation. Good reading for young and old alike.

BUILD DEMOCRACY IN THE CLASSROOM: (Brief for the C.I.O. as Amicus Curiae in the Supreme Court of the United States), C.I.O. Department of Education and Research, 718 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington, D. C., 18 pp, 5¢.

Discusses the issue as to what the Court should do if it concludes that segregation in the public schools violated the 14th Amendment, i.e., whether the Court should order segregation terminated "forthwith" or permit "gradual adjustment." This brief argues that non-segregation could be effectuated with less disturbance by a "forthwith" decree than by "gradual adjustment."

INTEGRATION: PROMISE--PROCESS--PROBLEMS: Margaret C. McCulloch, Race Relations Department of American Missionary Association, (Board of Home Missions, Congregational Christian Churches), Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, 1952, 77 pp., 60¢.

Deals with integration in various fields where segregation now exists. Helps clear much fuzzy thinking about integration. Contains basic statements applying to educational integration. Enunciates principles and ways of approach important for people seeking to act constructively.

## Progress Reports on Desegregation

DESEGREGATION IN THE BALTIMORE CITY SCHOOLS: The Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations, and the Baltimore Commission on Human Relations, July 1955, 32 pp., free.

Summary of a study to determine why the Baltimore School Commissioners decided to desegregate when they did (at the start of the fall semester immediately following the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, and in advance of the Court's decrees implementing that decision) and in the way they did, (the Baltimore desegregation policy was applied to all grades of all schools simultaneously, and no special preparation for integrated classes was given either to teachers or pupils) and to learn how their policy was worked out.

ST. LOUIS INTEGRATES ITS SCHOOLS: League of Women Voters of St. Louis, 4740-A McPherson, St. Louis 8, Missouri, January, 1955, 10 pp., 5¢.

The League of Women Voters' program includes "aiding in a smooth transition in school integration." This bulletin was prepared in keeping with the policy by Mrs. Barry Commoner of the Education Committee. Contains statements by community leaders, school officials, and the Board of Education. Gives description of background. Authorities say that good, strong statements of policy toward integration by officials are essential in a smooth transition; such statements by the St. Louis officials are contained herein.

THE ST. LOUIS STORY: (The Integration of a Public School System), St. Louis Public Schools, Instruction Department, February, 1955, 15¢.

The official report of "How St. Louis Did It" as told by the St. Louis Board of Education. A step by step report begining with the first "special meeting" and continuing through actual integration. Ends with some anticipated outcomes of integration.

THE SCHOOLS THAT BROKE THE COLOR LINE: (A Preview of Southern White and Negro Children Sharing the Same Classroom), William Peters, Reprint from REDBOOK October, 1954, 8 pp.

What happens when white and Negro youngsters study together for the first time--in a state that has kept them apart? This article, in the experience of three small schools in Delaware, is an example of the change facing the whole South.

IT CAN BE DONE: (Desegregation--A Progress Report), NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y., April, 1955, 11 pp., 5¢.

Short, crisp facts, with illustrating pictures, of the progress and accomplishments being made in the schools that are moving ahead to end segregation.

INTEGRATION OF WASHINGTON SCHOOLS: American Friends Service Committee (Quaker), Community Relations Program, 104 "C" Street, N.E., Washington 2, D. C., April, 1954, 12 pp., 24 questions and answers, 10¢.

Consideration of questions most often asked about process of integration. What steps should be taken? What are the problems? What can we anticipate and plan for? How can we do the best job?

THE RIGHT OF EVERY CHILD: (The Story of Washington, D.C., Program of School Integration), American Friends Service Committee (Quaker), Community Relations Program, 104 "C" Street, N.E., Washington 2, D. C., April, 1955, 15 pp., 10¢.

Attempts to tell the Washington story. Comments on strengths and weaknesses of program being carried out. Points out Washington program as pioneering effort, involving trial and error.

Voice of Religion

CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE AND THE SUPREME COURT DECISION ON SEGREGATED SCHOOLS: M.E. Tilly, Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, 6 pp., 10¢.

Pointed, concise analysis of Christian responsibility toward desegregation, documented with Bible quotations. Program for action.

SEGREGATION ON SUNDAY?: Social Progress, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa., Special Issue January, 1955, 48 pp., 10¢.

Special Race Relations issue. Designed to help bridge the gap at the local church level between practice and pronouncement for non-segregated church and society. Social Progress is a publication of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. (Northern).

SEGREGATION AND THE WILL OF GOD: The Presbyterian Outlook, Outlook Publishers, Inc., 1 North Sixth Street, Richmond 19, Virginia, Vol. 137, #10, March 14, 1955, 20 pp., 15¢.

A discussion of Segregation and the Will of God by three outstanding church leaders. A defense of segregation by one draws strong responses by the other two. The position of each one is saturated with Biblical references. Several other good articles are in this issue.

OUR MORAL AND RELIGIOUS RESOURCES: (A guide for discussion with questions and references.), compiled by Benson Y. Landis, National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

Guide prepared for use of groups and classes that wish to consider the moral and religious resources of the nation. Seven aspects of the topic are briefly explored. A problem is stated, questions for discussion are given, then relevant data and opinion are quoted. Topics are: Religious Sources, Confronting Communism, Religion and the Family, Integrity in Civic Matters, Social Teachings and Religious Bodies, The Religious Organizations and Inter-national Relations, and The Opportunities for Finding New Resources Through Intergroup Cooperation.

## Scientific Discussions and Special Aids for Parents

REARING CHILDREN OF GOOD WILL: (How to Help Children Grow Up Free From Prejudice), Edith G. Meisser, Sister Mary de Louides, Mary F. Langmuir, The National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N.Y., Rev. Ed., 1954, 48 pp., 25¢.

A study and discussion guide for parents on the matter of rearing children free from the suspicions and distrust of others of different ethnic or religious identity, that breed prejudice and discrimination, and impair the common well-being and the good life for all people.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RACIAL DIFFERENCES: G. M. Morant, A UNESCO Publication, International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y., 1952, 48 pp., 25¢.

Discussion of the relationship of group comparisons regarding the mental constitution of human beings, and an analysis of the significance of the differences that exist.

RACE AND BIOLOGY: L. C. Dunn, A UNESCO Publication, International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y., 1951, 48 pp., 25¢.

Chief purpose of this pamphlet is to make clear a modern biological view of race, which is based on the evidence now available. It dispels many of the often repeated disparities about race.

OVERCOMING PREJUDICE: Bruno Bettelheim, Science Research Associates, 57 W. Grand Avenue, Chicago 10, Illinois, 1953, 48 pp., 50¢.

Pamphlet dealing with methods that parents and teachers can use to help children combat prejudice and its effects.

RACE AND PSYCHOLOGY: Otto Klineberg, A UNESCO Publication, International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y., 1951, 39 pp., 25¢.

WHAT IS RACE?: A UNESCO Publication, International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, New York, 1952, 88pp., $1.00.

Presentation of certain essential information about the biological aspects of race, replete with pictographs. Evidence from scientists.

SENSE AND NONSENSE ABOUT RACE: Ethel J. Alpenfels, Friendship Press, New York, 1946, 48 pp., 25¢.

A primer of scientific truth for all who wish to know the essential facts about race. Answers many common questions that confront every thoughtful person today. Clears up some of the doubts and fears of those who have been afraid that Christian brotherhood could not work in a world of different races. Demonstrates the fact that "He hath made of one blood all the nationa." Good science--good Scripture. Sorts fact from fiction, sense from nonsense, in many common notions about race.

HOW TO PROTECT CHILDREN AGAINST PREJUDICE: Kenneth Clark, Reprinted from CHILD STUDY, Quarterly Journal of Parent Education, 132 East 74th Street, New York 21, N. Y., Auspices--Child Study Association of America, 5 pp., 10¢.

## Guides for Individual and Community Action

GREENVILLE'S BIG IDEA: Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave.,N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, May, 1950, 32 pp., 10¢.

Report of a Home Town Self-Survey conducted by Greenville, South Carolina, in 1950. Shows the problems involved and the results to be achieved in terms of a better community in which to live. Participating in this type of study develops a greater feeling of understanding and cooperation between races.

GREENVILLE'S BIG IDEA GROWS: Community Council of Greenville County, 112 West McBee Avenue, P.O. Box 1085, Greenville, S.C., 1954, 10 pp., 5¢.

Report bringing up-to-date tangible results of Greenville's self-survey realized within four years of the completion and publicizing of the citizens' findings.

YOUR COMMUNITY LOOKS AT ITSELF: "A Manuel For The Home Town Self-Survey," Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia. Published jointly by SRC and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 78 pp., 50¢.

Local people will remove blemishes from their communities if they know they exist. A motivating factor to do such a job is to have people look with appraising eyes at their own communities. The Home Town Self-Survey is a sure way of finding the facts and putting them to work. This pamphlet is designed as a working tool for the particular needs for varying communities.

ANSWERS FOR ACTION - SCHOOLS IN THE SOUTH: Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, October 1954, 32 pp., 20¢.

An excellent pamphlet. Gives serviceable ANSWERS to questions that haunt the South in the wake of the Supreme Court's decisions on public school education. Contains text of May 17, 1954, decision. Large map showing distribution and percentage of non-white population by counties in Southern States.

EDUCATION IN A TRANSITION COMMUNITY: Jean D. Grambs, National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Ave., New York, 16, N.Y., 124 pp., 25¢.

How-to-do-it pamphlet. Gives guidance and suggests ways of working to public school educators. Examples from communities and school systems over the country. Deals with several kinds of minority-group integration in public schools. Carries partial listing of National Organizations offering service in area of integration.

## Civil Rights

SAFETY, SECURITY AND THE SOUTH: Alexander F. Miller and Mozell Hill, published by Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, 28 pp.

Report of survey conducted by authors in 1950 on some 1,000 summer school students at Atlanta University, who represented every state in the South, to determine firsthand the various forces in a community which might affect the individual Negro's rights to safety and security.

CIVIC AND POLITICAL STATUS: Maurice I. Goldbloom (Civil Liberties) and Theodore Leskes (Civil Rights), Reprint from THE AMERICAN JEWISH YEARBOOK, The American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y., May 1955, 40 pp.

Reports annual events that have bearing upon and affect Civil Liberties and Civil Rights on local and national level. Factual, objective, no coloring slant from authors.

RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT: Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, May 1953, 20 pp., 15¢.

Guide to modern police practices. An effort to present problems of race and law enforcement in a positive and practical light. Useful as brief guide to those daily practices which are the substance of equality before the law.

Miscellaneous

SINGERS IN THE DAWN: (A Brief Anthology of American Negro Poetry), Compiled by Robert B. Eleazer, formerly published by Commission of Interracial Cooperation, Inc., distributed by Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga., 1946, 24 pp., 10¢.

The American Negro has made outstanding contributions to American folk-lore, which have gone without appreciation and utilization. This was especially true with poetry by Negro poets and this pamphlet was prepared to introduce on the scene this little appreciated field of American folk contributions.

THE NEGRO IN AMERICA TODAY: Alan Paton, Reprint from COLLIER'S, October 15 and 29, 1954, Community Relations Service, 386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N.Y., 20 pp.

A sensitive, perceptive novelist, who has brought a rare understanding to the problems of colored peoples in his own South Africa, offers a sharp new insight into U.S. race relations.

BOOKS

THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW: C. Vann Woodward, Oxford University Press, N. Y., 1955, 155 pp., $2.50.

Excitingly reveals the historical facts about legal segregation in the South, exploding many myths as to its nature and age. Establishes eonvincingly that: (1) Jim Crow is just 60 years old; and (2) is the off-spring of planning (scheming) parenthood and not simply a child of natural prejudice and social mores.

THE NEGRO AND THE SCHOOLS: Harry S. Ashmore, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N.C., 2nd Ed., June, 1954, 239 pp., $2.75. (Foreword by Owen J. Roberts.)

Summary of findings of 49 scholars in the whole field of bi-racial education in the United States. Is the first of a series of studies of crucial areas in this field. A book for everyone who seeks for understanding where prejudice might prevail.

SCHOOLS IN TRANSITION--COMMUNITY EXPERIENCES IN DESEGREGATION: Edited by Robin M. Williams, Jr., and Margaret W. Ryan, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N.C., 272 pp., $3.00.

Second in the series of studies initiated with The Negro and the Schools and supported by the Fund for the Advancement of Education. Reports on case studies of American communities that have recently attempted educational integration in the public schools. The experiences of these communities offer the best available guide to the solution of some of the problems of educational integration on the local level.

EQUALITY BY STATUTE: (Legal Controls over Group Discrimination), Morroe Berger, Columbia University Press, N.Y., 1952, 238 pp., $3.25.

Through a review of group relations since the Reconstruction Era, and a close examination of recent developments, including FEPC laws and ordinances, the author documents his conclusion that, while laws per se do not affect attitudes directly, they do affect people's actions and, eventually through them, their convictions and outlook. Law, therefore, has become a means of promoting minority rights and healthy intergroup relations.

FORBIDDEN NEIGHBORS: (Study of Race Prejudice in Housing), Charles Abrams, Harper and Brothers, N.Y., 1955, 404 pp., $5.00.

Written by a noted housing authority, well and simply reveals the close link between the problem of discrimination in housing and the growth of prejudice in American communities. The facts and evidence cited herein disprove the commonly held misconception that static, homogeneous neighborhoods are economically and socially more desirable than communities in which there is a mixture of races, colors, and creeds; and the book comes solidly to a close with a thoughtful and crusading program for action.

PUBLICATIONS THAT KEEP YOU UP TO DATE

NEW SOUTH: Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, Monthly except August, $2.00 per year.

Official organ of Southern Regional Council, parent organization of Arkansas Council on Human Relations. ACHR members receive New South as part of dues. Carries news and special articles on developments in the South.

SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS: Southern Educational Reporting Service, 1109 Nineteenth Street, South, P.O. Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville, Tennessee, $2.00 per year, $3.75 for two years.

Set up especially to report factually and objectively on integration in education in the South. Almost everything that happens regarding integration in education everywhere in the South is contained in this monthly publication.

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION: Howard University Press, Washington, D.C., $4.00 per year, issued quarterly.

ACHR NEWSLETTER: Arkansas Council on Human Relations, 211 South Izard Street, Little Rock, Arkansas, monthly, FREE to members and friends.

Your monthly information sheet, giving the activities of the staff, news on the progress of integration, suggestions for individual and community action, and citing books, pamphlets and articles that review, report and instruct on the integration question.

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**ARKANSAS SUMMARY.** March 12, 1956.

The Southern Regional Council in seeking to strengthen the program development of the various State organizations brought together a group of skilled and experienced social scientists. These consultants, under the direction of Mr. John Hope II, were to confer with the Boards and Staffs of the State organizations. Arkansas is the second State to receive this program aid. The two consultants, Dr. Bonita Valien and Dr. Whitney Young, outlined for the group their competencies and experiences so that the group might know in which areas they could receive the greatest assistance from the consultants. Together we examined the current situation and "climate" in the State of Arkansas and the role of the Arkansas Council in seeking to help bring about the desegregation of the public schools. We noted that while we talked about State policies we recognized that by and large this called for local implementation. We also wanted to know ways and we explored methods of reaching the leadership of the silent South - the moderate masses. Dr. Valien had said in her description of the process of desegregation in St. Louis that the various organizations who worked in the process had to first define what they could do within the framework of their organizational structure and the scope of their declared goals to assist in the process. And that is what we seek to do in a meeting such as this.

In seeking to define the role of the Arkansas Council we divided this definition into two parts. First, the role of the Board members; second, the role of the Staff.

ROLE OF BOARD MEMBERS:

A. The organisational role.

1. Program development planning and follow up (with the cooperation of the Staff.)
2. Fund raising.
3. Obtaining membership.
4. Recruiting new Board members.

B. Individual role.

1. Reaching leadership people in existing organizations.
2. Working through other organizations to which we belong.
3. Knowing community resources and how to reach them.
4. Talking with neighbours and friends.
5. Letter-writing to the "Letters to the Editor" columns of the paper.
6. Broadening our knowledge and understanding of human relations.
7. Functioning as individuals in areas of endeavour (such as politics) where the council cannot operate as an organization.

ROLE OF THE STAFF:

1. To work with the Board in program planning, development and follow up.
2. To execute policy so determined.
3. To work in cooperation with other groups and organizations with similar goals.

ROLE OF THE STAFF (CONT'D.):

4. To serve as an information resource to the national press and local mass media.
5. Trouble-shooting and fire-fighting in local situations.

Finally, we recognized the answer to a question asked by Whitney Young early in the meeting: "For whose benefit should society be operated?" The answer which we accept is: society, for we believe in democratic principles, must be operated for the benefit of all of the people, it cannot be operated for the chosen few, no matter what group. All facets of the society without regard to their race, their creed, their national origin, their sex, their age, or their socio-economic standing must participate in and be respected by the society and by its governmental institutions.

The consultants and the central staff now return to their respective cities and states. The task of making democracy work in Arkansas must be performed by Arkansans. The dedication and the skills they bring to the job will help determine the rate of progress. In this task we wish them God speed and every success.

Jan. 16, '57

File copy of

"Guidelines"

given to MR

_____ by

Fred Routh.

RP

SRC copy

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

MINUTES - Executive Committee
January 13, 1957, 11:00 a.m.
211 South Izard, Little Rock

PRESENT: Cartwright, Woods, Walker, Darragh, Bates (Mrs. W.F.) Mercer, Bates (Mrs. L.C.), Griswold, Powell.

Mr. Cartwright, Chairman, called the meeting to order. Minutes of the last meeting were read and approved. Financial report for December as follows: Balance November 30, 1956, $1,445.42; Receipts for December, $179.85; Disbursements for December, $396.17; Balance December 28, 1956, $1,229.10. Report filed for audit.

At Mr. Cartwright's suggestion, the auditor's report was presented. The chairman expressed the wish that an evaluation in lay terms be made by the auditor for future reports.

The Ways & Means Committee reported 19 intention cards have been returned, $520.00 pledged and $157.00 paid.

Meeting date for the Executive Committee was discussed. Mr. Walker suggested committee go to Pine Bluff in order to meet with Dr. Cothran. It was agreed the office would determine date and place after phoning out-of-town members.

Mr. Griswold read copy of letter written for Executive Committee and Board to George Mitchell on his retirement. Mr. Mitchell's reply was read.

Scholarship aid for Negro students was discussed. The office had received requests to find sources of help for a student at A. M. & N. and a student at Arkansas Tech. Mrs. Bates suggested the student at Tech be considered since this was an instance of breaking down racial barriers. An investigation as to the qualifications of the student will be made. Policy decisions: (1) Staff should give time to situations where barriers are being broken down. (2) In other cases, staff should pass information on to someone who would be in a position to investigate situation. (3) Decisions should be based on what benefits would there be for furthering better race relations in Arkansas.

Brotherhood Month Project: A selected list of ministers over the state have been asked to participate in project. Those who accepted have been paired in teams of two (one colored and one white) to speak in churches on the general theme "A Christian Looks At Race Relations Today." Twenty-four teams have been formed. Letters have gone to churches asking if they would like to have such a team. ACHR will serve as correlating agency. Packets of material have been sent to each minister and the teams will plan their talks after they are notified of their speaking engagement.

Staff reported on visit to Hot Springs and conferences with interested people about progress being made in that city.

Suggestion was made that minutes and NEWSLETTER should carry more activities program-wise of the staff. Recognition by group of the need for some precautions.

Mrs. Bates and others made helpful suggestions with reference to cultivation of the press.

Board will meet January 28, 6:00 p.m., YWCA, 4th & Scott. Program: (1) Report from staff as basis for program - discussion; (2) Ways & Means Committee Report; (3) SRC report and where that leaves ACHR. Mr. Cartwright will give SRC report followed by questions. Staff will have mimeographed report and spend more time on the things of interest, base report on quarter and project into future. Meeting is for board members only. Have on hand for each board member the self-evaluation sheet for councils from SRC.

There being no further business the meeting was adjourned.

Mrs. Adell Woods, Secretary

SRC copy

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

MINUTES - Ways & Means Committee Meeting
January 24, 1957, 211 South Izard, Little Rock

PRESENT: Darragh, Blass, Vinson, Johnston, Mercer, Griswold.

Mr. Darragh, chairman, called meeting to order. Members studied financial report for Council. Report revealed necessity for quick action in the matter of getting contributions toward the 1956-1957 Budget in order for the Council to remain in operation.

Report on intention cards returned from members: 168 cards mailed 23 returned - $690 pledged - $185 received (Some contributions have been received without intention cards being returned.)

Consensus was to send reminder letter to membership in February and, if return of cards does not pick up, have someone contact members by phone. There will need to be someone from each town to do this job.

Discussion of non-member individual contributions: Someone on Ways & Means Committee will need to organize this project, writing letters will not get results, must be personal contacts made usually by two people, explain that contributions can be made anonymously, need interpretive material to leave with prospect. Decisions made: (1) Each member of Ways & Means Committee will turn in names of prospects, (2) Ask Board members to make list of prospects and notify Board they will probably be called upon to help make contact, (3) Any Board member not present at January 28 meeting, will be sent letter asking for list of prospects.

Discussion of organizational contributions: Already have some prospects with Negro organizations; in the past, have not had much success with white groups; staff can do more contacting with organizations but will need help of committee members and Board members to go to specific groups to demonstrate volunteer interracial aspect of ACHR.

Decisions as to kind of report Ways & Means Committee will make to Board on January 28, 1957: (1) Give quarterly financial report and supplement with report through January to show financial plight of Council; (2) Outline plans of Ways & Means Committee and give report on intention cards to date; (3) Ask for help in locating individual non-member prospects, also ask for ways to identify foundations and methods of contacting them. Tell Board members they will be called upon to help make contacts.

Meeting was adjourned.

V. Powell
Acting Secretary

SRC copy

MINUTES

Arkansas Council on Human Relations
Quarterly Board Meeting
January 28, 1957

The Quarterly Board Meeting opened with a dinner on January 28, 1957, 6:00 p.m. at the YWCA, 4th & Scott Streets, Little Rock.

Mr. Cartwright, Chairman, called the meeting to order. Each person introduced himself. Minutes of the October Board meeting were approved as mailed.

Program activity reports for the quarter were given by the Directors, Mr. Griswold and Mr. Mercer. Mr. Cartwright emphasized that certain information could not be revealed by the directors in the interest of good public relations. Mrs. E. M. Sparling raised the question: "Does the ACHR work only in places where they think progress can be made?" Mr. Griswold stated they set up criteria for reaching the places that seem most promising. Mr. Mercer stated they had visited most places upon invitation. He also stated that ACHR had stimulated the urge for participation among white and Negro groups.

Mr. Cartwright reported on the Southern Regional Council Board meeting held in Williamsburg, Virginia. A representative group from Arkansas attended. He reported in September 1957 the funds being received from SRC will be expended and there will be no further help from outside sources. Before the present grant expires, a careful study must be made as to the future of our organization. Mrs. W. F. Bates suggested we may have to broaden our base and promote more small ACHR groups like those in Fayetteville and Conway. These would be "auxiliaries" to the state ACHR. Consensus was to refer the study to the Executive Committee.

Self-evaluation sheets for the Council were distributed and discussed. Board referred action to Executive Committee.

Fred Darragh, Chairman of Ways & Means Committee, discussed financial situation of Council and reported on plans of the Ways & Means Committee. (Each Board member was given a copy of the quarterly financial report.) Contributions needed from members toward 1956-57 Budget, $3,971.00. Intention cards and letters were mailed to all members in December. Have received responses from 23 with a total of $690 pledged and $185.00 collected. Committee will send second letter to members in February. Committee and Board members will need to follow-up by telephone. Contributions needed from non-members toward 1956-57 Budget, $1,958.00. Board members were asked to list names of prospective donors. Mr. Darragh spoke of the value of bringing together people who are not used to meeting together. He suggested the possibility of setting up state regional meetings. It was suggested the Board consider having meetings in towns other than Little Rock. Promotion of panel discussions such as the one held last year in Little Rock at Mt. Zion Baptist Church was advocated. The necessity of working where there is a nucleus of active Council members was emphasized. One reason for conducting the meetings would be to make it possible to seek financial support for the ACHR. Mr. Cartwright suggested the planning be referred to the Executive Committee to determine whether a special committee should be set up to carry out the plans for meetings in key cities for the purpose of promoting the ACHR financially as well as providing information of interest to the Council members and friends in those cities.

A vote of thanks was given the directors for their fine reports.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

Mrs. Adell Woods
Secretary

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Quarterly Financial Report
(October, November, December, 1956)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Balance brought forward October 1, 1956 | | $ 602.19 |
| **Receipts** | | |
| Contributions | $ 1,754.79* | |
| Memberships | 68.00 | |
| NEW SOUTH Subscriptions | 86.00 | |
| Sale of Literature | 14.38 | |
| Refunds | 3.00 | |
| Misc. | ----- | |
| Total | $ 1,926.17 | $ 1,926.17 |
| Income for quarter | | $ 2,528.36 |
| **Disbursements** | | |
| Rent | $ 210.00 | |
| Postage | 41.41 | |
| Telephone & Telegraph | 48.29 | |
| Office Supplies | 19.52 | |
| Travel | 267.93 | |
| Printing | ----- | |
| Books, Newspapers, Magazines | 17.75 | |
| Bank S.C., Audit, Misc. | 29.89 | |
| Caretaker | 9.00 | |
| Bond | ----- | |
| Secretary Salary & Withholdings | 539.70 | |
| Employer F.I.C.A. | ----- | |
| Office Equipment & Repairs | 5.35 | |
| Hospitality | 25.42 | |
| NEW SOUTH Subscriptions | 86.00 | |
| Total | $ 1,299.26 | $ 1,299.26 |
| Balance on hand December 31, 1956 | | $ 1,299.10 |

*Contributions received in October credited to 1955-56 deficit $1,467.26

Contributions for quarter credited to 1956-57 Budget $287.53

| | |
|---|---|
| Amount to be raised by contributions for 1956-57 Budget | $5,929.00 |
| Amount raised as of December 31, 1956 | 287.53 |
| Balance to be raised by contributions | $5,641.47 |

SRC - copy

MINUTES - Executive Committee
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
February 12, 1957, 1:30 p.m.

PRESENT: Cartwright, Henderson, Taylor, Woods, Cothran, Bates (Mrs. W.F.), Mike Willis (guest), Mercer, Griswold.

Mr. Cartwright, Chairman, called the meeting to order. Minutes of the last meeting were approved as mailed. Financial report for January was read: Balance brought forward January 1, $1,229.10; Receipts, $144.25; Disbursements, $672.66; Check Book Balance January 31, 1957, $700.69. Report filed for audit.

Regular time for Executive Committee meeting was set for 1:30 p.m. the second Tuesday of each month.

Mr. Cartwright reported the Board discussed the future of ACHR and authorized the Executive Committee to make a study and bring recommendations to the Board. Mr. Cartwright explained action taken by SRC means that ACHR will be on its own financially after September 1957. At present, we are receiving funds for salaries of Directors. ACHR will be required to meet all expenses at the end of September. Mr. Cartwright expressed the opinion that instead of setting up another committee for the study the Executive Committee might devote an extra meeting to struggling with this problem. Suggestions: (1) Ask people from Advisory Board to help. (2) Make it a special meeting in order to have time to think through the problem. (3) Might list what the brightest solution might be on down to what the dimmest solution might be, then have conferences with members of Advisory Board and ask them where along the line they think we might be able to operate realistically. (4) Might recommend to SRC they include in their new planning one of their staff to work with state organizations. (5) Possibility of inter-church organization which might be put in church budgets over the state, might even have possibility of being part of State Council of Churches. In thinking through possible solutions, please keep in mind possible ways of financing. Pending legislation might have bearing on our status. Will discuss in more detail at next meeting of Executive Committee.

Mr. Cartwright explained self-evaluation sheets for councils. SRC sent these as a guide for own use. We have not solved problem of keeping people informed of what staff does. Report from Staff to January Board meeting was full of information members need to have. Could this report be examined to see if it could be sent to members? Would help morale as it did for Board members who heard it. Would encourage staff to do this in whatever form they think best. Could be a special report to members going out with letter signed by Mr. Cartwright.

STAFF ACTIVITIES: Over 50 ministers accepted invitation to participate in Brotherhood Month project. Letters were sent to 300 churches giving them the names of ministers and asking if they would like to have speakers in their church or community. Have had three requests for speakers so far. Still think others will be forthcoming. Three invitations came from Arkansas Valley Methodist Youth Meeting in Ozark, Dunbar Junior High School, Men's Association of Christian Church in Camden. Letter from Gurdon Presbyterian Church saying they were not quite ready to have speakers in their church but would like to attend some meeting close to them. Fifty packets of material containing approximately 15 items were sent to members of teams. Feel cultivation itself has been helpful. Staff visited groups in Little Rock and Pine Bluff on financing. Directors made three trips to Hot Springs to participate in setting up and carrying out plans for an institute at the First Christian Church on human relations. Institute is interfaith, interracial. Topics for consideration: 1st Night - Human Relations in general; 2nd Night - Race Relations; 3rd Night - What We Can Do As Christians in Hot Springs to Better Race Relations. Meetings to be on Sunday afternoons starting at 5:00 p.m. Seventy attended the first session. Packets of material were sold. Mr. Howland, pastor of church, has done atremendous job. Mr. Mercer is to speak on one Sunday night at regular service of church. Director visited Russellville and Morrilton. Had conferences with concerned people in both places.

Committee discussed pending legislation. ACHR as an organization cannot be active because of non-polictial status. There being no further business, meeting was adjourned. Mrs. Adell Woods, Secretary

SRC copy

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

MINUTES - Executive Committee
March 12, 1957, 1:30 p. m.
Little Rock, Arkansas

PRESENT: Cartwright, Bates (Mrs. W.F.), Henderson, Walker, Woods, Taylor, Sparling, Darragh, Cothran, Willis (guest), Mercer, Griswold.

Mr. Cartwright, Chairman, called the meeting to order. Minutes of February meeting approved as mailed. Financial report read and filed for audit: Balance Brought Forward February 1, 1957, $700.69; Receipts $495.45; Disbursements, $456.19; Check Book Balance February 28, 1957, $739.95.

The following items were discussed:

Film - "Walk to Freedom" from The Fellowship of Reconciliation. Can be purchased on deferred payment plan for $100. Rental basis $5.00 per showing. Consensus was that Council could not buy film but we might offer to be a renting station for this section of the country.

Visit of Fred Fuges, American Friends Service Right of Conscience Committee, on March 21. Those interested in talking to Mr. Fuges to call Mr. Griswold.

Listing of Negro Churches in classified section of telephone directory. Two Negro churches are listed - Bethel and Bullocks.

Church listings for Negroes in newspapers. Would like to find out if the ministers want this.

Bus cards - Mr. Cartwright had conference with officials to determine if "Go To Church" cards could be given free space. Officials said they would give free space. Said they would not put up cards about non-discrimination unless the Ministerial Association took the responsibility.

Executive Committee voted to have ACHR join Arkansas Conference of Social Work and have a display at the state meeting April 1-2.

ACHR's future - General feeling was to spend entire meeting April 9 discussing plans for study.

Mr. Mercer gave an analysis of recent laws enacted by the 1957 General Assembly of Arkansas. Discussion followed. Suggestion made that staff pull together points of action and suggested roll of ACHR to be presented to Board at a called meeting for official policy action. Motion made to have called meeting of the Board last week in March. Motion carried.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned.

Mrs. Adell Woods
Secretary

SRC copy

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

MINUTES - Called Board Meeting
March 28, 1957, 7:30 p.m.
Little Rock, Arkansas

PRESENT: Cartwright, Vinson, Rice, Walker, Williams, Darragh, Freeman (guest), Trulock, Mouton, Gammon, Taylor, Woods, Mercer, Griswold.

Mr. Cartwright, Chairman, stated purpose of called meeting: Board to declare policy and recommend action with reference to recent state legislation (1) as to offensive measures which may be taken and (2) as to defense in event measures are applied to ACHR.

The Board believes that ACHR can continue its program despite recent Acts of the Legislature. It believes that Act #85 does not apply to its purposes or methods.

GENERAL POLICY - ACHR's lists of contributors, membership rolls and records are not available for examination. In disseminating information and in furthering inter-group communication, a proper function for ACHR is strictly to avoid activity that is political as that term is interpreted in Federal Courts and Statutes.

The Board authorizes the staff and officers to do the following if it seems wise or necessary:

I. During period of defining and testing of the new statutes in Arkansas.

1. Cooperate in assembling individuals and representatives of groups most concerned to develop suit or suits testing these laws. Thereafter, leave to individual citizens and other groups whatever action determined.

2. Cooperate in assembling individuals and representatives of groups most concerned to get a more exact definition of these measures, without litigation. Thereafter, leave to individuals and other groups whatever action determined.

II. In defense of itself.

1. Secure adequate legal counsel.
2. Cooperate with the Commission in any formal "study" of the organization without divulging information that would infringe on the constitutional right of freedom of assembly.
3. Respond to a formal request or a subpoena to testify before the Commission, but only to the extent of answering "proper" questions and giving general information. In no event would they reveal particular facts regarding membership identity and names of contributors.
4. Only after authorization by the Executive Committee or the Board open records to inspection by anyone except officers and bona fide members of the organization. (No officer, officers or members of the staff has the authority to permit inspection of the organization's records either on the premises or in response to a subpoena duces tecum.)
5. Seek full cooperation of individual members of ACHR who may be called before the Commission that they carry out the policies indicated above, recognizing that they have no official authority to give information about members and contributors.
6. Report promptly these actions of the Board of the ACHR to Southern Regional Council for their information and comments.

Respectfully submitted,

Mrs. Adell Woods
Secretary

SRC copy

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
MINUTES - Executive Committee
April 9, 1957, 1:30 p.m.
211 South Izard, Little Rock

PRESENT: Cartwright, Darragh, Mercer, Griswold, Bates (Mrs. L.C.), Walker.

Mr. Cartwright called meeting to order. Minutes of last meeting were approved as mailed. Entire meeting was devoted to discussion of the future of ACHR.

Up to this point there has been nothing definite about the Council receiving outside help of any kind after September 1957. Therefore, the discussion and study is based upon the assumption that the Council will have to find sources of income for total operation. Some facts needed for study: (1) What is the potential for funds, (2) What type of operation could we have in relations to resources, (3) What can be expected from membership, and (4) What luck have we had in raising funds this year? Facts as to income and membership fees last year and this were given.

Points discussed: To continue operation on present basis will mean an old or new "Santa Claus." A foundation would appear to be best hope for any sizeable amount. If a foundation is approached for funds, the Council must have something to sell. Would need to prepare a brochure spelling out what Council can do over a specified period of time. Decision will have to be made as to what type of operation Council might expect to have and how much it would cost before approaching anyone. Alternatives mentioned: (1) Present basis of operation, (2) Staff might go on part-time. Might approach SRC to take staff as consultants and let them work regionally. (3) Volunteer organization with a paid secretary. (4) Completely volunteer organization with no paid staff. It seemed to be the consensus that there were two possibilities: Full scale operation, desirable; voluntary activity, undesirable.

Decisions made: (1) Because of emergency situation, call SRC and request Harold Fleming come to Little Rock as soon as possible to advise committee. (2) Consult with certain people as soon as possible as to what foundation to approach, timing of approach, and type of brochure needed. (Fred Darragh and Mrs. Vinson designated.) (3) Staff compile "selling" materials for use in an application. (4) Staff, while in Atlanta in May, make opportunity to get further assistance from SRC, if needed then.

Meeting adjourned.

Velma Powell
Acting Secretary

Staff P.S. - Ideas and suggestions from members of Executive Committee not present would be helpful.

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Executive Committee
Minutes
November 11, 1958

**Present:** Engler, Woods, Phillips, C. Walker, Griswold, J. Walker, Powell.

The meeting was called to order and opened with prayer by the chairman, Mrs. Engler. Minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

Finance - Mr. Griswold stated that the membership had done well in contributions. Through September, the Council has raised in Arkansas from all sources $2,354.68. To meet quota of $4,000, Council must raise $1,645.32 by December 31. Suggestions made to raise balance: 1) additional letters to members who have not made contributions; 2) contact fraternal organizations; 3) make contacts in East Arkansas.

The committee discussed names of people to be contacted to serve on Executive Committeefor the year of 1959. The following were appointed: The Rev. C. S. Cartwright, Mr. William M. Pierce, Mr. Mike Willis, Mr. W. M. Phillips (alternate), Mr. H. Charles Johnston, Mrs. E. W. Freeman III, Mrs. W. Floyd Bates. Letters to be sent notifying these people of their appointments. Consensus was to have chairman or representative from each local group, when formed, serve as ex-officio member on executive committee with the right to speak but not to vote. Two people were suggested for possible board membership: Mrs. Bill Penix and the Rev. W. A. Willcox, Jr.

Relations of local organizations to the State organization were discussed. Such details to be worked out with State organization were: 1) help with program of local group; 2) would membership in ACHR mean membership in local group; 3) would members have to pay extra dues to local organization; 4) would membership in local group mean membership in ACHR; 5) local group might want to take organizational membership in ACHR; 6) local members would be encouraged to become members of ACHR.

The following suggestions were made of people to be added to Finance Committee to help Mr. H. Charles Johnston, Chairman: Mrs. J. R. Vinson, Mr. Fred Darragh, Mr. J. E. Carothers, Rabbi Shor, Mrs. Jesse Woods.

Discussion of membership was deferred until next meeting.

Next meeting of Executive Committee set for December 15, 1958, at 1:30 p.m. At this meeting, a permanent meeting date will be established.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned.

Adell T. Woods
Secretary

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

BOARD RETREAT

February 20-21, 1959

| | |
|---|---|
| 4:30 - 6:30 p.m. | Check in. |
| 6:00 - 6:45 p.m. | Supper. |
| 7:00 - 9:15 p.m. | PROGNOSIS (A Symposium). |

----As to Litigation and Legislation - An Attorney

----As to the Public School System - A Superintendent

----As to Alignment of Forces - Public Relations Counsel

----As to Change in Climate - A Citizen

Comments, questions, discussion.

| | |
|---|---|
| 9:30 p.m. | Refreshments |

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|---|---|
| 7:30 - 8:15 a.m. | Breakfast. |
| 8:45 - 10:00 a.m. | Suggested Remedies (non-patented). |
| | Presentations by the Directors. |
| | Comments, questions, discussion. |
| 10:00 - 10:30 a.m. | Coffee Break. |
| 10:30 - 12:15 p.m. | Consultations in Committees (Doctors all!) |
| 12:30 p.m. | Lunch. |
| 1:30 p.m. | Committees formulate recommendations. |
| 2:30 p.m. | Board hears recommendations of committees. |
| 3:30 p.m. | Perspective - SRC Representative. |
| 4:00 p.m. | Adjournment |

SUMMARY OF ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS BOARD RETREAT
February 20-21, 1959

PROGNOSIS

I. As to litigation and legislation (Dean Barnhart)

Mr. Barnhart used as his "text" the title of this year's ACLU report, "The Past Is Prologue." He made three important points:

A. The 1954 Supreme Court Decision regarding schools is more firmly established as law than ever before. The Little Rock decision of September, 1958, and the Norfolk decision of January, 1959 spell out in detail the determination of the Court.

B. U. S. Attorney General Rogers has made the point that it is a federal constitutional right to go to a non-segregated school - or at least a non-segregated school system.

C. Five patterns of "legal" resistance have developed:

(a) Interposition and nullification - which envisioned a confederal rather than a federal system of government. This has collapsed with the end of massive resistance in Virginia. Even Kilpatrick of the Richmond News-Leader now recognizes that interposition has no validity.

(b) Legislative attempts to "handcuff" litigants. These include anti-NAACP acts and so-called anti-barratry acts. Generally, these are being struck down as they come before the federal courts for review.

(c) Private school acts and tuition grant acts. Originally the states hoped to close down only the affected schools and replace them with private schools financed by tuition grants. The Norfolk case makes impossible the closing down of only the affected schools; as to tuition grants, the basic question is, does this constitute state action; and the answer will undoubtedly be "yes." If so, tuition grants for the purpose of circumventing desegregation

decisions will be held unconstitutional.

(d) Pupil assignment acts. In some ways these are the most troublesome to deal with. The Alabama pupil placement act was declared "constitutional" on its face by the Supreme Court. However, if its application is discriminatory or if after a period of time no qualified Negro pupils who apply for admission to "white" schools are accepted, the application of the act will be declared illegal and the Court, as in the case of Virginia, may use the act to assign qualified Negro pupils to specific schools.

(e) Administrative remedies. Many of the states have hoped to draw out indefinitely the desegregation of schools through the use of complicated, slow moving administrative remedies. By demanding that these remedies be exhausted before pupils are allowed to go to federal court to challenge state policy many states have sought to slow up the process. The courts have been and are capable of seeing through this delaying tactic.

II. <u>As to the public school system (Mr. Coleman, ATA)</u>

A. Negro teachers are concerned first with what's good for Negroes in general, and good for the state as a whole, rather than what is good for Negro teachers. Though they are conscious of job security, this is not their first concern.

B. The Negro teacher no longer believes he is right in passively accepting the Southern pattern of intergroup relations. He does not feel that he should encourage his pupils to accept old patterns for current or future living.

C. There is almost no middle ground left for Negro teachers. They are being forced to take sides, often by the segregationists; the side they take is usually in favor of acceptance of the Supreme Court Decision.

D. Teachers would prefer to be professional educators rather than crusaders, even during the current crisis.

E. The greatest difficulty facing a number of teachers is seeking to honestly answer questions of the children about belief in constitutional rights, law and order, and human dignity.

III. As to alligument of forces (Mr. Hadley)

A. Public opinion in Arkansas is not the most important factor now. Opinion is mixed and so long as only the schools in Little Rock are closed the rest of the state is not concerned with finding ways of complying with the court decision.

B. Public opinion in the rest of the world is the important factor now. Little Rock has done irreparable damage to the good name of the United States throughout the world. It has provided the Communist propagandist with the best anti-American weapon he has yet found for use among non-white peoples.

C. Arkansas is being hurt badly by this controversy. People do not yet realize the scope of the damage. Businesses and industries are not coming to Arkansas at the same rate as they were before September, 1957. The people of Arkansas are being used as the political tools for the ambitions of two or three individuals.

D. Dedicated people must continue to speak the truth -- to call a spade a spade as often as possible. The only way to offset the misinformation being spread by state sources is for articulate people on the local level to speak out.

IV. As to change in climate (Miss Basham)

A. There are a number of discouraging things on the Arkansas scene, particularly in Little Rock:

(a) The School Board is about to default on a school bond issue, with the apparent intent of then being forced to rent or sell public school property to Rainey High School (the segregated private school).

(b) The City Board of Directors has been trying to pass a unified housing code. The States' Rights Council has turned up in large numbers at the hearings and heckled the City Board of Directors. The States' Rights Council is opposing vociferously the unified housing code.

(c) The local TV outlet will not carry many of the network shows which they feel are unfavorable to the segregationists point of view. There is local censorship of many nationally carried programs.

(d) The lost sense of humor is a disheartening thing. People in Arkansas no longer can laugh at themselves or the situation.

B. Encouraging things: There are a number of organizations in addition to the Arkansas Council which provides some hope for the future:

(a) The Urban Progress Committee. This group of businessmen and influential citizens recognize that eventually they will have to deal with the school question.

(b) The Chamber of Commerce. Granger Williams, new president, said in his inaugural address that the situation could not go on as it is. Businessmen are privately saying that some change must be brought about.

(c) The Urban League is still functioning, though out of the Community Chest. When it advertised for a new Executive Secretary three qualified applicants came forth. A local man was chosen.

(d) The League of Women Voters. The League of Women Voters is much concerned about public school developments. Next year's agenda will include something about the public school situation.

(e) The Woman's Emergency Committee

(1) It is the only organizational voice openly speaking out against Faubus, the Attorney General, and certain legislative acts.

(2) It is growing in strength and now has over 1,200 members.

(3) It is now under attack; under the Bennett ordinance demands are being made for a list of its membership and contributors. It will fight this attempt.

(4) Regularly, it sends out "fliers" to 2,000 Little Rock businessmen, to all members of the legislature, and to the governor.

(5) It is all white for strategic reasons. Negro leadership is known to be pro-integration; this is an attempt to show that responsible white people also believe in public education, even more than segregation.

V. Meeting as a committee of the whole (Saturday morning)

A. Organizational questions

(1) The question was raised as to whether Arkansas Council could develop functioning committees on a state basis. The group consensus was that this could and should be done.

(2) The question was raised, should efforts be made to create more local organizations? The group consensus was that this would be helpful; that Board members as well as staff members should undertake to organize local chapters throughout the state.

B. Special projects involving the strategic use of the $2,500 anonymous gift. A number of special projects were considered:

(1) Seminars for key groups - i.e., ministers, student workers, etc.

(2) Special speakers for public events

(3) Merit employment projects

(4) Attempts in involving national leadership

(5) Surveys in Little Rock dealing with economic costs of the controversy and educational costs of closed schools.

(6) Cooperation with other organizations, particularly the Arkansas

Council on Children and Youth which will hold the state conference preparing for the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth.

VI. Fred Routh reviewed the above and added that there are signs of significant change in the region. He pointed out that the big problem was getting the state government off the necks of local communities; that local communities must have the right, without state interference, to comply with court decisions. It was noted that in Norfolk the decision of the State Supreme Court of Virginia upheld the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. Routh said that most of the state courts had integrity and would make the right decisions when the arguments were presented to them in such a way that they could not be ignored.

The governor of Florida, Leroy Collins, has called for some desegregation in the Sunshine State and the school board of Dade County has responded by ordering desegregation of the Orchard Grove school in Miami next fall. When Florida rejoins the Union this will narrow the field to the five hard core states of Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, and Mississippi.

It has become evident even to the ardent segregationists that there is no longer a solid South, and that the South no longer commands the national political power it once held. In the hard core states desegregation will probably come first in New Orleans and Atlanta, two metropolitan cities in the area. New Orleans has already desegregated its buses, its parks, and the LSU branch. Atlanta has desegregated its golf courses, its buses, and its airport facilities. In both cities suits testing the validity of school segregation are now in federal courts.

The struggle is by no means over. The months and perhaps even years ahead will call for the continued action of consecrated people who believe in government under law and a society which accords equal recognition to the human dignity of all people as children of God and citizens of the United States.

# S.T.O.P. LIGHTS confidential

May 18, 1959...Published by STOP, 1010 Pyramid Bldg., Little Rock, Ark....Number 1

# STOP CAMPAIGN IN HIGH GEAR !

Reports from all over Little Rock showed a tremendous surge of support for STOP today, as the campaign to Stop This Outrageous Purge shifted into high gear!!!! Among the features planned for this last vital week of the drive are:

***** GIANT APPRECIATION RALLY FOR OUR TEACHERS
8:00 p.m., Tuesday, May 19, Robinson Auditorium

***** WARD MEETINGS TO ORGANIZE ALL SUPPORT
8:00 p.m., Wednesday, May 20, in Each Ward

***** PRECINCT AND BLOCK ORGANIZATIONS BRING FACTS TO EVERYONE
All day, everyday, Thursday through Monday, May 21-25

Beginning with this issue, every active STOP worker will receive this memo —— "S.T.O.P.LIGHTS confidential" —— with all the latest news on the campaign, so that you will be informed of all developments.

You will also get facts for ammunition in this memo. See that everyone that you have responsibility for gets them. The FACTS are on our side —— let's use them.

## WARD ORGANIZATION SET

At a meeting Monday morning, May 18, at the Marion Hotel, ward organizations were set up for the STOP Campaign. Almost 150 men and women pledged all of their effort this week to this fight to save our teachers that has to be won!

The following Temporary Ward Chairmen were selected at this meeting:

WARD 1: Mrs. Guy Cammert
2604 Wolfe; Fr 4-5782

WARD 2: Dick Archambault
1111 Cumberland; Fr 2-2517
Luther Tull
1111 Cumberland; Fr 2-2517

WARD 3: Jimmy Harrison
318 Barton; Fr 5-5278
Mrs. Byron House, Jr.
3517 W. Markham; Mo 6-2726

WARD 4: Mrs. Caspar V. Dum
1604 Fillmore; Mo 3-0239

WARD 5: Richard Lewis
328 Ridge Rd.; Mo 6-6647

(Cammack Village is included in Ward 5; Wilson, Stonewall, and Tech High Schools are included in Ward 4)

The meeting places of all ward meetings will be announced in this memo tomorrow. Or, call your chairmen for details.

It is this city-wide house to house organization that will win this election! Do your part. Attend your ward meeting Wednesday night!! Full explanations of all plans will be given!

## RALLY TO HONOR TEACHERS

All signs point to a gigantic rally in appreciation of our teachers Tuesday night!

Leading speakers, representing educators, the ministry, lawyers, business, labor, and other groups will attend and give short talks in support of our teachers.

The guests of honor will be the hundreds of teachers in the Little Rock system who have devoted their lives to educating our children.

It is the responsibility of all of us to come and bring our friends and neighbors to this rally!

## STOP SIGNS

One of the biggest problems in the STOP campaign is to organize the thousands of volunteers who want to help.

BUT WE NEED ALL THE HELP WE CAN GET THIS WEEK. THE FIRST AND BEST PLACE TO WORK IS IN YOUR OWN WARD, PRECINCT, OR BLOCK!!

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STRANGE COINCIDENCE DEPT: The night of the C.R.O.S.S. meeting, held to support the School Board purgers, was the same night as posters appeared around Little Rock advertising the Klu Klux Klan!

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Another meeting of interest to Little Rockians is a Tuesday night meeting in the colored community called to support the colored teachers fired,

# S.T.O.P. LIGHTS confidential

May 19, 1959...Published by STOP, 1010 Pyramid Bldg., Little Rock, Ark.....No. 2

## THOUSANDS FLOCK TO HONOR TEACHERS

One of the most remarkable demonstrations of HONOR AND AFFECTION in the history of Little Rock is taking place as this issue of "S.T.O.P.LIGHTS confidential" is going to press. Thousands of citizens are flocking to Robinson Auditorium to hear leading speakers from all parts of the community, and, above all, to show the teachers of our children that their devotion and sacrifice is appreciated!

The overwhelming success of this meeting is even more amazing in view of a concerted campaign of deception put on by the purgers and their allies. About 5000 leaflets were distributed this afternoon, purportedly signed by STOP officials, in a TOTALLY DISHONEST attempt to keep people away from the Robinson Auditorium meeting. At last report, the leaflet-distributors were under arrest. And from the size of the crowd going to the real STOP meeting this evening, the "big lie" failed to fool Little Rockians at all!!

Among speakers scheduled for the meeting are Forrest Rozzell, Executive Secretary of the Arkansas Education Association, Joe Hardin, Executive Vice-President of Arkansas-Louisiana Gas Co., Victor Ray, Executive Secretary of the Central Arkansas Labor Council, Rev. Aubrey G. Walton, Pastor of the First Methodist Church, Dr. Henry Hollenberg, prominent physician, and Mrs. Joe Jackson, long-time P.T.A. worker and officer.

## QUOTES OF THE DAY

"The attempted purge of 44 teachers, administrators, and clerks represents 579 years of cumulative service the Little Rock School District can ill afford to lose."

...W.S. (Will) Mitchell
Campaign Chairman, S.T.O.P.

"The Cross is to be borne, not burned....It is most unfortunate that through the abuse of terrorist organizations, the religious symbol of Christianity (the Cross) has been frequently turned into a terrorist weapon."

...Rev. Louie D. Newton
Former Pres., Southern Baptist Convention

## stop 3 save 3

HERE IS THE WAY THE BALLOT IN THE MAY 25 ELECTION WILL READ. THE NAMES WILL BE IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER:

Ted L. Lamb
R.W. (Bob) Laster
Russell H. Matson, Jr.
Ed I. McKinley, Jr.
Ben D. Rowland, Sr.
Everett L. Tucker, Jr.

Each name will be followed by a box "for removal" and a box "against removal" to check.

IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT ALL OF OUR VOTERS REALIZE THAT IT IS AS IMPORTANT FOR THEM TO CHECK AGAINST REMOVAL FOR LAMB, MATSON, AND TUCKER, AS IT IS TO CHECK FOR REMOVAL FOR LASTER, McKINLAY, AND ROWLAND!!

## wed. ward meeting

WARD 1 —
American Legion Hall
24th and Wolfe

WARD 2 —
Y.W.C.A.
4th and Scott

WARD 3 —
Ark. Educational Assn.
Across from Capitol Bldg.

WARD 4 —
St. Lukes Methodist Church
Broadmoor

WARD 5 —
Westover Hills Presby. Church
McKinley and Kavanaugh

THIS IS THE MEETING THAT COUNTS IN THE IMPORTANT ORGANIZATION THAT MUST BE DONE!!

WARD MEETINGS START AT 8:00 PM

## STOPTIME

Wednesday, May 20...6:15 P.M.

Channel 7

Dr. Drew Agar, W.S. (Will) Mitchell, Mrs. Lillian McDermott, Jimmy Harrison

WATCH STOPTIME ON TV ... THEN ATTEND YOUR WARD MEETING!!!!!

# STOPLIGHTS confidential

May 20, 1959...Published by STOP, 1010 Pyramid Bldg., Little Rock No. 3

# PURGE GROUP CHANGES STRATEGY !

Secret reports clearly indicate that the purge groups are about to scuttle the Guthridge dominated Laster, Rowland and McKinley trio and raise the banner "Recall ALL SIX."

Future advertising for STOP will point out that the only charges against TUCKER, MATSON AND LAMB are that they FOUGHT the purge of the 44 teachers.

## LARGEST TURNOUT IN HISTORY OF CITY FOR WARD MEETINGS!

Seasoned political observers who checked on the turnout at the five ward meetings have reported that the attendance was the largest on record for a ward meeting in a political campaign.

Tomorrow a full list of the ward and precinct chairman will be printed in the STOPLIGHTS. Check for the names of your fellow workers.

**********

## ADVERTISING REPORT

How did you like the cartoon in this morning's ARKANSAS GAZETTE? It will be rerun on Sunday. An artist is working on two more cartoons that will have real impact.

30-second "spots" on TV were started today. Look for your neighbor's picture and his full "punch" line that HAS NOT BEEN EDITED.

## DO YOU NEED A "STOP" SIGN?

If you have a good location in your precinct for a 3' x 6' "STOP" sign, call headquarters, FR 23155. Nine of these signs are life. If they haven't been taken, pick one up and put it to good use. Ward headquarters are being set up and these signs make good decorations

## TAXI DRIVER'S NEEDED

Plans are being made to take people to the polls on election day. If you can be spared by your precinct captain, call your precinct secretary to volunteer to drive.

DRIVE YOUR OWN CAR FOR HALF THE DAY OR ALL DAY.

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Make a scrapbook of the teachers that were purged. Starting Monday three have been shown each day in the DEMOCRAT and the GAZETTE. By Sunday all 44 will have been featured in an ad.

## ABSENTEE VOTING

The absentee box at the County Clerk's office at the Courthouse opens today. All that is necessary is for a voter to sign a form that he will be out of the city on Monday - and then to VOTE.

Let's get some early voters by driving absentee's to the polls today.

---

Sunday afternoon is a good time for a "coffee" or "coke party". Many precincts planned such parties at the ward meetings. If someone will have all the workers in your precinct at their home, you can map plans to GET OUR PEOPLE TO THE POLLS ON MONDAY.

Never forget the old political adage - "They don't count the votes that stay home."

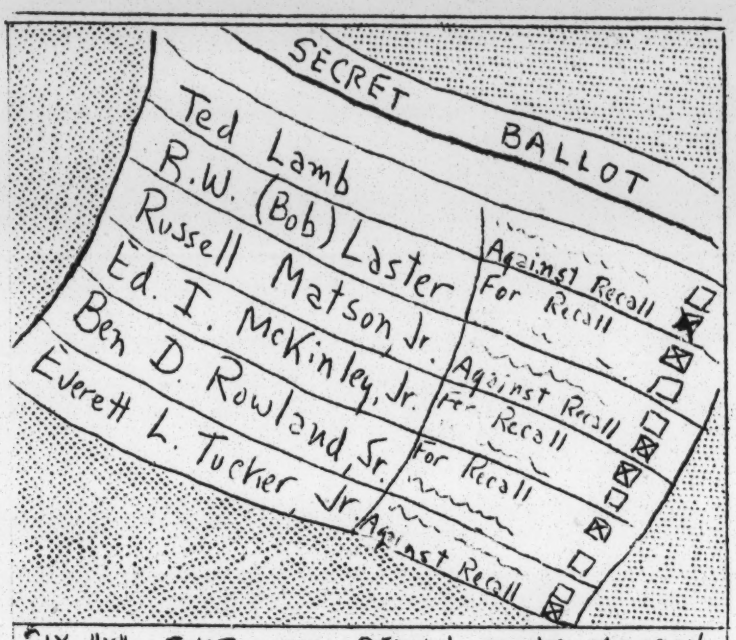
REMEMBER THE 3 "R's":

REINSTATE 44
RECALL 3
RETAIN 3

# S.T.O.P.LIGHTS confidential

## WARD ORGANIZATIONS SPEARHEAD DRIVE TO BRING FACTS TO ALL THE VOTERS

"We amateurs can organize too!", an enthusiastic lady precinct worker was heard to exclaim at the Ward 3 meeting Wednesday night. For the first time in the history of Little Rock, a vast network of block to block organizations have been set up by ordinary citizens, mad enough to carry out an overwhelmingly successful political plan. Workers at the first ward meetings totalled nearly 700 people, and a steady round of coffee and coke parties, door to door visiting, telephone calls, and rides to the polls were planned for every ward in the city.




SIX "X"s THAT WILL REALLY COUNT MONDAY

The following Permanent Ward Chairmen were elected at these meetings (including phone nos. for the ward headquarters):

WARD 1: Mrs. Guy Cazort (Fr 4-5782)
WARD 2: Dick Archambault; Luther Tull (Fr 5-1204 or Fr 2-7902)
WARD 3: Mrs. Byron House; Jim Harrison (Fr 2-5281)
WARD 4: Dr. Sid Fields (Mo 3-0236)
WARD 5: Walton Litz (Mo 6-8970 or Mo6-2171)

The aim of the campaigners for decent treatment of our teachers is to get the facts to all the people of Little Rock.

Businessmen must realize that the economic future of the city depends on good teachers. Employees must realize that no job or contract is safe if this teacher purge is allowed to stand. Educators must realize that for decent education there must be secure teachers. Everyone in our town has a stake in this election!!

The importance of the block to block organization is shown by the tactics of the pro-purge group. As this issue is going to press, reports are coming in that speakers are being imported by the CROSS group from other states and other political posts to try to stop the trend of indignation against the purge!

Here is the only way a teacher could be fired between 1947 and the purge of May 5, 1959!

These 2000 people who attended the rally for our teachers Tuesday night heard Forrest Rozzell of the AEA outline the procedure adopted in contracts beginning in 1947 for discharging Ark. teachers:

1. warning notice by Jan. 15
2. second warning by March 15
3. opportunity for a hearing
4. appeal to Welfare Board
5. mandatory recommendation of discharge by superintendent or principal

THESE WERE THE OLD RULES PROTECTING TEACHERS FROM UNJUST DISCHARGE. THEY WERE FOLLOWED UNTIL MAY 5, 1959.

NOW THERE ARE NEW RULES. NOW, IF YOU TEACHERS DO NOT DO EXACTLY WHAT THE PURGERS TELL YOU TO DO, THINK WHAT THEY THINK, AND GIVE THEIR CHILDREN ALL "As" WHETHER THEY DESERVE THEM OR NOT, YOU ARE OUT OF A JOB!!

IS THIS THE WAY YOU WANT THE TEACHERS OF YOUR CHILDREN TREATED??

TO WIN THE ELECTION IT IS ESSENTIAL TO GET THE VOTERS TO THE POLLS. HERE ARE THE DETAILS OF THE CAR POOL SYSTEM SET UP FOR MONDAY:

1. Drivers must offer services to Ward Chairmen by Saturday noon.
2. Each Ward will have a central car pool to send out cars.
3. Contact phones will be published.

## BACK THE MEN WHO BACK OUR TEACHERS!

THE PURGE GROUP WOULD CONSIDER THEIR CAMPAIGN SUCCESSFUL IF THEY CAN FOOL PEOPLE INTO VOTING TO RECALL ALL SIX. DON'T FALL FOR THIS LINE!! Let the voters in your ward, precinct, and block know that they must back the men who back the teachers! TED LAMB, RUSSELL MATSON, AND EVERETT TUCKER DESERVE THE FULL SUPPORT OF ALL VOTERS WHO BELIEVE THAT THE TEACHERS OF OUR CHILDREN DESERVE MORE THAN A PURGE!!

# S.T.O.P. LIGHTS confidential

Final Election Issue...S.T.O.P., 1010 Pyramid Bldg., Little Rock.....Number 5

# THIS IS IT!

THE BIG DAY IS ALMOST HERE!! THIS IS IT FOR THE CITIZENS OF LITTLE ROCK. ON MONDAY WE WILL HAVE OUR CHANCE TO DECIDE IF OUR TEACHERS CAN BE PURGED BY THE RUTHLESS THREE, LASTER, McKINLEY, AND ROWLAND --- OR WHETHER THOSE TEACHERS CAN HAVE THEIR JOBS SAVED BY THE MEN WHO HAVE BACKED THOSE TEACHERS ALL THE WAY, LAMB, MATSON, AND TUCKER. ALL THE LEAFLETS, RADIO AND TELEVISION, NEWSPAPER ADS, AND SPEECHES ON BOTH SIDES WON'T MEAN A THING COMPARED TO THOSE BALLOTS CAST MONDAY!!

VOTE AGAINST
REMOVAL OF
LAMB
MATSON
TUCKER

BUT VOTE FOR
REMOVAL OF
LASTER
McKINLEY
ROWLAND

Alot of folks think that "this is it" for more than just the teachers. Does the whole future of our town depend on men such as Laster, McKinley, and Rowland? Are we to expect the human decency that these purgers have shown to the teachers to take over completely? These questions must be answered on Monday too!

THE SUCCESSES UP TO NOW OF THE S.T.O.P. ORGANIZATIONS ARE SHOWN BY THE "BIG GUNS" THAT THE C.R.O.S.S. FORCES HAVE BROUGHT INTO THIS CAMPAIGN.

We can't underestimate the power of these speakers that are being brought in from outside the school district! BUT WE CAN REMEMBER THAT IT IS THE FOLKS IN THE LITTLE ROCK SCHOOL DISTRICT ALONE WHO WILL DECIDE WHETHER WE SHOULD STOP THIS OUTRAGEOUS PURGE!!

## who suffers most when we lose our teachers?

One of the most remarkable things about this STOP campaign is that folks from all parts of our town of Little Rock have been brought into it!!

We have heard from business and labor, from ministers and other religious leaders, from educational spokesmen, and mostly from just plain citizens who are outraged by the purge, and want to back the men (Lamb, Matson, McKinley) who backed the teachers.

IT CERTAINLY IS TRUE THAT CITIZENS OF ALL GROUPS HAVE A STAKE IN THIS ELECTION. MOST DIRECTLY, OF COURSE, THE TEACHERS THEMSELVES DEPEND ON WHAT WE CAN DO TO STOP THE PURGE. BUT ISN'T IT TRUE THAT IT IS OUR CHILDREN WHO STAND TO SUFFER MOST OF ALL IF THE PURGE IS NOT STOPPED? My children need teachers because they need to go to school. Don't yours?

## important ward - announcements

***There will be a watch and victory party Monday evening at the Marion Hotel for all STOP campaign workers. Be sure to come!

***The WARD 3 new phone numbers are Fr 2-5156 and Fr 2-5157. Other ward phones are the same.

***B aby sitting by high school and college students is available for all workers and voters (see

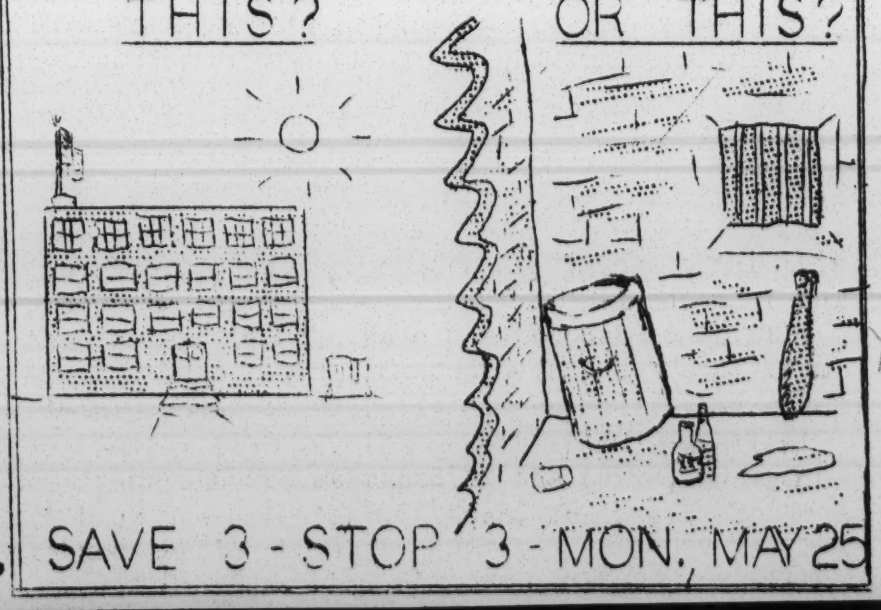
***One lady in WARD 4 has gotten time to speak in church Sunday on the importance of stopping three and saving three Monday!!

***Actually, more than 44 teachers are involved here. Not one of all 800 teachers have felt free to sign their contracts for next year. Either we stop 3 and save 3, or we have no teachers at all!

The baby sitting phone number is Fr 2-4119. Ask for Irving Spitzberg. Don't forget--this is for campaign workers to use too!! It lasts from Sat. noon through Mon.

TAKE YOUR CHOICE ---

THIS? OR THIS?



SAVE 3 - STOP 3 - MON. MAY 25

Dear Friend:

If you haven't already seen this item from the Chronicle you really should because it's very important for all of us in Houston.

THE HOUSTON CHRONICLE Wednesday, June 24, 1959 Section 3, Page 7

# Race Crisis Effect Argued in Little Rock

Little Rock, Ark.—(AP)—What killed Little Rock's ambitious industrial development program?

The school integration crisis and subsequent school closings, says the chamber of commerce.

"Not necessarily so," says Gov. Orval E. Faubus, who precipitated the crisis and closed the schools. "None of the industrialists who has talked with me has expressed any concern about the school situation."

"They've discussed it with us," said Boyd Ridgeway, chamber manager. "We've had only one real good prospect since the racial crisis erupted and he turned us down when schools were closed."

Chamber officials are discouraged by the sudden death of their industrial project, one of the best in the country. One thousand acres of choice land has been set aside for industry and adequate financing for industrial development is waiting.

But, in the past two years, not one new outside industry has chosen to locate in Little Rock, a central Arkansas city of 110,000.

The Arkansas Industrial Development Commission, a Faubus-created agency which has about $600,000 of state money to spend each year in promoting industry, takes the official position that it is impossible to tell whether Little Rock's industrial drouth is directly linked to the school situation.

The American Assn. of University Women published in January a report of a poll in which about 50 per cent of local businessmen said their businesses had been hurt by the squabble. But retail trade has held a consistently high level and building (except industrial) is up.

The rest of Arkansas has not been so hard hit industrially. The A.I.D.C. recently announced several new plants with large and well-paid employee rolls.

But most of these have chosen to locate in North Arkansas, where there are few Negroes and consequently little danger of a racial problem.

You can't ignore this!

You see, it's not only the youngsters who are hurt by "Massive resistance," but the entire community, including you!

The decent law-abiding citizens better speak up now. We want good schools and we want them open!!

Sincerely,

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

Vol.6 No. 1 **NEWSLETTER** January, 1960

## Conference on Community Unity

On November 22 the fourth Conference on Community Unity was held by over a hundred Little Rock residents at Aldersgate Camp under the sponsorship of the American Friends Service Committee and a local inter-denominational committee. The "Presentation" for the deliberations was made by the Reverend C. S. Cartwright. Mr. Cartwright set race relations in Little Rock in a moral-religious frame as distinguished from the law-and-order frame, making starkly clear that such a frame indicts the whole rigid pattern of segregation and each person to the degree he conforms to the pattern. He made specific his meaning by reference to school officials and community leaders whose actions humiliate colored citizens and youth by unmistakably declaring them to be inferior. This presentation won overwhelming support from the conferees.

The vigorous reaction of school officials took the form of hurt denial that they had official policies which supported violence or limitation of legal rights of Negro citizens. They, thereby, put race relations back in the legal frame. Mr. Cartwright declared that he could not criticize officials for compromising with the system of segregation, "This we all do of necessity". But he said, "Churchmen and officials compromise without a sense of sin or conscious pangs of conscience. This we ought not be able to do." Further, he said, "The fact that church members, including officials, do not ask 'What does my religious faith tell me to do' in specific situations is a sad commentary of how secular our society has become." Of course he might have elaborated further by pointing to the fact that Little Rock white ministers, corporately or singly, have not been impelled by the divine imperative publicly to keep consideration of the relations of colored and white persons in a moral-religious perspective.

## SRC Field Director Visits Little Rock

Paul Rilling, Field Director of the Southern Regional Council, was in Little Rock for the November Executive Committee. As always he was most helpful in giving perspective to the situation here. He gave an interesting account of the turmoil in New Orleans, pointing out the parallels with Little Rock. (We have subsequently heard from another visitor to New Orleans who writes "...that city is beginning to make Little Rock look like NCCJ headquarters on Brotherhood Sunday".)

## Annual Meeting

Friday evening, January 20,
Saturday morning, January 21.

## The Vertical Plan Put in Operation

(from Sep-Oct Carolina Israelite)

The Danville, Virginia Library, the last Capitol of the Confederacy, closed its library when Federal Judge Ted Dalton ordered the librarian to admit Negroes. For five months Shakespeare, Mark Twain, and the King James Bible were unavailable to the citizens of Danville. Then the Danville City Council voted 5-4 to open the library on an integrated basis but on the basis of the Golden Vertical Plan. They took all the tables and chairs out of the library. If you want to read there or do some research you will have to do it standing up.

City Manager Edward Temple announced that all the old library cards were forthwith cancelled and that new ones would be issued upon payment of a $2.50 fee and that all applicants would be required to fill out a new four page form listing his date of birth, college degrees, and prospective use of the library. Applicants must also name two personal references and two credit references as well as listing the type of books he plans to borrow.

And how do the Danvillians accept this: The vertical library is not at all a hit. Jack Kilpatrick, who originated the idea of interposition and who is the leading segregationist philosopher, gets the point of the stand-up library brilliantly in an editorial (Richmond News Leader, Sep. 14):

"Harry's in Seventh Heaven. Danville's $2.50 book fee is more regrettable than silly; it probably will succeed in keeping as many poor whites as poor Negroes from making use of the library. Removal of the tables and chairs is more silly than regrettable. How is one to study, take notes, browse? Have members of Danville's City Council, doing research on a term paper, ever read a book standing up? Have they ever read a book?

"Harry Golden, the sage of Charlotte must gaze in rapture on these tidings. When he devised the Golden Plan of Vertical Integration, he can't have imagined that

con'd next page

## Ministers' Retreat

Twenty-six ministers responded with enthusiasm to the 30-hour retreat at Camp Ferncliff dedicated to the question: "What can a local minister do now that will help desegregation?" The retreat was sponsored by ACHR.

Kyle Haselden, Managing Editor of the Christian Century; Thomas Pettigrew, Assistant Professor of Social Psychology at Harvard; Will Campbell, Southern Representative for the National Council of Churches' Department of Race and Cultural Relations, and Rev. Kelly Miller Smith, minister of the First Baptist Church in Nashville, Tenn. made an effective and stimulating team as resource leaders.

The Little Rock ministers who attended continue to meet at regular intervals.

## Fayetteville Workshop

Nat Griswold was principal speaker at the Community Relations Workshop held in Fayetteville on October 15. This was the first project of the newly formed Fayetteville Community Relations Council. It provided an opportunity to inform citizens of the race relations situation there, for members of both races to have a meal together and for all to hear a message from a worker in the human relations field. The program consisted of the address, a panel discussion, and other samller group as well as general discussion.

## NAIRO Conference

The ACHR Director attended the national conference of the National Association of Intergroup Officials in Cincinnati. Plans are now underway to hold a regional NAIRO conference in Little Rock next April.

## The Rebel Yell

The largest high school in Austin, Texas is Travis High, named after a hero of the Alamo. The school song is Dixie, the school cheer is the rebel yell and the football team is known as the Rebels. Travis High is now an integrated school and its star football player is a Negro. It is quite a sight, reports Elsie Carper of the Washington Post and Times Herald, to see this hero carried off the field after a victorious game, on the shoulders of his white fellow students, while the band plays Dixie.

## Former Associate Director at NYU

John Walker, who until September was the Associate Director of ACHR is studying at New York University in the Center of Human Relations. He has recently become the proud father of Pamela Walker who is the youngest member of ACHR.

* * *

Annual Meeting Speaker -
The Rev. Will Campbell

## Golden Vertical Plan (con'd)

anyone would take him seriously. If it is too much to ask in these situations for a lot of common sense, could we ask humbly for just a little common sense instead? If a measure of foolishness is unavoidable, do we have to break records?"

(P.S. Latest reports say that chairs have been put back . . . but are set further apart than formerly!)

## Fall Board Meeting

Coffee and doughnuts were served as members and friends of ACHR gathered for the fall membership meeting in the Student Union Building of Philander Smith College on October 8. Thomas Pettigrew, author of Christians in Racial Crisis spoke on the role of the Church in the white community. He said that the power structure of a community was over-evaluated and that the moral power of the church was underestimated; that ministers could initiate change in spite of being employees of the power structure. He said that it was the role of the church to invoke the "moral imperative" and the role of the ministers to then go out and practice what they preach (in secular organizations such as ACHR) as well as working within their own organization. The success of the individual churches' influence would depend on the "parity between the two kinds of demands on a minister - principle and organization; unity among the ministers in a community; national movements (social action groups) within denominations; and laity support (and instigation).

## Poll Tax Sales

With the cooperation of the Urban League, ACHR sponsored a contest among Negro churches to stimulate the sale of poll taxes. Some fifteen churches participated in the project. Winner of both prizes was the Pilgrim Valley Baptist Church. (We understand the prize money was used to purchase new choir robes for the young people.)

## Brother, Can You Spare a $?

The Rev. Bob Hughes, Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations spent some time in jail recently as the result of his refusal to give names of members of his organization to a grand jury. The investigation of the Council resulted from a suit against a reporter who had written articles about Birmingham race relations for the New York Times. Bob Hughes was subpoenaed when the telephone number of the Alabama Council was found among those used by the reporter.

Ministerial and other support in Birmingham has been good. But financial support has been short of the needs. The legal bill has been estimated at $7000. Some help has come from SCLC but more is needed. If every member of the local councils would send one dollar the battles of finance and morale would both be won.

# CONCLUSIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE FUTURE

Arkansas Council on Human Relations
Consultation, March 28, 29, 1960

by P.R.

## I. PURPOSE.

The general purpose of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations shall be to improve horizontal communication between the races, contribute to a better understanding of the principles of good human relations by the people of Arkansas, and to work through and between the white and Negro communities toward the ultimate goal of the elimination of segregation and discrimination.

A. The Arkansas Council should work within the Negro community to encourage Negro citizens to request and press for those rights which are properly theirs and to support Negro citizens and groups striving for equality. The ACHR should make whatever contribution it can to the development of leadership within the Negro community and a greater degree of unity within the community. The ACHR should also strive for a greater degree of support and a broader membership base from Negro citizens.

B. Within the white community the ACHR should function as a catalyst and a gad-fly. It should attempt to sympathetically interpret to the white community the activities and aspirations of Negro citizens. It should do what it can to create a climate of opinion more receptive to change by working through groups and organizations in the white community and "weak links" in the power structure. The Council should use the public media to carry its interpretations and positions to the general public.

C. Working with both communities, the Council should be a center of information and a line of liaison and communication between persons of good will, white and Negro. Where possible, the Council should play a role of mediation during crises and work for the establishment of official biracial committees in various communities where conditions would seem to be ready for such a step.

## II. PROGRAM AND POLICY.

A. It is urged that in the future the Arkansas Council should make use of the public communications media to carry to the general public interpretations, analyses, and opinions of the Council. It was felt that the executive director should be empowered to speak in the name of the Council within the general policy position of the organization. If questions should arise involving a new policy position then the executive committee should be geared to quick expression on such matters.

B. The committee felt that a one or two man staff cannot effectively function throughout the state. It was therefore suggested that in the future the staff of the Arkansas Council concentrate on programs

in depth in two or three communities while making staff members available on a consultative basis in other communities throughout the state. It was felt that the most effective program could be carried through by an intensive effort, in residence, in certain key communities.

C. It was urged that the ACHR attempt to do more work with college and high school students in the future, cooperating with denominational and other groups working with students on an interracial basis and helping to bring together students of both races in a natural way.

D. The ACHR should strive for cooperation and coordination where possible with all other organizations and agencies sharing common goals. The Council should be alert to the need to avoid duplication among human relations agencies. It was suggested that the Council might take the initiative toward convening quarterly meetings of human relations personnel in Little Rock for the exchange of ideas in the field of inter-group relations.

E. It was urged that the ACHR should strive for a broader membership base throughout the state and that this goal could be best reached by an active program, by direct solicitation, by involvement of board members for membership work.

F. The relationship of the ACHR with SRC was clarified and considered. The committee felt that the relationship should be continued on its present basis and that the Arkansas Council agrees to the prohibition on any activities not consistent with educational activities under the terms of interpretations of the Internal Revenue Service.

G. The committee felt that the ACHR could not become a self-supporting agency but must continue to rely on outside assistance from SRC and from foundation sources. The ACHR must therefore have a strong and effective program and be able to explain and interpret it to the Rockefeller Brothers and to other possible sources of foundation support.

H. Members of the board of the Arkansas Council should be selected on the basis of their personal qualifications with due consideration to matters of geographical representation, racial composition, etc. It was not felt that the Council should continue to try to involve other organizations through direct board representation as such.

I. It was felt that there should be more orientation of new board members and that the role of the board and the board members should be more clear.

J. It was felt that the Council should continue its practice of holding one annual membership meeting a year, but it was also felt that occasional, perhaps quarterly, enlarged board meetings with some program emphases might serve to more effectively involve

members around the state.

K. The committee recommended that some of the functions of the state Council should be carried out through a committee structure which would involve non-board members as well as board membership.

III. STAFF REQUIREMENTS. These were felt to be the ideal qualifications for staff of the Arkansas Council.

A. They should be persons with professional training and experience in the field of inter-group relations or trained and experienced in closely related skills.

B. The staff should be interracial.

C. They should be persons strongly motivated in the field of human relations.

D. They should have the social and perceptual skills to analyze the needs of local communities, to establish rapport with community leaders, and to plan, organize and implement community projects and programs.

E. They should have the ability to effectively analyze and interpret developments in the field of human relations throughout the state.

F. They should be able to motivate and involve board members and general members in participation in the on-going activities of the Council.

G. They must have skills in the area of organization and administration.

H. It was noted that one staff member may be leaving. It was suggested that the staff should be commended by the committee for their dedication and efforts in the past and that the senior staff member should be given an opportunity to consider the conclusions of this consultation and then asked if he would agree to continue with the Council after this year providing he is able to concur in these general plans for the future. It was also suggested that a personnel committee or a sub-committee of the committee on the future be established to consider the staff situation, search for a replacement for the departing staff member and carry on a personnel review and evaluation of the staff of the Council.

cc to: Mrs. Engler
Bert Cartwright
Ruth Arnett

Arkansas Council

HCF ✓
SM

Membership Analysis

(March, 1960)

| | Negro Single | Negro Couple | White Single | White Couple | Negro Ministers | White Ministers | Total Negro | Total White | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Arkadelphia | | | 3 | | | 2 | | 3 | 3 |
| Clarendon | | | 1 | | | 1 | | 1 | 1 |
| Eureka Springs | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 |
| Fayetteville | 1 | | 22 | 22 | | 2 | 1 | 65 | 66 |
| Conway | 1 | | 5 | | | | 1 | 5 | 6 |
| Hot Springs | | | 1 | 4 | | 1 | | 9 | 9 |
| Little Rock | 11 | 5 | 17 | 21 | 2 | 5 | 21 | 59 | 80 |
| Monticello | | | 1 | 2 | | | | 5 | 5 |
| North Little Rock | 1 | | | 2 | | | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| Pine Bluff | 3 | 4 | 1 | | | 1 | 11 | 1 | 12 |
| Rector | | | | | | 1 | | 1 | 1 |
| Russellville | | | 1 | 1 | | | | 3 | 3 |
| Springdale | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| Out of State | | 1 | 3 | 7 | | 2 | 2 | 17 | 19 |
| Fort Smith | | | | 2 | | 2 | | 4 | 4 |
| TOTALS | 17 | 10 | 57 | 61 | 2 | 17 | 37 | 179 | 216 |

from Arch. CHR
Pine Bluff

Summary of Conversation

Monday, October 24, 1960

Questions before the Group

Basic question: <u>What is the situation</u> ?

A. Assumed agreement: There are unfair limitations on the Negro customer downtown.

B. Opinion as to the temper of the community (actually the influential elements of the community):

1. As to the desire for a peaceful solution?

2. As to the desire for a "fair solution"? Interpretation of "fair solution"?

3. As to the sense of urgency?

4. As to the possibility of a peaceful and lasting solution?

Conversation about questions:

A. In the present group there is agreement that unfair limitations on Negro customers exists. But in the white community a large number of persons do not recognize and are completely insensitive to the unfairness.

B. 1. One person expressed the view that most people did not recognize a problem to be solved. The white community wants to avoid violence in race relations, wants this intensely.

The colored community wishes to avoid violence in solving the problem. On the other hand, it wants fairness intensely, so intensely that it is willing to risk violence if that seems required. (Implicit in this position seemed to be the assumption that such violence might be initiated by white individuals in reaction to the insistance of "fairness" by Negroes.)

2. This introduced the group into the question of the community's desire for a fair solution.

Some white participants reiterated that white persons largely do not recognize, much less admit, the unfairness of the limitations. "The word is not in their vocabulary." It is difficult for ministers to make parishioners see sin as "sin" in any situation. This case is not different. Negro leaders with their insistence on fairness <u>now</u> tend to overlook the psychological depth of prejudice <u>in</u> individuals. Focusing on the sin they lose all compassion for the sinners, victims of the system.

(One dimension of fairness in the solution which white persons readily accept is "fairness" to the few merchants who

have lunch counters. They think these should not be "forced" to change policy and risk the consequences.)

Colored participants stood staunchly for a fair solution not only at lunch counters but in all the limitations which segregation imposes.

A white participant indicated that some white leaders refused to serve on an interracial committee because of this "uncompromising attitude" of Negro leaders. They felt there was no room to negotiate. The Negro participants posed the question: what "compromise" do they have in mind? No one had a firm answer. It was suggested: "They may mean they wish to change as little as possible". Also, "They were merely borrowing the term 'compromise' from labor negotiators".

3. Greatest divergence between the colored and white communities exists over the question of urgency. This difference had become clear before the group reached the question. The sense of urgency steadily increases among colored citizens. It completely subsides in the white community with a few months of calm.

4. No real discussion occured on the question of the <u>possibility</u> of a peaceful solution.

There seemed to be concensus that an interracial commission similar to other cities in the South could be effective in a peaceful and lasting solution.

The difficulties involved in getting white persons willing to serve on such a commission were recounted. Persons in the top eschelon of power are quite unwilling. Persons in the lower eschelon feel they will be ineffective. The lack of community support for such a commission and its work was also a deterrent. All fear publicity.

It was pointed out that, in most places where a solution was worked out, the basic work was done by a committee largely of the lower eschelon of power which was able to inspire community support for its proposals and, thereafter, get persons from the top eschelon to assume responsibility in putting the plan in operation.

from Ark CHR (Pine Bluff)

# High Lights of Conversation

Monday, October 31, 1960

Order for the evening:

Invocation by the Reverend Watson. The chair expressed appreciation for the spirit in the group which made interaction of ideas real and fruitful. He read excerpts from the summary of SRC's "Toward Solution of the Sit-in Controversy". He then reviewed the summary of the previous week's conversation as the basis of comments and as a stimulus for further conversation. The discussion followed.

I. Comments on the summary

Under B.2.

1. One declared that Negroes were not interested in "changing attitudes": change the segregation situation and attitudes follow.

Another countered this by pointing out that illustrations of change in attitude following change in the situation was inapplicable here: change in the intransigent attitudes of some powerful persons would have to come before the situation can be changed.

A third person indicated that the two positions were not mutually exclusive: change in attitude of the bulk of the population might follow change in the situation; but a change in some leaders' attitudes might be necessary to change the situation.

2. One questioned the use of "negotiation" as the description of what the committee's function is. Since individuals do not represent parties as such they do not have power to negotiate really. (The word "mediate" might be a less legal and more apt term.)

3. Further exploration of what white individuals mean when they say, "The Negro leaders must be willing to 'compromise', too".

One white participant expressed the view that actually the only valid area for compromise was in the matter of time, or in the process of removing limitations on the freedom of Negroes.

"Do by time you mean another century?" "Obviously not, more probably a matter of months." (As developed later the "process" also involved the question of sequence: which areas should be desegregated and in what order? Too, the word "compromise", perhaps, means to the person using it sympathetic understanding by Negro leaders of the business man's fear of the threat to his business and willingness to help protect him against the threat.)

II. The conversation moved to a new level when this question was posed by a member: Are the people in this group willing to serve on an interracial committee to undertake the solution of the problem of segregated lunch counters and the boycott of the stores?

1. The question was raised as to whether the official affiliation of some of the participants with the most interested party disqualified them for service.

One official of an organization for Negro welfare indicated he did not need to be on the committee as such, though he felt he could be objective despite affiliation. One pointed out that such affiliation would weaken the influence of the committee once the members of the committee became known publicly.

2. A Negro participant pointed out the jeopardy in which white members were placed and enjoined the members of the committee not to put these in a position of being "destroyed". Every means should be used for their protection.

One white participant said he felt the white persons in the room "did not care" about being "protected".

The point was made that for the present publicity seemed quite unnecessary and, indeed, might paralyze the work of the committee. Later an "official" committee might be named, members of which might be announced.

3. Could a committee composed of these persons actually desegregate lunch counters?

The group has no authority, is self appointed.

A committee named by the mayor would be different. (No hope of such a committee seems possible.)

It was pointed out that effective work had been done in other places by just such a committee.

One member asked whether the fears of desegregation were mostly fiction: after all would anything happen if we simply desegregated without any formal and highly organized plan?

Will it be necessary to include other stores (Sears, bus station along with Newberry and Woolworth? Store managers of the two last named will demand this, probably and understandably.

4. Do the NAACP officials have to choose between the mediating work of this committee and its method of pressure through withholding trade? Do these not actually conflict?

Apparently, some in the group felt the conflict was real and irreconcilable.

Others felt the "pressure" was a necessary condition for mediation. It was noted that none of the twenty-eight cities which had desegregated lunch counters did so without pressure of sit-ins or trade withholding or both. The question then becomes: can the same people (some of them) apply pressure for change and also mediate the change?

5. Is this committee willing to undertake to settle the dispute (boycott) between the colored people and the two stores?

One said he was not interested in settling the "boycott" or just desegregating lunch counters as an "end" of the committee's work. He is prepared to work to end desegregation as such. At the lunch counter, yes, but as a part of ending the whole evil system. The "boycott" he feels was poor strategy and ineffective.

6. How did this group come to center on the lunch counters as a point to begin? Is it not wise to begin where success will be sure? Has the group listed the areas which most need changing and arranged them in a logical sequence for trying to desegregate them?

Reasons for beginning with lunch counters were listed by members:

- these were in the public eye
- in department stores are most obviously unfair
- find among many white persons widespread acceptance of this change as inevitable ("surrendered to the idea")

Concensus seemed to be that other very bad situations should be changed quickly too.

III. Two concrete actions were taken by the group in the closing minutes.

1. General agreement that the two store managers be invited to meet with the group, Friday, November 4. Two individuals were

named to invite them. (After their refusal the meeting was not held.)

2. The following subcommittees were tentatively formed:

   a. What businesses to include.
   b. Plan for cooperation of Negro patrons in putting desegregation of counters into effect.
   c. Plan to assist managers in the change (employees, customers, etc.)
   d. Evaluating areas in which desegregation should be achieved.
   e. Roles of officials (city council, police) and mass media.

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

November 22, 1960

Dear Board Member:

Paul Rilling, Director of Field Activities for the Southern Regional Council, will meet with the Executive Committee and members of the Board at a meeting on Wednesday, November 30, 1:30 p.m., at our office.

Through Paul we will be seeing ourselves in perspective. He has been much in New Orleans during the crisis. He will be getting a "bead" on our program and activities. Our Director brings back from NAIRO conference one very concrete project for our examination. Date for the annual meeting must be set.

This will be a stimulating and energizing meeting. You will want to come: Wednesday, November 30, at 1:30 p.m.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

for

NRG:ra

Mrs. Thelma Engler, Chairman

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

November 22, 1960

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Rilling:

We are now confirming plans for a meeting with you at our office on Wednesday, November 30, 1:30 p.m.

We understand that you will stay over for additional conferences and consultations through December 1.

Are anxious to get your report on New Orleans.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

NRG:ra

Will arrange for your room.

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

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*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

# 1960 ANNUAL MEETING

FRIDAY EVENING, JANUARY 15
SATURDAY MORNING, JANUARY 16
ON GAINES STREET, BETWEEN --

STUDENT UNION BUILDING
PHILANDER SMITH COLLEGE
- 12TH AND 13TH STREETS

Mr. Marion A. Wright, SPEAKER

Mr. Paul Rilling, RESOURCE PERSON

The enclosed flyer is intended to give a preview of Mr. Marion Wright.

Paul Rilling, Field Director for the Southern Regional Council, came to SRC from Virginia where he was Director of the Virginia Council on Human Relations. Previously he worked with the Association of Christian Students in the Southeast. He was trained as a journalist but speaks and acts like a humanist!

COSTS:

We are pleased to let you know that cost of dinner will be at a minimum - about $1.00. Both dinner and breakfast will be "cafeteria style" and "pay as you go". Coffee will be "on the house".

TRAVEL:

Travel for Board members in full attendance will be paid - but share your car!

ACCOMMODATIONS:

Overnight accommodations (without charge to you), dormitory style, are available at the college. You will need to let us know in advance if you want to take advantage of this. Or if you prefer a hotel (at your own expense) we would be happy to make the reservations for you.

GUESTS:

We would be delighted to have as many guests as you can bring on Friday evening. The meeting on Saturday morning is for members only.

TIME SCHEDULE

| Friday | Saturday |
|---|---|
| 5:00 p.m. Executive Committee | 9:00 a.m. Coffee |
| 6:15 p.m. Registration | 9:30 a.m. Staff Reports |
| 6:30 p.m. Dinner | 10:00 a.m. Evaluation & Discussion |
| 7:00 p.m. Announcements & Election | 10:30 a.m. Coffee Break |
| 8:00 p.m. Mr. Marion A. Wright | 10:45 a.m. Mr. Paul Rilling & Discussion |

Return PROMPTLY in enclosed envelope:

☐ I (We) and _____ guests will attend dinner Friday evening.
(number)

☐ I (We) and _____ guests will attend the address by Mr. Wright.
(number)

☐ I (We) will attend the Saturday morning session.

☐ Please make dormitory reservations; ☐ hotel reservations.

NAME(S): _____

# MARION A. WRIGHT

Marion Wright, Linville Falls, North Carolina, who in 1957 retired as Chairman of the Board of Southern Regional Council, is a Southerner. A graduate of the University of South Carolina School of Law, he is former President of the Alumni Association of that school. He is a member of the Civil Rights Committee of North Carolina.

Mr. Wright is greatly in demand as a speaker interpreting the legal and moral issues confronting the South and nation in regard to desegregation. He was a featured speaker at the annual meeting of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials at Pittsburg in 1958. His speeches have been reprinted in NEW SOUTH and in widely distributed pamphlets.

"What is involved (in desegregation) is a change of law and custom. These concern government and conscience. In the field of government we may concede the superior capacity of experienced officials; in the field of conscience each one of us carries his credentials in his heart."

-- Marion Wright

"So, to what a paradox we are drifting! As the world shrinks in size and the significance of local boundary lines melts and dwindles, we are conditioning our white youth to the narrow, provincial and parochial approach to public affairs, and our Negro youth to the broader, vaster, more all-encompassing approach!"

-- Marion Wright

"...I think you will agree that far more than half of the time, thought, effort and energy of our (Southern) governors, legislators, and public officials generally has been devoted to shoring up the shaky edifice of segregation. That item has been #1 on any political or legislative agenda. Education, science, the arts, the humanities - all those functions of government that tend to improve the lot of the citizen - have been relegated to a secondary position."

-- Marion Wright

**Travel Directions**

**Two Aspects of Conference**

LWA
SM

# LOOKING AHEAD WITH THE SOUTH

SOUTH CENTRAL
REGIONAL CONFERENCE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS

June 1 - 2, 1961

Little Rock, Arkansas

Mailing address:
1220 W. Capitol, Little Rock
Phone: FR 4-4521

## Conference Costs

Seminar Participants:

Registration—$2.50

(single session $1.00)

Two dinners—$2.50 ($1.25 each)
(make reservations for dinners on registration form)

Professionals (persons employed as intergroup workers):

Registration—$5.00

Lodging (2 nights) and meals (5)—$8.00

Avocationals (those doing voluntary or indirect intergroup work — churchmen and professors):

Registration—$2.50

Lodging (2 nights) and meals (5)—$8.00

(Reservations can be made for Wednesday night, May 31.)

Use enclosed forms for registration and travel plans.

Make checks for registration payable to Herbert L. Tyson, Treas.

Mail registrations to 1220 W. Capitol, Little Rock, Arkansas.

## Travel Directions

## Two Aspects of Conference

I. Citizens' Seminar

—Three sessions — 2 hours each — address, panel and audience responses and questions.

—For forward-looking citizens, including the professional and avocational workers in group relations.

- "Looking Ahead with the South" Marion A. Wright Thursday 4 p.m. to 6 p.m.
- "Some Non-Economic Barriers to Economic Development"—C. Vann Woodward Thursday 7:30 p.m. to 9:30 p.m.
- "The Role Ahead for Local Leaders"—Thomas F. Pettigrew Friday 7:30 p.m. to 9:30 p.m.

II. Conference of Professional and Avocational Intergroup Workers

—Participation in citizens' seminar

—Sessions on the following topics—

- "Role of the Federal Government in Southern Progress"
- "Strengthening Agencies for Intergroup Relations"
- "Getting Local White Leaders to Lead"
- "Role of Negro Leadership in Southern Progress"

## Speakers and Resource Persons

- MARION A. WRIGHT

  attorney, Linville Falls, N. C., former chairman of the Board of the Southern Regional Council, graduate of the University of South Carolina, former President of the Alumni Association of that school, member of the North Carolina Advisory Committee on Civil Rights.

- C. VANN WOODWARD

  native Arkansan, alumnus of Hendrix College, Professor of History at Johns Hopkins University, author of *Strange Career of Jim Crow* and *The Burden of Southern History*.

- THOMAS F. PETTIGREW

  native Virginian, Associate Professor of Social Psychology at Harvard University, author of *Christians in Racial Crisis* (a study of white Protestant ministers in Little Rock in 1957-58)

- JOHN LASSOE

  Executive Secretary of NAIRO.

- LESLIE DUNBAR

  Executive Director of Southern Regional Council.

- HERMAN LONG

  Executive Secretary, Race Relations Institute of American Missionary Association, Fisk University.

- MATHEW AHMANN

  Secretary of Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

- JOHN FEILDS

  recent president of NAIRO, native of Little Rock, Assistant to U.S. Senator Phillip a Hart.

(Not all agency representatives have given final confirmation.)

## Travel Directions

CAMP ALDERSGATE:

—well equipped, year-round camp, seven miles west of Little Rock

—need bring only linens

—wear sports clothes

GETTING THERE:

Those driving take 12th Street extension west. Three miles west of University Avenue (a north-south freeway on western edge of city) turn left at sign on left: "Aldersgate Camp entrance ½ mile." For thrift and pleasure arrange a car pool.

Persons arriving on public conveyances come directly to office of Arkansas Council on Human Relations (1220 West Capitol) for transportation to camp. Persons arriving after 3:00 p.m. Thursday, call camp for transportation—CApitol 5-1444.

### NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS

President, George W. Culbertson, Commission on Human Relations, Pittsburgh.

Chairman, South Central Region, Wade Mackie, American Friends Service Committee, Baton Rouge.

Conference Treasurer, Herbert L. Tyson, Urban League, Little Rock.

Conference Program, Nat R. Griswold, Arkansas Council on Human Relations, Little Rock.

Arkansas Council on Human Relations

Annual Meeting 1961
Philander Smith College

Minutes of Executive Committee, January 20, 5:00 p.m.

The meeting was called to order by Mrs. Thelma Engler, Chairman. Present were Walker, Bates (Mrs.W.F.), Townsend, Hunter, Cartwright, Roberts, Miller, Sparling, Griswold and Arnold.

Mr. Walker gave the finance report for December. Minutes of the previous meeting were postponed.

The Committee approved the appointment of Charles Johnston and Fred Darragh to a special committee to explore local foundations as a source of funds.

Mrs. Engler read a letter from Paul Rilling, Field Director for SRC, explaining the financial aid from that source. Their unconditional grant to ACHR for 1961 is $3,200. After ACHR raises $1500 locally SRC will match the next $2000 dollar for dollar. Deadline for the matching provision is August 31, 1961. In order for ACHR to get full benefit of the matching funds a total of $3500 must be raised locally by then.

Mrs. Bates gave the following report for the nominating committee:

*Officers: The Reverend C. C. Walker, '62, Chairman
Mrs. Joe R. Brewer, '64, Vice Chairman
The Reverend Maynard M. Miller, '63, Vice Chm.
Dr. William H. Townsend, '63, Treasurer
Mrs. Woodbridge E. Morris,'64, Secretary

*Executive Committee: Mrs. Kyle Engler '62, Reverend C. S. Cartwright '64, Mr. Worth Long '63, Mr. W. M. Phillips '63, Mrs. W. F. Bates'64, Mr. Mike Willis '64, Mrs. Jesse Woods '63, Mrs. E. M. Sparling '63.

Board Members: ('64) Dr. Lewis M.K.Long, Dr. Keith Peterson, Reverend John Rorex, Dr. R. F. Bryant, Reverend Richard Kelley, Mrs. Gordon McNeil, Miss Minnie Dawkins, Reverend George Gunn, Reverend W. C. Howland, Mrs. J. R. Henderson.

The report was accepted as presented.

Mrs. Bates read the names of those board members carried over:

Terms expiring January '62 - Wiley Branton, Mrs. D.D.James, Mrs. G.D. Nichols, W.M. Pierce, Ozell Sutton, Walter Trulock, E.B. Williams, Ed Carothers.

Terms expiring January '63 - Mrs. E.D. Galloway, Mrs. J.R. Vinson, W.A. Willcox, Parma Basham, Dr. A.M. Jackson, Rev. A.M. Roberts, Don Franks.

*Officers and Executive Committee members are elected for one year, Board members for three years.

Mr. Griswold gave a report on the tentative plans for the NAIRO regional meeting to be held in Little Rock April 13 and 14.

Mr. Griswold explained the absence of a budget to be presented to the Annual Meeting since word on our application for a grant has not been received. Mr. Cartwright moved that the Executive Committee recommend to the Board that the Council operate on the basis of last year's budget, and noting that there is no associate director at present, that the Executive Committee be authorized to seek an associate director when new funds are available, subject to the Board's approval of a new budget. The motion carried.

Mr. Griswold gave an evaluation of the poll tax contest sponsored by ACHR with the cooperation of the Urban League.

The Executive Meeting adjourned.

Minutes of the Membership Meeting, January 20, 6:30 p.m.

Mrs. Engler welcomed members and guests to the sixth annual meeting of ACHR. Mr. Griswold called attention to the literature table and introduced Mr. Ralph Creger, who with his son, is author of This Is What We Found. While waiting for supper to be served, there was an informal discussion centering on the misunderstanding caused by Dr. Hunter's views concerning the movie "Operation Abolition". The general feeling seemed sympathetic and some thought it would be a good idea for the Council of Churches to buy a copy of the film so that it could be shown in an atmosphere where all sides could be presented.

The membership sang "Let us Break Bread Together" before the meal in the cafeteria.

At 8:00 the membership reassembled and Mrs. Engler presided. Reverend C. C. Walker gave "An Irish Blessing". Mr. Griswold gave an "invitation for membership" and Charles Johnston gave an "invitation for financial support".

Mrs. Bates gave the report of the nominating committee, introducing the nominees. The report was unanimously accepted. Mr. Walker gave a short acceptance speech.

Dr. J. B. Hunter introduced the speaker for the evening, Mr. Will D. Campbell who spoke on "The Religious Incentive for Christian Behavior".

Minutes of the Board Meeting, January 21, 9:30 a.m.

The meeting was called to order by Mr. Walker, Chairman. The following Board members were present: Nichols, Rorex, Gunn, Engler, Willis, Cartwright, Peterson, Vinson, L. Long, Morris, Sparling.

The Invocation was given by The Reverend W. W. Towle.

Arnold read the financial report for 1960 giving the camparison of actual expenditures with the amount budgeted.

Arnold read the Executive Committee's recommendation on the budget for 1961 and it was accepted.

Mr. Griswold gave his end-of-the-year report. It was moved and seconded that the Director prepare and submit his report for publication and that it be distributed to the membership. The motion carried. There followed some discussion on sending a congratulatory telegram to President Kennedy.

Mr. Walker introduced Mr. Wiley Branton who spoke on "What the President Can Do Now". Discussion followed.

Mr. Rorex moved and it was seconded that the Executive Director be impowered to write to the President, Attorney General, or the Civil Rights Commission - content to be approved by the Executive Committee. The motion carried.

Mr. Griswold expressed to Mrs. Engler the Council's thanks and appreciation for her understanding faithfulness during her terms of office, 1959-1960.

The meeting was adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

Ruth Arnold, Acting Secretary

# LETTER FROM LITTLE ROCK

"No news from Little Rock" was the title of an editorial in the New York Times in September, 1960. This was the BEST NEWS members of the Women's Emergency Committee could want. Our schools were open again with no disturbances.

Our membership is now over 2,000 and we are still growing.

Mrs. Byron House, Jr. is our new Chairman. She is a former Board Member of the League of Women Voters, Vice-President of the AAUW, on the Board of the Arkansas Medical Center Auxiliary and the mother of four children. Thanks to Mrs. Joe R. Brewer who as our first Chairman inspired all of us to work untiringly and unselfishly.

Who are the WEC? The results of a survey show we are a group deserving serious consideration. We are long-time residents of the South. The average member is between 37 and 50 with two children in elementary school. Our family incomes range from $8,500 to over $15,000 and our husbands are in business management or the professions. Most of us have some college education and many have more than four years college. 89% of the married members have children and 50% of the children are in public schools, 10% are in college and 19% are past college age. 10% were due to attend the closed high schools in 1958-59. 21% have pre-school children. 82% of the women responding had worked before marriage in occupations ranging from modeling to banking. 23% still work. Many planned to leave the state unless the school situation was settled.

We know we need Legislators who will stand up courageously for the education of all the children of Arkansas. This summer we elected two representatives and reelected one senator who promised to support public education. Now we are working toward the reelection of one of our School Board members.

The WEC began working against the proposed school-closing Amendment 52 over a year ago. We had 55 study groups in Little Rock alone for our members and each member was given the responsibility of taking the message to others over the state. We had a Speaker's Bureau which filled many requests from clubs and civic groups. We mailed thousands of pieces of literature warning the people of the dangers of this amendment. On November 8 the Amendment was defeated 3 to 1 in spite of a telecast by the Governor urging the people to vote FOR the Amendment. PEOPLE OF ARKANSAS PROVED THEY WANT NO MORE TAMPERING WITH THEIR PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

We sent a telegram to the New Orleans Save Our Schools Committee assuring them of our support. We told them that "even after the unequivocal defeat of Amendment 52 the people were told by politicians that it was defeated because they didn't understand it, but they understood it alright--that's why they defeated it. In Arkansas some of those who do the most talking about state's rights show the least concern about local rights."

Mrs. House was interviewed for a film documentary by a New Orleans TV station.

We still entertain many foreign visitors and we are glad to show them peaceful Little Rock.

We will continue to work toward a better education for all the children of Arkansas!

December, 1960

WOMEN'S EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION
P. O. Box 3244, Forest Heights Station
Little Rock, Arkansas

Paul - We'd be glad to have you join us !

MINISTERS' RETREAT

✓HCF PR✓

WHERE? Ferncliff, where all will "live in". Ferncliff Camp is eighteen miles west of Little Rock. Follow Twelfth Street extension out to Ferndale which is on the road map. Ferncliff is one-fourth mile beyond Ferndale as indicated by road sign there.

WHEN? October 6-7, thirty hours, 10 a.m., Thursday to 4 p.m., Fri.

WHO? Forty representative Protestant ministers from Little Rock and Pine Bluff.

TOPIC? What can a local minister do now that will help desegregation?

PURPOSE FOR EACH PARTICIPANT?

To get illumination from a deeper and clearer understanding of the Christian faith and the Christian Church which will be helpful in my ministry. To reassess what I have done and, possibly, discover open doors to effective action away from the sense of confusion and futility. To find personal strength in Christian fellowship and uninhibited sharing.

RESOURCE PERSONS?

Kyle Haselden, new managing editor of the Christian Century, author of Racial Problems in Christian Perspective, a native Baptist of South Carolina, recent pastor of Baptist Temple, Charleston, West Virginia.

Thomas F. Pettigrew, Assistant Professor of Social Psychology, Harvard University; author of Christians in Racial Crisis, a study of the role of white Protestant ministers in Little Rock, 1957-58; Chairman of the Intergroup Relations Committee of the Christian Citizenship Division of the National Council of the Episcopal Church; a native Virginian.

SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS?

Reverend Will D. Campbell, Associate Executive Director of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches, Nashville, Tennessee; until recent years worker with Baptist students at the University of Mississippi.

Reverend Kelly Miller Smith, First Baptist Church, Nashville, Tennessee; a quiet unpublicized negotiator in desegregation of lunch counters in Nashville.

COST? $5.00 to cover the cost of four meals.

BRING? Only articles for your personal toilet. Linens and blankets will be furnished.

IMPORTANT: All participants will plan to spend the entire 30 hours at Ferncliff, uninterrupted.

**ARKANSAS**
**COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

# 1960 FALL MEETING

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 8
10 A.M. TO 2 P.M.
ON GAINES STREET, BETWEEN -

STUDENT UNION BUILDING
PHILANDER SMITH COLLEGE
- 12 TH AND 13TH STREETS

This is a "so-sudden" announcement. "So-sudden" because unusual "name" people are available on October 8 for our use.

A ministers' retreat October 6-7 will bring Kyle Haselden, managing editor of the Christian Century, and Thomas Pettigrew, social psychologist of Harvard University, to our town. In addition Will Campbell, National Council of Churches representative at Nashville, will be here and probably one other "veteran" of the Nashville struggle.

So, the Executive Committee enthusiastically voted for a called meeting of members and Board at Philander Smith Student Union Building on October 8th. Some of these resource persons will be available as speakers and consultants.

We know you will want to come. The distinguished visitors will be heard at 10:00 a.m. Lunch will be available at the college cafeteria (about $1.00). A follow-up meeting will take place after lunch.

Indicate promptly if you want lunch at the cafeteria.

Return PROMPTLY in enclosed envelope

---

☐ I (We) and _____ guests will want lunch at the cafeteria.
(number)

(Signed) _____

Comments:

RESERVATION BLANK

I will participate in the thirty hours of retreat for ministers on October 6 and 7.

Comment:

Signed _____

Please return PROMPTLY in enclosed envelope.

COPY

# THE STUDENT'S SIT-DOWN PROTEST

by

Roland Smith, Pastor
First Baptist Church
7th and Gaines

and

President Arkansas Christian Movement

Little Rock, Arkansas

# THE STUDENT'S SIT-DOWN PROTEST

The basic cause for the recent student's sit-down protest in amny areas of the South is an expression of the dissatisfaction with the denial of their constitutional rights as human beings, as well as citizens of a great Democracy.

We feel that the students are discouraged with the slower pace being made in the direction of complete emancipation from discrimination and segregation which hamper them in their quest for freedom as American citizens.

It should be conceded that students have the right to express their disapproval of customs, practices and laws as long as they do it within the framework of their constitutional rights and in a legal manner.

It should be done without acts of violence to any man, group or race. We feel the students in the sit-down protests have manifested the longing aspirations and ideals within their soul for a better way of life. Their actions are through their own motivation rather than that of any group or organization attempting to pressure them from the outside of college community life.

A plea should be made to all fair-minded, thoughtful Christian men and women of both races, to exercise love and patience as we are attempting to discover our best way in a peaceful adjustment of one of the greatest problems of human relations in our nation.

# ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

*An Introduction*

## What Is ACHR?

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations is a voluntary, non-profit, non-political, and non-sectarian association of Arkansans of all races and creeds who seek equal opportunity for all citizens. It is a private (non-governmental) organization, incorporated under the laws of Arkansas.

## What Is The Purpose Of ACHR?

The Council Seeks to improve human relations by working to secure equal opportunity for all people. Good human relations simply means relating well to others. ACHR works toward the day "when the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race, when all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement, when there will be no double standard in housing, in health, in education or other public services, when every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and respect as recognition of his creation in the image of God."

## How Does ACHR Work?

The Council seeks "transition without tragedy" and uses and advocates the conference table and workshop to achieve its purposes. It uses imagination and creativity to bring people together across racial, ethnic, and religious lines in search of answers to the problems which separate them. Its methods are negotiation, mediation, and persuasion.

## How Is ACHR Organized And Who Decides Policy?

The Council is an autonomous body governed by a Board of Directors elected by the membership at its annual meeting. The Board meets monthly, sets policy, and generally oversees the work of the staff. Local councils exist in a number of cities through which programs seeking equal opportunities for minorities in housing, employment, education, etc., are carried on.

The Council is associated with the Southern Regional Council headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia. SRC assists ACHR financially through grants-in-aid and in programming through research materials and information.

## What Is The History Of ACHR?

The Council was organized in December, 1954, incorporated and staffed in 1955. Its predecessor was the Arkansas Division of the Southern Regional Council. Among ACHR's incorporators were Harry Ashmore, then the Executive Editor of the Arkansas Gazette; the late Reverend Charles C. Walker, and Fred K. Darragh, Jr., a Little Rock businessman.

The Southern Regional Council traces its history back to 1919 when a group of the South's leading churchmen formed the Commission on Interracial Cooperation to encourage the interchange of ideas and mutual understanding between Negroes and whites. The Commission was succeeded in 1944 by the Southern Regional Council, organized by a group of distinguished Southern leaders.

## How Is ACHR Financed?

The operating costs of the Council are underwritten primarily by its members and contributors with some assistance from foundation grants and the Southern Regional Council.

## Who May Join ACHR?

Persons who believe in ACHR's philosophy and who wish to support its cause of equal opportunity are invited to become members. Simply fill out the application form and mail it to the state office. You may send dues or contributions by check or money order, or be billed later.

**OFFICERS**

Father Walter B. Clancy, Chairman
Dr. William H. Townsend, 1st Vice-chairman
William T. Kelly, 2nd Vice-chairman
Mrs. Frank N. Gordon, Secretary
Reverend A. M. Roberts, Jr., Treasurer

**BOARD OF DIRECTORS**

U. S. Brown, Sr., Pine Bluff
Reverend Lymell Carter, El Dorado
Mrs. Knight Laird, Jonesboro
Mrs. Patrick C. Murphy, Little Rock
Keith Petersen, Fayetteville
Dr. Mary K. Sands, Conway
John W. Smith, North Little Rock
Lyell Thompson, Fayetteville
Reverend Henry Hart Tyler, Fort Smith

**STAFF**

Nat R. Griswold, Executive Director
Ozell Sutton, Associate Director
Mrs. Carole I. Taylor, Office Secretary



## ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1310 WRIGHT AVE., LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
Telephone FR 6-3541

Believing in the purposes and methods of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, I want to be enrolled as:

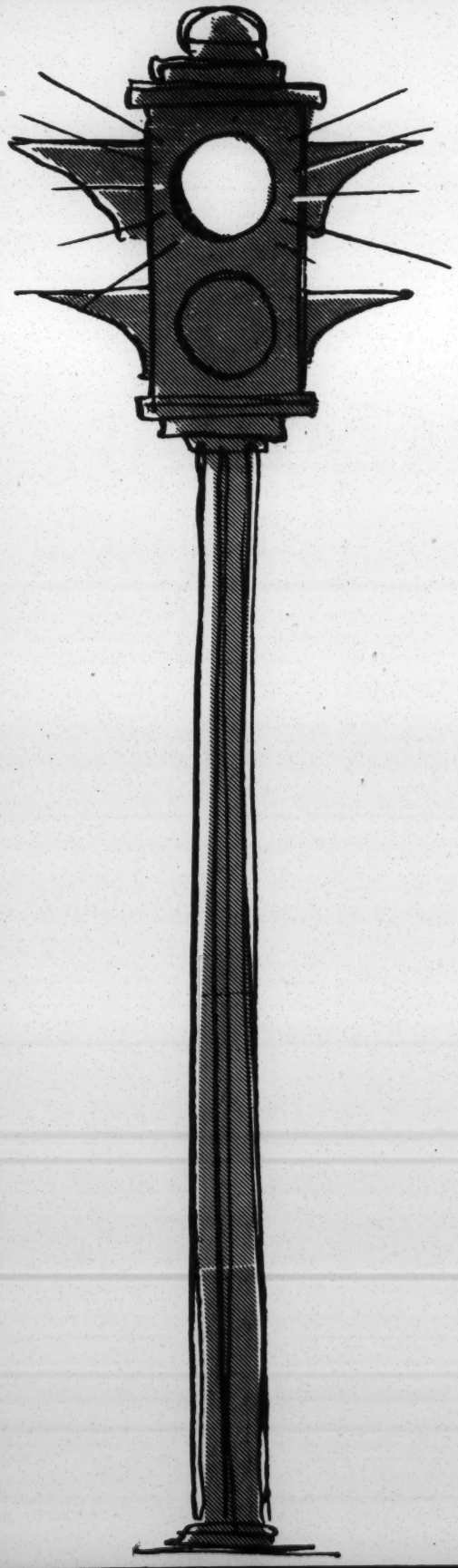
| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| A full member | ☐ | Individual | $ 5.00 |
| | ☐ | Husband-wife | $ 5.00 |
| Student member | ☐ | | $ 1.00 |
| Organizational | ☐ | | $ 20.00 |
| Century Club | ☐ | | $100.00 |
| Contribution in addition to membership fee | ☐ | | $ ..... |

Name _____

Address _____

Send _____ copies of this folder to me.

(Membership dues and gifts are tax deductible)



# STOP

*THEN*

# GO

# STOP

## And Think About The FACTS!

1. On May 5, 1959, Three Members of the Little Rock School Board (Laster, McKinley, Rowland) fired 44 teachers without notice or reason.

2. Three other Members of the Little Rock School Board (Lamb, Matson, Tucker) refused to join in this OUTRAGEOUS PURGE!

3. The fired teachers were not told why they were purged, and were given no warning or right to a hearing.

4. As a result, 800 teachers in the Little Rock School System have not been able to sign contracts for the coming year!

5. Decent Little Rock citizens were shocked at this outrageous purge. Leaders of educational, religious, business and labor groups joined to form "STOP" organization on May 8, 1959 to STOP THIS OUTRAGEOUS PURGE.

6. Ten Thousand Voters signed petitions to Recall (Remove) the Amis Guthridge dominated purgers on the School Board. Because of these petitions, the people of Little Rock will be able to remove—to take away—the three purgers, which will be done by Removing R. W. "Bob" Laster, Ben Rowland, Sr., and Ed. I. McKinley.

7. Voters will also have the opportunity to show their confidence in our teachers and the men who stand behind them on the School Board, by voting against removal of Ted Lamb, Russel Matson and Everett Tucker, Jr.

8. The Election will be held next Monday, May 25, 1959, and YOU ARE URGED TO VOTE, AND VOTE FOR REMOVAL OF THE PURGERS.

# To The Polls And VOTE Monday

## STOP THREE!

**VOTE FOR THE REMOVAL OF:**

**Robert W. "Bob" Laster**

**Ed. I. McKinley**

**Ben Rowland, Sr.**

**A Vote For Removal of Laster, McKinley and Rowland is a vote for taking the men out of office who are trying to purge our teachers.**

## SAVE THREE!

**VOTE AGAINST THE REMOVAL OF:**

**Ted Lamb**

**Russel Matson**

**Everett Tucker, Jr.**

**A Vote Against Removal of Lamb, Matson and Tucker is a vote against taking the men out of office who are trying to save our teachers' jobs!**

STOP 3

SAVE 3

TED LAMB

R. W. "BOB" LASTER

RUSSEL MATSON

ED. I. McKINLEY

BEN ROWLAND, SR.

EVERETT TUCKER, JR.

**Vote For Removal of LASTER McKINLEY ROWLAND**

**Vote Against Removal of LAMB MATSON TUCKER**

COMMITTEE TO

# Stop This Outrageous Purge

Dr. Drew Agar, Chairman

An Introduction
to

# The Arkansas Council On Human Relations

Incorporated
July, 1955

NON-DENOMINATIONAL
NON-POLITICAL
EDUCATIONAL
BI-RACIAL

1220 W. Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

FRanklin 4-4521

# ACHR

**associates Arkansawyers of both races and of all creeds who seek "to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunities for all people" in Arkansas. It uses and advocates the workshop and conference table before tensions tighten between the races rather than after they develop. It believes that the opportunities guaranteed in our Constitution can be made real for all citizens by majority leaders of local communities working together in mutual respect and in good faith with minority leaders. Working thus, any community can with integrity and without rancor remove inequalities based on race. This is the effective way for a community to "get ahead" and to speed progress in Arkansas. ACHR acts in the faith of all high religions, faith in men as children of God and brothers of one another.**

The unmistakable trend in the United States, notably during the last twenty-five years, is toward increasing the opportunities and the obligations of members of its minority groups. This gradual elimination of segregation on the basis of race here is a part of the world-wide movement of colored people toward freedom and full citizenship. It is clear that movement will not be turned back. It is based on democratic principles and religious ideals. To support it becomes the moral imperative for all citizens sensitive to these ideals.

Crucial in modern stable industry is efficient manpower. A priority for building Arkansas' industrial future is to increase and to equalize educational opportunities for workers. Here is the State's richest resource, quality manpower. Education on the basis of capability *alone* can utilize this resource and move Arkansas ahead. To deny educational opportunity to some because of race retards progress for all.

Equally crucial in international relations is America's failure or success in realizing fuller democracy *at home*. This is a *national* problem and concern. But for the world it is dramatized peculiarly in the *Southern region*. To fail *here* or falter long in fulfilling promised opportunities to Negroes means America loses more friends among democratic peoples of the world. Here we have an unparalleled chance to serve our country and the world.

***◀ it is here***

***◀ it is crucial***

***it can be smooth ▶***

***we can do it ▶***

***ACHR can help ▶***

Transition to a fuller democracy can be smooth. Experiences in large places and small prove this, since the Supreme Court's decision on school segregation. This need no longer be a matter of theoretical debate. It has been done.

In this smooth transition the most successful communities are those where community leaders *of both races* and many organizations energetically cooperate. A pound of interracial experience is worth a ton of talk. Prejudice *shrinks* from committees of *friends* working on common concerns. To be done *right* it must be done *together*. Here, too, the slogan should be: "*We* can do it."

ACHR offers help to communities. Its individual members work with local groups where they live. They channel the services of the staff and state office to the local community—to churches, clubs, libraries, schools, newspapers, radios, unions, civic and professional groups.

The staff and state office is a service agency: a clearing house of literature and films, funded experience and facts from research, suggestive of action for local groups; a source of counselors for officials and school administrators, speakers and consultants for conferences and commissions; a center for ideas and information; an agency for correlation of efforts of individuals and organizations now working for better human relations in Arkansas.

## the land of opportunity

**toward which ACHR moves is an Arkansas "where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where all can feel confident of personal safety and equality before the law; where their will exist no double standard in housing, health, education, or other public services; where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed; where, above all, every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and self-respect, in recognition of his creation in the image of God."**

## OFFICERS

Mrs. Thelma Engler, Chairman

Dr. Tilman C. Cothran, Vice-Chairman

Mrs. Floy Sparling, Vice-Chairman

The Rev. Charles C. Walker, Treasurer

Mrs. Adell Woods, Secretary

## STAFF

Nat R. Griswold, Executive Director

John W. Walker, Associate Director

Ruth Arnold, Secretary

---

## ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1220 W. CAPITOL, LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

Believing in the purposes and methods of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, I want to be enrolled as:

☐ An individual member.....($5.00)

☐ Husband and wife.....($6.50)

☐ College or High School Student.....($2.00)

☐ Contributor..... $_____

(Membership includes $2.00 subscription to NEW SOUTH.)

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

Send_____copies of this folder to me.

# EXTRA — FLASH

WE HAVE NOW HEARD FROM THE MAN FROM MADISON COUNTY --- TELLING US IN LITTLE ROCK HOW WE SHOULD VOTE IN <u>OUR</u> LOCAL SCHOOL BOARD ELECTION.

NOW LET'S BUCKLE DOWN AND SAVE THE JOBS OF OUR TEACHERS ---THE <u>REAL</u> ISSUE OF THIS CAMPAIGN.

S.T.O.P.

copy: C.H. Parrish

Sent: All memos (relating to policy, program, etc.)
SRC Puboications and other materials, and pamohlets.
Schools in Transition and The Negro and the Schools.

March 23, 1955

Mr. Christopher C. Mercer, Jr.
P.O. Box 426
Pine Bluff, Ark.

Dear Mr. Mercer:

The central office has been officially informed of your employment as of April 15 by the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. After having sat in on a session of the Arkansas Personnel Committee we were fully convinced of their competence in selecting well qualified people for the staff. In looking over the resume of your experience and training you certainly took the category of "well qualified." I look forward to a long and happy association with you.

There is to be a meeting of staff people from before supper June 1st to the afternoon of Friday June 3rd, to be held at Camp New Hope which is just outside of Chapel Hill, North Carolina. You are requested to attend this meeting. Your expenses will be paid by the Arkansas Council. All of our staff people from across the South will be in attendance.

I am sending you under separate cover some pertinent material and information about the Southern Regional Council and its work. I suggest that you write Mr. Fred Darragh, % Darragh Corporation, Little Rock, and ask for a copy of the by-laws of the state organization.

If there is any help that I can give you, please let me know. Once more, glad to have you with us.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organization

FBR:rnf

Arkansas
Council On Human Relations

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
211 IZARD ST.

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.

OFFICERS
FRED K. DARRAGH, JR.
Chairman
REV. C. C. WALKER
Vice-Chairman
HARRY S. ASHMORE
Vice-Chairman
MRS. DOROTHY OTIS WYRE
Secretary
REV. C. S. CARTWRIGHT
Treasurer

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
MRS. L. C. BATES
MRS. W. FLOYD BATES
J. R. BOOKER
WILEY BRANTON
C. A. CHRISTOPHE
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JOHAN ELJOT, M. D.
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REV. F. T. GUY
MRS. VIVIAN T. HEGWOOD
MRS. J. RUSSELL HENDERSON
GEORG IGGERS
MRS. D. D. JAMES
JAMES T. KARAM
MRS. BRUCE D. MOORE
MRS. G. D. NICHOLS
EMMA SCOTT
ED STONE
STEPHEN STEPHAN
PERRY TAYLOR
CLARENCE R. THORNBROUGH
M. W. (MIKE) WILLIS
SHERMAN V. ZINN

STAFF
NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR.
Associate Director
IDA M. KNOX
Secretary

July 29, 1955

Dr. C. H. Parrish
Assistant Director of State Organizations
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Parrish:

Mention was made in correspondence of March 1, 1955, from Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton in the Central office of your efforts in Kentucky to strengthen your local program by developing a list of key people in the state to whom the "NEW SOUTH" would be sent as a compliment. The potential of this aspect of your program has caught our fancy and we would welcome any enlightenment that you would give on how to develop it.

Any response that you can give to the following queries will be greatly appreciated:

(1) On what basis did you make your selection of persons to receive "NEW SOUTH?"
(2) How did you prepare those persons selected to receive "NEW SOUTH" so that they will make use of it?
(3) What goals did you set to achieve through such a campaign?
(4) What results did the program enjoy in relation to expectations for it?
(5) What method of follow-up was used to make this determination?
(6) What would be your advise to us on attempting such a project.

Whatever attention and consideration you can give this matter will certainly be appreciated.

You will find enclosed one of our Newsletters, our first of what will be a monthly information sheet to our members and others on our mailing list. Just thought you would be interested in this as information on the efforts of state affiliates.

I wish you every success in your many endeavors.

Very truly yours,

Christopher C. Mercer, Jr.

Christopher C. Mercer, Jr.

/c

August 4, 1955

Mr. Christopher Mercer
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Mercer:

I am afraid that my answers to your letter of July 29 will not be altogether satisfactory in terms of the 6 questions you have raised. The whole idea of distribution of New South to key pepple in the states is that later there would be some approach to these people either in terms of large contributions or hope for change of attitude with respect to the desegregation of the schools.

This plan has not been carried out consistently in Kentucky. We sent New South to the members of the Governor's commission on desegregation and the state board of education, a few superintendents and Chamber of Commerce people scattered over the state.

In direct response to your questions, the following statements might made:

1. There has been no consistent basis for the selection of persons to receive New South.
2. The only preparation deemed necessary was the covery letter o which described briefly the work of the state Council and expressed the hope that the recipient would find New South useful.
3. The goals we sought to achieve were good will, understanding and perhaps later financial support.
4. It is too early to measure results of the program.
5. The method of follow up will be varied, either another letter or a personal visit may suffice.
6. You will have to determine the advisability of attempting a project of this sort in Arkansas.

I will be glad to tald with youabout this when you come to Atlanta next week.

Sincerely,

C. H. Parrish
Assistant Director

CHP/vc

August 15, 1955.

Mr. Christopher Mercer
211 Izard Street
Little Rock Arkansas

Dear Chris:

Finally received information on prices for map you asked about. I am afraid the price will be prohibitive. The printer tells me that 200 copies of the Arkansas portion of the map blown up two and a half times will cost $148.60. He said the 200 copies will not cost more than 100 would.

I am sorry we cannot get a better price. Let me know your thoughts on the matter.

It was pleasant seeing you at the Atlanta University Conference.

Regards to Nat.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Editorial Assistan

JC/vc

August 19, 1955

Dear Chris,

Fred is out of the office today so I opened your letter to him. We will be in Jackson, Mississippi on Monday; arriving in Little Rock late Monday night. We are due in Dallas Wednesday afternoon, which rather limits our time in Little Rock. All day Tuesday is about all we can hope for.

I am glad you thought the meeting profitable. Perhaps we can talk about it a little Monday night - my plane arrives 9:55 (Delta 469, I believe) from Memphis.

Cordially,

C.H. Parrish

August 19, 1955

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Cordially,

C.H. Parrish

# Arkansas Council On Human Relations

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
211 IZARD ST.

*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*


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CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. *Associate Director*
IDA M. KNOX *Secretary*


August 15, 1955

Mr. Fred B. Routh, Assistant Director
State Organizations
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

In re your trip to Arkansas with C. H. for Tuesday, August 23rd, I have been requested by Nat Griswold, Fred Darragh, and Harry Ashmore to inquire as to how long you will stay here. It is their hope, along with mine, that we might have the opportunity to hold several informal get togethers with key people, with maybe a possible visit to Pine Bluff. So, we will need to know how long the two of you will be available to us in order to effective the plan for these meetings.

I have taken care of your request and we will have accomodations for you and C. H. I also told Mr. Ashmore that you desire to talk with him and he asked that I inform you that he would be available and expecting you. If there are other specifics that you desire that I look after, kindly inform me when you answer.

Allow me to congratulate herein C. H. and other members of the Central staff, along with you, on the excellent and informative conference of last week. I am sure that we will be feeling the effects of its suggestions for a long time. I am equally sure that we will be strengthened in determination and effort toward achieving our purpose. I congratulate the foresight in calling such a conference.

You may either call us when you arrive in town or let us know what hour you will arrive and we will make arrangements to pick you up. In the meantime, however, let me hear from you as soon as possible for my request, so that we can properly and effectively arrange a schedule.

Very truly yours,

Chris

Christopher C. Mercer, Jr.

/c

November 4, 1955

Mr. Christopher Mercer
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Chris:

In my judgment, and in the judgment of Counsel, there is no objection to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations proceeding to request tax-exemption from the office of the U. S. Treasury. Presumably it will be through Treasury's office in Little Rock.

As to the paper submitted I have certain suggestions.

Substitute answer to question 5b: immediate predecessor was the Arkansas Division of the SRC, organized in March 1950.

The answer which they expect to question 5c relates to the predecessor organization, the Arkansas Division of the Southern Regional Council. Presumably, therefore, the answer to 5c is to July 20, 1955.

In the answer to question 7, I suggest deletion of the word "peculiar" in the last line of the attached statement.

In the answer to question 12, when you get to the "attached statement", I suggest that the final clause have substituted for it the words "furthering interracial understanding within local institutions." That is in substitution for the words, "encouraging the organization of interracial committees by local institutions." Treasury is particularly concerned as to whether the effort of the group is purely educational. If the reported effort of the group is to organize committees, Treasury is apt to frown!

On the answer to 23a, it seems to me that your tables of receipts should include some statement as to the salary payments made for personnel of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, but made by the Southern Regional Council. For your information, these salary payments as made by us for the three employed persons in your office during the five and a half months from April 15th through September 30, 1955, amounted to

I should think an appropriate descriptive item would be "salary payments made directly by the Southern Regional Council to staff personnel of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, such payments having been made from the Southern Regional Council for purposes of convenience only."

I have my misgivings as to Article IV of your petition for incorporation. Sooner or later it may get you into trouble, and it is possible that it would be picked up by Treasury as a potential source of difficulty in approving your application for tax-exemption. The point is that some going organization, which becomes an active or associated member of your Council merely by paying a membership fee annually, may continue in a groove long cut which would be in greater or lesser degree different from the strictly educational and non-political purpose of the Southern Regional Council. Thus you may have a situation in which a component organization, using your name, trespasses upon action clearly not tax-exempt.

The only solution I can propose is that at some date you so amend Article III of your Constitution as to give you a tighter nexus with member organizations. For instance, in the case of our state outfits we require that changes in the by-laws be approved by us. You could do the same with any affiliates you may have. I am merely saying that you are a little exposed at this point and I suggest that you nail down a shingle.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

Arkansas
Council On Human Relations

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
211 IZARD ST.

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NAT R. GRISWOLD Executive Director
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. Associate Director
IDA M. KNOX Secretary

November 1, 1955

NOV 3 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Our Executive Committee, in several of its recent meetings, has been mapping plans for our continued existance, the great part of which is fund raising for the organization. It is to this end,and upon the request of Fred Darragh and others, that I am writing this letter.

It is our feeling that our fund raising activities would be greatly facilitated if we had tax-exempt status ourselves. Even though we are able to refer substantial grants through the central office and then back to us on a tax-exempt basis and though this might be satisfactory in many instances, we feel that our efforts still would proceed at a retarded pace and that we could more fully insure good support if we were able to say our local organization was tax-exempt.

You will please find enclosed a sample copy of the completed exemption application (Form 1023) with the necessary attached statements, which is supposed to be submitted to your office for approval. We have attempted to answer all of the questions and give all of the information requested in the application except question #24. This particular question calls for submitting of books, pamphlets, etc., distributed by us and we felt that it would be unnecessary to send these since you are familiar with them. However, on presenting our application to the Internal Revenue Authorities, we plan to make up a packet containing samples of our books and pamphlets. The application will be filed by Fred Darragh as chairman of the group.

We are anxious to take some speedy action on this proposition and have been waiting for the green light from you as you requested

because of the Georgia situation. If you do find that our application is in order and, further, if the time is ripe for the state organizations to proceed on their applications for tax-exempt status, we would appreciate knowing if we can take that step. Any suggestions in reference to our application will certainly be appreciated.

The work out here is moving along fine. Hope to be able to give you fuller details soon. Would appreciate any consideration and attention that you can give the above matter. Best regards to all in the central office and also the Georgia State Office.

Sincerely yours,

Chris

CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR.
Associate Director

CCM:vwp
Enc. 5

P. S. Would you please return to me the attached material.

CCM

November 4, 1955

Mr. Morris Abram
515 Healey Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Morris:

We have had the attached letter from Christopher Mercer, a young attorney from Pine Bluff, Arkansas, who is Associate Director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

My suggestion of a reply is also enclosed.

Observe that my possible reply involves a judgment of Counsel.

Obviously, we will be having requests of this kind from other states and some policy should be settled upon. If you will be kind enough to advise me, I will be grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

April 9, 1956

Mr. Christopher C. Mercer, Jr.
Associate Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Mr. Mercer:

Fred passed on to me your letter requesting more copies of the Baltimore report. I am sorry for the let-down you experienced on the original quantities. Our first estimates were evidently hay-wire.

I have waited this long to write because I was exploring the possibility of getting more copies. Evidently, we are, and as soon as they come in I will send you as many as we can spare. I can't at this moment give you a number, but I think it will be substantial.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:o

Arkansas
Council On Human Relations

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IDA M. KNOX
Secretary

March 20, 1956

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

We are in need of as many copies as you can send us of "Desegregation in the Baltimore City Schools."

We understood we would get 200 on the first mailing. We only received about 50. We reordered in November and only received 50. We find this extremely helpful and will appreciate anything you can do for us.

Sincerely yours,

Chris

CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR.
Associate Director

CCM:vwp

April 12, 1956

Mr. Christopher C. Mercer, Jr.
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Mr. Mercer:

I don't want to fail to thank you for the very prompt response to our questionnaire on desegregation since May 17, 1954. It is very helpful.

As I promised in the original memorandum, I am not going to ask you to do a special research job on this, but if you come across any further items before May 1st, I will appreciate your sending them on to us.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:o

# Introducing Our Baby Girl

Though all she does
Is sleep and eat,
She's a dream-come-true
And she's mighty sweet!

DATE Sunday, July 15, 1956

WEIGHT 7 lbs. & 6 oz

NAME Tina Lucille

PARENTS Chris & Inez Mercer

Arkansas
Council On Human Relations
211 SOUTH IZARD FR 4-4521
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
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STAFF
NAT R. GRISWOLD Executive Director
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. Associate Director
MRS. VELMA POWELL Secretary

June 19, 1956

RECEIVED JUN 20 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

I attended the Southwest Regional Bar Meeting (an organization of Negro lawyers) June 15-16 in Pine Bluff on a two-fold basis--as a lawyer and in the interests of ACHR-SRC. From both points of view the meeting was very encouraging. I am writing this note, however, in the latter concern as it affects SRC's program, interests, and emphases throughout the South.

The meeting was attended by lawyers from eight states. (Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Missouri, Oklahoma, Texas, and Kansas.) In a discussion which I lead at one of the sessions, I outlined our work in the South and explained the program, texture and philosophy of SRC and its state affiliates. This provided food for thought for many of the delegates, even those from states where our groups operate, as full knowledge of our organization was lacking. I provided the representatives from the states where we operate with names of directing officials and their addresses--expressions of giving support to their state groups were made in every instance.

The mentioned discussion and follow-up provided the spark that prompts me to write this letter to you. Attorney Amos T. Hall, 108 Greenwood Street, Tulsa, Oklahoma, was quite enthusiastic about SRC as an organization and especially the manner in which it operates. You probably know him, if not personally at least by reputation. He was resident counsel in both the Sipuel and McLaurin Cases in Oklahoma, and has done a lot of significant work in Oklahoma in our area of concern. Attorney Hall expressed a great need for an organization of our type in his state and said he would help to promote the setting up of one if such were possible. He was of the opinion that the Oklahoma climate of opinion needed the type of saturation that a group like ours provides, and

that presently no such group exists. He does not completely dismiss the need for litigious action--but feels that they are probably a few paces ahead at this point in Oklahoma--which, in his words, "Makes it necessary for us to have some type of educative work done at the ground level, with the masses of people who don't know what things they can do to help--and they want to help." To make a long story short, he would like to see an Oklahoma Council on Human Relations organized, and said that if such were possible he could assure substantial support for same from the Masonic Lodge and other groups. Since he is the "Grand Master of Grand Masters" among Negro Masons, this type of support might could be extended from Masonic groups in other states if he would "suggest" same. (This is conjecture on my part, but thought I would throw it in.) He asked that I contact you about his concern and the possibility for getting such a program started in Oklahoma. Personally, I feel that this would be a fruitful extention for our Southwide program, and recommend any consideration you can give it.

I might add that Nat also confirms the need for some organized effort of a positive nature in Oklahoma. He attended a conference at the University of Oklahoma June 14-16, and relates that the Oklahoma representatives at the conference expressed the same type of need to him that Attorney Hall expressed to me. It seems that the most urgent consideration is for displaced Negro teachers who are feeling the brunt of Oklahoma's desegregation efforts, but this is not their sole need.

If you want to contact Attorney Hall directly, you may do so by writing the above given address. However, I remain available for any follow-up that you would like for me to make in this connection.

Very truly yours,

Chris

CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR.
Associate Director

CCM:vwp
cc - Fred Routh

August 10, 1956

Mr. Christopher Mercer, Associate Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Chris:

We have reviewed your application for tax exemption; our general comment is: Well done! There are several minor things to raise with you, however.

1. Shouldn't the charter of incorporation be a carbon - as though executed - with dates, places, names and the court's "imprimature" filled in?

2. Re: certain answers on Form 1023 and attached statements.

#13. "Except for occasional personal contacts, soliciting small donations, there have been no fund-raising activities; all funds.... etc.

#21. "The organization currently owns nothing except a small amount of office furniture, which (upon dissolution of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations) would, by agreement, be at the disposition of the Southern Regional Council. Any other property would be at the disposition of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations."

#23-A (Attached sheet)

a/ Under "Cash receipts - Miscellaneous -$308.69 " - an alert accountant would question so large a miscellaneous item. Break it down.

b/ Under salary payments: SRC books show a total of $767.23 paid out for clerical help in Arkansas. Check your figure of $572.91 - (both for same period).

With these corrections, you should be able to proceed with securing tax exemption.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM;mef

Arkansas
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211 SOUTH IZARD FR 4-4521
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STAFF
NAT R. GRISWOLD Executive Director
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR. Associate Director
MRS. VELMA POWELL Secretary

August 8, 1956

RECEIVED AUG 10 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

We are happy to receive the green light for proceeding with the application for tax exemption. As you know, we have been anxious for some time to try for tax exemption.

We are herein returning the filled in blanks for review by your office and as soon as we receive them back will proceed with them locally. We feel that we have given candid and frank answers to all of the questions and don't think that we will have any difficulties about them. There is one question on which we would like for you to share any advice and wisdom you may have with us. That is #24 which requests [redacted] educational organizations not having a regular curriculum and faculty or organized body of pupils to attach specimen copies of books, pamphlets, etc., distributed during the last year of operation. We were wondering how detailed and extensive our specimen copies should be, and any advice you can give us or experience you can share with us will be greatly appreciated. Of course, the same request holds true for any of the other questions that you determine are not properly answered.

You will note that we are using Fred Routh's suggested wording for #7 instead of that which we used on one we submitted to you before. Again, we are happy to have the go signal and will proceed as soon as we are sure that our application is in proper form.

Very truly yours,

Chris

CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR.
Associate Director

CCM:vwp
Enc.

Arkansas

ACHR Log June 6 to June 24, 1955

June 1 - 3. Staff Conference, New Hope Camp, North Carolina

June 6

1. Mercer and Griswold returned to office. Ida M. Knox began her duties as Secretary.
2. Conducted a workshop on"Human Relations" at the 50th Anniversary Session of the Arkansas Association for Colored Women. Governor Faubus spoke to the same group, some 200 women that night - no reference to Court decision on segregation. These women exhibit commendable skill and grace in conduct of meetings. (They bought over $8 worth of ACHR pamphlets!)
3. At 1:30 met group of interested citizens in unpublicised meeting at Phyllis Wheatley in re admission of Negro students to Little Rock Junior College. (Dunbar Junior College is being closed.)

June 7 - Arranged meeting with Superintendent of Schools, Virgil T. Blossom, to hear his plans for integration in Little Rock.

June 10 -

1. 5:30 P.M. meeting of executive ~~meeting~~ Comm.
2. 6:30 P.M. Dinner meeting of the Board of Director. An open meeting with 50 present, including 17 from Pine Bluff area enlisted by Mrs. Dawson, and three new members: Clarence Thornbrough, Arkansas Commissioner of Labor, Ed Stone, State Secretary for C.I.O., and Emma Scott, Associate Secretary of Arkansas Educational Association. Dorothy and Guerden Nichols, Dean of Arts at University of Arkansas, came all the way from Fayetteville.

   Planned program included reports from Christopher Mercer and Nat Griswold on the Staff Conference in North Carolina.

   Unplanned program included expression of concern from Mrs. Dawson over the situation which permitted importation of Mexican farm labor at 50 cents while native Negro labor received 25 cents and little employment; a eye-witness report from Jimmy Karam verified by Dorothy Wyre upon the open meeting June 7th of White America, Inc; an interpretation of the meaning of the Court decision (May 31) on segregation by Wiley Branton reflecting the interpretation of the legal staff of NAACP at Atlanta, Georgia.
3. Christopher Mercer spoke during the afternoon to the convention of Doctors and Pharmacists (Negro) at Hot Springs.

June 13 - 1. Arranged luncheon for Executive Committee with Loescher, private dining room off Continental Room, Marion Hotel.
2. Second meeting of interested citizens in re admission of Negro students to Junior College, agreed: Edwin Dunaway (Rockefeller lawyer) will arrange un-official meeting with the Board of Little Rock Junior College.

June 14 - Executive Committee and "opinion makers" in the Negro segment of the community heard Mr. Blossom explain plans for integration of Little Rock Schools. Plan in brief:

Integration of three high schools withdefined attendance districts and city wide Tech High in 1957; integration of six Junior High Schools in Fall of 1958; no plans are on the board for the elementary schools.

Serious exceptions to the plan:
a). No plan to integrate teaching staff.
b). Beginning is delayed too long.
c). The plan lacked adequate consultation among citizens, notably Negro citizens.
d). Administration too rigidly opposed to any modification of plan: "you have a right to your opinion. This is ours".

June 15 - 1. Letters of invitation to membership to those who participated in the workshop at Central Presbyterian Church, Fort Smith, May 18th.
2. 9:30 conferred with Frank Loescher and showed him some of the city.
3. Luncheon of executive committee with Frank Loescher - lively discussion, Emma Scott (AEA) good discussant. (See attached summary)

June 16 - 17 Nat Griswold at North Arkansas Conference of Methodist. (Conferences have a depressing effect - so inert.) The Board of Education of this conference voted to ask Hendrix College (Methodist) to revise its charter, if needed, to admit qualified students without regard to race →(not for publication)

June 21 - Christopher Mercer completed appeal forms for incorporation of ACHR.

Conferred with editor of Arkansas Methodist (weekly) in regards to ACHR and its services. (Older man, go-too-fast-you-hurt-your-cause outlook.) May give us some publicity.

June 22 - 1. Long conference with Ashmore in regards to North Little Rock Schools and State Colleges. Now appears state colleges will make joint statement this summer opening doors to all qualified students. Colleges will ask

State's Attorney for ruling on status of Arkansas laws requiring segregation.

2. Through letter and pamphlet offered our services to President of North Little Rock School Board, Mrs. R. H. Cornelison. Also our sympathetic interest.
3. Letters to Methodist ministers known to Nat Griswold inviting them to join ACHR.
4. Released announcement of Executive Committee meeting, July 11th.

In general have continued to assemble pamphlets and books for distribution and resale. (After purchase of 6 copies each, of the Negro and the Schools and Schools in Transition, received free the copies from Atlanta!) The developments in Little Rock make us want to stay close on the job. We are having multiple brain storms about what can be done!

Written by Nat Griswold, concurred in
by Chris Mercer.

Used as enclosures in letters for members.
Also put in hand of church periodicals of state

May 30, 1955

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

(An Interpretation)

An organization of Arkansans of all races and creeds that seeks "to attain through research and action the ideals and practice of equal opportunity for all peoples" in Arkansas. It seeks through basic democratic processes at the local level to make the continued progress in race relations sure and smooth.

Correlative to this basic purpose, the Council supports all efforts toward abundant life for all the people - domestic, recreational, economic, religious. The decisions of the Supreme Court requiring desegregation of schools serve to focus its present activities. It seeks to aid local communities to actualize the spirit and letter of the court decisions, hoping to turn this crisis into an occasion for improving all schools in Arkansas.

The state office at 211 Izard, Little Rock, with its staff means to be a service agency; a clearing house disseminating information, funded experience, suggestive of action to local groups; supplying counsellors for officials and administrators, speakers and resource materials on group relations; correlating the efforts of individuals and organizations working for better human relations in Arkansas.

As a service agency, the Council hopes to be useful to all those concerned with and/or confused by the process of increasing cooperation among racial and ethnic groups, particularly to organizations and local committees. It offers its services at any time and place which they may choose to the

following groups: churches, schools, libraries, newspapers, women's organizations, teachers, parent-teacher associations, farmers, youth groups, mayors' committees, civic clubs, professional organizations, labor unions.

Since we are not in the business simply of telling others what to do or of converting those who feel no need for change, we think our help can be most effective for those who seek positive solutions to recognized problems. Therefore, we expect others to ask our help and, usually, we participate in meetings promoted by other groups. At all times, we will seek to make known to the public and organizations the changing situations demanding attention and situations in which we think we can be of help. We hope they will use us.

STAFF OF THE ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR - Christopher C. Mercer, Jr., a native of Arkansas, educated at A.M.& N. College, Pine Bluff, and at the law school of the University of Arkansas where he received his LLB degree in January, 1955, an associate in the law office of Wiley A. Branton, Pine Bluff. He made the high score on the Arkansas Bar Examination in March, 1954. An active churchman, associated by birth with the African Methodist Church and by choice in the student fellowship of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., in Fayetteville.

DIRECTOR - Nat R. Griswold - A native of Arkansas, educated at Henderson-Brown College, Arkadelphia, at Northwestern and Columbia Universities; for twelve years Associate Professor of Religion at Hendrix College, Director of Community Activities in the Japenese Relocation Center during World War II, Secretary of Peace Education for the American Freind Service Committee in the Southwest during 1954.

An ordained minister of the Methodist Church, a member of the New York East Conference where he transferred in 1948 from the North Arkansas Conference.

UNOFFICIAL REPORT OF DISCUSSION
AT LUNCH WITH FRANK LOESCHER

(For personal use only)

Present: Fred Darragh, Rev. Charles Walker, Rev. Colbert Cartwright, Mrs. L. C. Bates, Mrs. Dorothy O. Wyre, Mollie Heath Conn, Perry Taylor, Mrs. W. Floyd Bates, Emma Scott, Nat Griswold.

1. Fred Darragh made a statement as to the status of efforst to have Negroes admitted to Little Rock Junior College. A committee of White citizens are asking to meet with the Board to talk over the situation, with no intent to pressure the Board. Edwin Dunaway is arranging the meeting.

2. Fred Darragh called attention to the reported activity of the State Colleges in re-admission of Negro students. Only one is reported unconditionally opposed. It is reported that representatives of the colleges will meet later this month with the possibility of a joint statement expressing willingness to admit any qualified student without respect to race.

3. Some time was spent discussing the plans for the integration of Little Rock Schools as explained by Mr. Blossom. Nat Griswold was asked to formulate a statement reflecting the "sense of the meeting" with regard to the Blossom Plan. (attached)

4. Suggestions were made as to how we could help make the process of integration under the Blossom Plan more smooth and more effective.

"Sense of the Meeting on the Blossom Plan"

I. Certain background facts worked toward the particular conclusions reached.

1. ACHR stands for a non-segregated public school.
2. The Blossom Plan is the only plan now proposed for desegregation of Little Rock Schools.
3. The time has passed (if it ever existed) when this plan can be changed essentially.
4. The community prejudice against segregation in Little Rock, as in other Southern cities, can be overcome or changed only by the united and positive support of all those committed to carrying out the decisions of the Supreme Court, either in the letter or the spirit.

II. Therefore, despite some serious defects in the plan as we see it, we individually are obliged:

1. To support Mr. Blossom and the School Board in the execution of the plan, especially against those opposed to desegregation as such.

2. To do all that is possible to hasten the fulfilment of those conditions laid down by the plan for the integration of the high schools, to the end that it might be done in the Fall of 1956 or in February of 1957.

3. Within the frame of the plan quietly and persistently to seek concrete acts by the administration, in order to strengthen public cooperation in making the plan work. (Some suggestions: Admission of Negro students to special courses not now available to them integration of Tech High before the other high schools, opening of Junior College to Negroes.)

4. To seek voluntary and unofficial action of the people most important to the success of the plan toward preparing for desegregation, notably teachers and parents. (Irene Osborne who had such wide and successful experience in preparing for integration in Washington, D. C., probably might be called upon for counsel.)

(It was pointed out that Chairmen of PTA Education Committees make plans in the summer.)

(Emphasis was put upon keeping groups of this kind small and on making them biracial.)

With apologies for inadequacies,

Nat Griswold

ACHR - Log for July, 1955

| | |
|---|---|
| July 1st | Chris Mercer began work as a full time employee. |
| July 1st - 9th<br>1st - 2nd | Fisk University Institute. (Mercer)<br>" " " (Griswold) |
| July 5th | Conference with John Trice, Supervisor of Instruction, State Department of Education, in re plan for in-service training of teachers in the Greater Little Rock Schools. Trice's comment at close of conference: "I did not see much in the idea when you first mentioned it; but the more we talked about it the more I see in it." He gave some good suggestions which are being used. |
| July 7th | Checked with Synod office of the Presbyterian church, U.S., in re inclusive ministers' associations in Arkansas. (Roy Davis, Executive Secretary of the Synod) |
| July 11th | Released news item in re attendance of staff at Fisk Institute (two papers ran item.)<br><br>Executive Committee Meeting (minutes enclosed.) |
| July 13th | Conference with Clifford Blackburn, Superintendent of Schools, North Little Rock, in re plan for in-service training of teachers. (Mr. Blackburn spent much of our time trying to show how much <u>had</u> <u>been</u> <u>done</u> toward integration of teachers. Finally, suggested it would be best to work directly with teachers in re training for integration.) |
| July 14th | Chris Mercer attended the North Little Rock School Board Meeting in the high school building at 7:00 P.M. The board granted audiences to both, White America, Inc, representing White patrons, and the NAACP, representing Negro patrons. A spokesman from both groups presented his constituents' points of view on school integration. White America's view being to never integrate and that of the NAACP to integrate as soon as possible. The board passed an unequivocal resolution to integrate the high schools by September, 1957 and the junior high and elementary schools immediately thereafter. This action was taken in the presence of both groups, after they had made their respective appeals. White America and its cause took an obvious beating. |
| July 17th | Chris Mercer delivered the Men's Day Address at the Allen Temple AME Church in Pine Bluff, at 7:45 P.M. This was another of the many opportunities that the staff is receiving through which it can introduce its program and work to all the peoples of Arkansas. |

July 17th - 19th — Fayetteville, Arkansas.
Conferred with Professor Stephen Stephan (Sociology) and Dean Guerden Nichols in re the University's role in plan for in-service training of teachers at Little Rock, plan for visiting professors (Negro) in state colleges (White), and setting up community consultant service.

Held long conference, at his request, with Reverend Robert Bearden, minister of the Central Methodist Church. He promised his membership in ACHR and help in activities.

Had conference with Reverend Ira A. Brumley, Secretary of Christian Education, North Arkansas Conference of Methodist, who promised to use some Negro teachers in Church Leadership Training Schools this year.

Held two conferences with some members of the World Affair's Group (professors' wives') in re ACHR work and what they could do in Northwest Arkansas. The group expects to become an organizational member.

July 18th — Chris Mercer attended a meeting of the Fort Smith School Board, held in the Administration Building, which was called by the board itself to discuss school integration with Negro and White patrons. Negro patrons asked for specific plans to integrate and were joined in this appeal by a few Whites - there were no petitions against integration offered by any Whites. The board announced that it had no definite plans and did not know how soon it would have any, and was not making any promises. To this the Negro patrons countered that they would give them until September to come up with definite plans, and if, at that time, they had not received any they would sue. (Note: The Fort Smith district was sued about six or seven years ago by Negro patrons - at that time on the "separate but equal doctrine" - and I do not think that the board believes that they are bluffing.

July 20th — Follow-up letters to Fayetteville and Northwest Arkansas.

July 20th — Chris Mercer completed the legal work on Incorporating ACHR and obtained the Charter from the Pulaski County Circuit Court. Legal services were gratuitously contributed by Chris. The Charter now hangs in a frame on the wall of the ACHR office.

July 25th — Chris Mercer held a conference with Dr. W. Jacko Massie, a North Little Rock Negro Physician, discussing generally the temperament of the City and present efforts to improve race relations, and how this could be blended with efforts to integrate the schools. Dr. Massie proved

to be an informed and stimulating personality and offered much advice on the subject.

July 26th

Chris Mercer had a long talk with Mr. Elza H. Hunter, the principal of Jones High School, which is the Negro high school for North Little Rock, on the matter of integration in North Little Rock in general, and specifically his opinion of the position and attitude of Negro teachers on the subject. There seems to be a desire that integration take place among the Negro teachers - and very few if any have expressed any fear or concern about their future as teachers. Most of the Negro teachers are well prepared academically.

July 27th

Conferred with respected Attorney Robert Booker, member of our Board, and Perry Taylor, Secretary of Urban League, over their concern and ours about the good faith of the Little Rock School Board as reflected in its plans for integration. They expect to consult with Superintendent Blossom about some possible changes in plan, suggestion which would get him "off the hook" with the NAACP.

The first ACHR Newsletter was issued. The joint efforts of the entire staff made this possible. This is one of the program projects adopted by the Executive Committee on July 11th, that has been put into effect. The Newsletter will be a monthly information sheet on the activities of ACHR, which will be distributed to ACHR members and others on ACHR's mailing list.

July 28th

Approached Dale Cowling, program chairman of Little Rock Ministerial Alliance, about plan for biracial teams for church engagements. Still in process.

Good conference with Roy Davis, Executive Secretary, Synod of Presbyterian Church, U.S., about possible statewide inter-church conference later in year. These Presbyterian seem alive!

July 29th

Long conference with Emma Scott, Editor and Field Assistant, Arkansas Educational Association, about stimulating teachers interest in Little Rock for the in-service training plan. She is a fine ally. She knows people and has the know-how. Also discussed PTA study groups. (She is state treasurer of PTA.)

Generally the staff takes advantage of every opportunity to inform all those they can of ACHR and SRC, with the hopes that wider knowledge of us and our programs will increase and strengthen interest and support in our efforts.

Enterprises now cooking: -

1. Visiting members and friends over the state to get information and make basic suggestions.

2. An in-service training for teachers directed by the University staff.

3. Visiting professors (Negro) for colleges (White)

4. Possible state-wide inter-church conferences promoted by the appropriate committees of the several churches.

5. Biracial teams of ministers for filling church engagements.

6. Possible consultant services for communities.

7. Literature service.

Enclosed - Minutes of Executive Committee.
Our new "Filing Formula."
(subject to revision!)
Samples of printing.

TELEPHONE FR 4-4521

**Arkansas Council on Human Relations**

(AFFILIATE OF SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL)

CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR.
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

211 S. IZARD
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

TELEPHONE FR 4-4521

**Arkansas Council on Human Relations**

(AFFILIATE OF SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL)

NAT R. GRISWOLD
DIRECTOR

211 S. IZARD
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

# *Arkansas* Council On Human Relations

211 Izard Street — Little Rock, Arkansas

We deeply appreciate your association with us in our high purpose, as evidenced by receipt here of your membership dues ($_____), contribution ($_____).

Thank you,

Date_____ Signed_____
for the Council

We have entered your subscription to New South

## OUR AIM—

To stimulate, support, and augment all democratic efforts to increase and equalize the opportunities of every person in Arkansas without reference to race or creed.

## OUR METHOD—

To evolve and apply solutions to problems of human relations and needs through the non-political educative process of fact-finding, conferences, and consultations—a process in which those of any race and creed may participate.

GSM
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EB



# LOG FOR AUGUST, 1955

August 1 - Chris met with the Little Rock Colored PTA Council in the home of Mrs. Dr. Massie, at the request of the Council, to help them plan for their annual workshop and to devise means for greater communication between them and their white counterpart. Chris was invited to become a permanent advisor to the group.

" 2 - Conferred with Harvey Couch, Vice President, Union National Bank, in re finance committee. Friendly - to call later about suggestions for person to head large contributions and Arkansas foundations.

" 3 - Conferred with Minnie Lee Mayhon, Counselor for North Little Rock High School in re teachers interest in workshop preparatory to integration.

- Chris made get acquainted visits and received data and materials, that would aid ACHR, from the following persons and establishments: (1) Mr. Perry Taylor, Executive Secretary of Urban League; (2) North Little Rock Chamber of Commerce; (3) Little Rock Chamber of Commerce; (4) Miss Emma Scott, Editor and Field Assistant of the Arkansas Education Association (white teachers' organization); (5) Honorable Ken Matthews, Chief Assistant Attorney General (a law school classmate of Chris's); (6) office of State Director of Publicity, State Capitol Building; (7) State Highway Department; and (8) State Department of Education.

" 4 - Conference with Bruce Wright, Associate Superintendent, North Little Rock Schools, in re workshop for teachers. Prefers assistance from other superintendents who have experience in integration rather than U professors. Called Methodist minister at Paragould to investigate seriousness of the situation at Hoxie.

" 5 - Chris had a long conference with Dr. LeRoy M. Christophe, principal of Dunbar High School (Negro) of Little Rock, discussing the Little Rock integration plan and the attitudes and inhibitions, if any, of Negro school teachers in Little Rock. Many of Dr. Christophe's revelations, though made in strict confidence, were quite helpful and informative.

- Conferred with Howard Johnston, Vice President First Federal Building and Loan, about finance committee. Never ~~leaves~~ himself open for a job! Suggested Dr. Friedman, dentist - good lead.

" 9 - Executive Committee Meeting - 9:30 A.M.

- At beginning of tour to Southeast, met with seventeen members and friends at Pine Bluff. Group insisted on organizing, named chairman and secretary. To offer its

services to Pine Bluff School Board.

" 9-13 - Chris attended SRC's Evaluation Conference in Atlanta.

" 10 - Conferred with Reverend Arthur Perry, District Superintendent, Methodist Church, Pine Bluff. Encouraged me to call on each minister in his district. Hour conference with Mrs. John Rust who ordered two copies of "Strange Career of Jim Crow." Conferred with Methodist minister Dumas, Delta town.

" 11 - Very interesting conference with Mouzon Mann, Methodist minister at McGehee, who reported discouraging effects of speeches by members of State Department of Education at Rotary. At McGehee also visited with Wesley Wiloughby and Don Bowman in the bank.

" 12 - Conferred with Presbyterian and Methodist minister in Monticello. Met with selected group of five men with the Presbyterian minister.(one of group, a doctor, on school board.) Very free discussion on integration in school. Group optimistic. However, only real communication between Board and Negroes is via woman principal of Negro school. All Negroes in high school in county attend Negro school in Monticello - complicates integration. (In all places on tour left literature.)

" 14 - Chris attended the regular monthly meeting of the Pine Bluff Branch of the NAACP, tendered and had "regretfully" accepted his resignation as president of that branch. This was made necessary, among other things, by virtue of his full time employment with ACHR and taking up residence in Little Rock.

" 15 - Held a strategy caucus with moguls of ACHR in regards to the role that ACHR should play in the Hoxie, Arkansas school situation. Present were Fred Darragh, Perry Taylor, Harry Ashmore, Reverend E. B. Williams, Nat and Chris. It was decided that Nat and Reverend Williams, who knew several of the school board members and other opinion makers in Hoxie, would made a trip to Hoxie and offer our assistance.

" 16 - Chris met with some members of the Little Rock Colored PTA Council to discuss further the previously mentioned workshop.

" 17 - Went with E. B. Williams to Hoxie, spent afternoon until 6:30 seeing members of school board, superintendent, and Methodist minister. Situation bad, very bad. Board members ready to resign, "can't take any more." Round the clock harassment.

" 18 - Chris had a conference at the State Department of Education with Mr. C. A. Hicks, Supervisor of Instruction (Actually the top Negro side-kick to Mr. Ed McCuistion - there are two Negroes in the Department, both working as

assistants to Mr. McCuistion, who was formerly Director of the Division of Negro Education; this department has been cut-out and he is now Assistant Commissioner for Instructional Services - but is reputed to be the Department's "Top Expert on Negro Affairs" - Fred and C. H. had a chance to meet him and can attest to this.) (smiles, for Fred and C. H.) The conference with Mr. Hicks was quite informative. He gave me a lot of the "inside dope" and "que-T tips." He is definitely a friend, but obviously can't afford to "show his hand" in many instances.

" " - Reported Hoxie Dilemma to Ashmore. He spent most of day on this. He, F. Rozzell (Arkansas Education Association) Edwin Dunaway, and the Director made plans at Dunaway's office. (He is former Prosecuting Attorney and Judge, now Rockefeller's attorney.) Plans, to stop bullying tactics of opposition, to bolster courage of board and superintendent, to give true Hoxie story to press, to mobilize decent forces in community.

" 19 - Chris attended and spoke at the annual Little Rock Colored PTA Council Workshop. Encouraged the participants to seek wider participation with "all" groups working in the interest of the schools and to effectuate immediate means for interracial meetings and conferences on school problems. These suggestions were endorsed by the group and resolutions were passed requesting representatives from the various local PTA's to see to it that these proposals were made a part of their programs. Again Chris was asked to serve as a special advisor to the Council and also was invited to assist the local chapters in carrying out the proposals.

" 19-21 - Returned to Hoxie for week-end. Talking to community people in Hoxie and adjacent Walnut Ridge, working to keep board from resigning after they voted to close school two weeks early. Established relations with substancial legal firm in nearby Jonesboro - found an enthusiastic lawyer with moral convictions. (The board had had no legal advice and thought lawyers in that area would not want case.) (Since board has lawyer the so-called lawyers of White America, Inc., has not let out a peep. Ashmore sent Tom Davis to get the detailed story this same week-end, with a full treatment in Sunday's paper and a hot editorial by Ashmore.

" 22 - Chris attended a conference with Mr. S. S. Taylor, Associate Editor of the State Press, the State's leading Negro Weekly Newspaper. He writes the editorials for this paper, and is a clear thinker and shrewd analyzer of the issues surrounding the integration question. This visit was primarily another one of the staff's efforts to keep its finger on the pulse of the thinking on the subject of integration, but it also served as a chance to map strategy for further use of this channel of communication. ACHR enjoys fine relationships with this paper. Mrs. Daisy Bates, wife of the Editor, is on our board.

Chris

" 22 - Met Fred and C. H. at airport. Combined a soiree with the Nat Griswolds with a tour of the ACHR office and discussion of our plans for their itenerary during their visit with us.

" 23 - After Fred and C. H. had breakfast with the Nat Griswold's, escorted them to the State Department of Education foraa pre-arranged conference with Mr. Ed McCuistion (previously mentioned herein)

C. H. Parrish and Fred Routh visit. Long session between them and Ed McCuistion further confirmed the latter's feet dragging tactics and lack of real acceptance of central principle of the Court decision - segregation is discrimination.

Held a noon "luncheon-snack" Executive Committee Meeting for Fred & C. H. for mutual acquaintance purposes, this was very fruitful for all. Some of the discussion dealt with various aspects of SRC's and ACHR's present relationship and existance, but most of it was devoted to the proposals from the Atlanta Evaluation Conference.

- Nat and Chris conferred with Fred & C. H. the whole afternoon on their visit with Mr. McCuistion, conditions and afforts in Arkansas in re integration, and general policies of SRC and ACHR's program in relation thereto. This was culmunated with dining out for supper and a last minute dash, for Fred and C. H. to catch their plan to Dallas.

- Chris had a short but very pleasant visit from John Ramsey (white) who was on his way from his home in Montecello to Missouri to teach. John has a M.A. in History from University of Arkansas and was a very good friend of Chris' when the two of them were there in school. He is a very sincere and committed person on the race question, and an alert and crusading type of individual. A good man that anyone would want on their side - more than glad he is and has been on ours.

" 24 - Very satisfactory visit with important Little Rock Methodist minister, Kenneth Shamblin in re Hoxie plans. Interestingly he volunteered two encouraging words: he expects to send in his membership and he is convinced the pulpit must not remain silent on integration. A second conference on Hoxie plans with Dale Cowling, minister of Second Baptist Church (Brooks Hayes'), forthright in support of our plans there.

" 25 - Chris held a long conference with Mrs. Daisy Bates, ACHR Board Member and State President of NAACP, discussing with her the implications of the NAACP's very active program in the State and the Hoxie situation. Might just pass on that the National office and the State office of the NAACP considers Arkansas as one of the states most likely to succeed, in implementing the Supreme Court's decision, and has therefore made it a "target state," supplying it

with two full time field workers, among other things, one of which remained in Hoxie for approximately three weeks. Of course the conditions in Hoxie made it necessary for the worker to only "hold hands" to keep the Negroes from stampeding because of the general turmoil.

" 25-27 - Back at Hoxie. Conference with A. W. Rainwater, Superintendent of Schools, Walnut Ridge, For fear of reaction they are delaying integration. Conference with each minister in Hoxie and walnut Ridge in re a meeting to discuss some concerted action. Baptist minister, the weakest of the lot, agreed finally to call such meeting for 10:00 A.M., August 29th.

Prompted Superintendent Vance to write Billy Graham, evangelist, for his interpretation of Christian teaching on segregation asking for permission to make reply public.

" 29 - Returned early to Hoxie to meet minister. Fell flat on my face to find the minister had not called the meeting: "Decided it would do no good now!"

Had conference with one of the officers of newly organized "Hoxie Committee on Community Relations." He is very optimistic.

The Methodist minister and ACHR Director had a long visit with the Attorney for the school district about further plans and actions. At this moment things are steady and support is "coming-in" for the school authorities. Apparently fervent opposition is cooling. The school board now would welcome legal action by the opposition. So we are hopeful.

Nat Chris
August 31, 1955

Arkansas

# NOVEMBER 1955 LOG

November 1 — At Fayetteville for speech before AAUW which has its first Negro member, Miss Perryman. Some fifty ladies. Only one made static--Junior High Social Science teacher! Good long visit with Dr. Stephan about social dynamics in Hoxie. Shorter visits with John McKenney (Philosophy) and Dr. Franz Adler (Sociology). The latter asked suggestion about a person to lecture on "Integration in Industry" and also suggested that the University should take the next step of having a Negro instructor, possibly on an exchange basis at first.

November 2,3,& 4 — Attended sessions of AEA at Little Rock and ATA at Hot Springs. In Little Rock a strange and absolute silence about desegregation; at Hot Springs it was a persistent and recurring subject for discussion and resolution. Most superintendents are still more occupied with how to delay and avoid desegregation than with any planning how to achieve it smoothly. At Hot Springs had many conferences with teachers from all sections of the State. Also had a display booth of literature and materials distributed by ACHR. ATA adopted strong program for 1955-56. Gratifying stands were taken on the question of integration.

November 7 — At Pine Bluff for speech before the Tau Phi Chapter of Omega Psi Phi Fraternity at A. M. & N. College. Annual achievement week, theme--national--"Desegregation, a Way-Station, Integration, Our Destination." Display of ACHR literature. Material was distributed to members of Fraternity, professors, department heads, President of College, etc.

November 9 — Conferred with AEA Secretary about getting excerpts from Federal District Courts' decisions in hands of school superintendents. It perhaps will be done through an "unprejudiced" source.

November 10 — Both Directors at Arkadelphia with AAUW. Dinner with Mrs. Amacher and Miss Grace Vineyard. The timidity felt by officials about members reactions proved completely unfounded: no static, singular warmth. Two-college town. Meeting made possible through efforts of Henderson State Teacher faculty wife, Mrs. Amacher. Her first invite for speaker was directed to George Mitchell. Display of literature and much of it was distributed.

Lunch with K. E. Vance, Superintendent of Schools at Hoxie. He feels very good about situation in general. Encourages us to stimulate action on desegregation at Walnut Ridge and Jonesboro. This would relieve pressure on Hoxie administration.

November 11 — Membership Committee meeting. Mapped plans for 1955-56 membership campaign.

Cont'd.

Attended two programs in Little Rock Schools in observance of Education Week. Theme - "Schools: Your Investment in America." Both were elementary schools. At one, made general remarks; at the other, was member of panel of six discussing general theme. Both audiences mostly made up of parents.

November 12 — Speaker at Central District #1 Annual Meeting of PTA (Negro) held in Benton, Arkansas. The district covers five counties in central Arkansas. Theme--"Meeting Today's Challenge." Approximately 150 in attendance.

November 14 — Executive Committee meeting. Emphasis on membership, finances, tax-exempt status, and directives and recommendations from SRC Annual Meeting of Board of Directors.

November 15 — Staff and Chairman attended UN luncheon to hear report on UNICEF.

Directors and Chairman worked on setting up Finance Committee.

November 17 — Conferred with Chairman and Rabbi Sanders regarding personnel for Finance Committee.

November 18 — Staff and Chairman of Personnel Committee completed final draft of personnel policies to be submitted to Executive Committee.

November 21 — Conferred with Edwin Dunaway, Attorney for W. Rockefeller, in regard to Little Rock School Board plan to handle scholarship for Negro students, originally for Dunbar Junior College, set up by Mr. Rockefeller. Proposed action of Board seems to accept the segregated pattern as permanent.

Directors and wives were guests of the Methodist Women, interracial, of Little Rock and North Arkansas Conferences in meeting at Aldersgate Camp. Subsequently had an excellent panel discussion of "Developing a Climate for Integration" before eighty representatives from over entire state. The women leaders of this conference feel the pressure of official frowns at their "aggressiveness" in the area of race relations. The recent attack of representatives of White America on the Methodist Church may help consolidate the Methodist for a firmer line of action. Some of the leaders in the conference were from Scarritt College and some from India via Scarritt. Display set up and material distributed.

November 21 and 22 — Attended Annual Convention of the Negro Division of the Arkansas Farm Bureau which was held at Arkansas Baptist College in Little Rock. Attended for purpose of cultivation. Had opportunity to button-hole many people and distribute literature.

Cont'd.

November 28 Research in Supreme Court Library.

Little Rock members of Membership Committee planned for invitations to membership in ACHR.

November 29 Luncheon conference with Mrs. Bragg (Chairman of Education Committee of Urban League), Miss Parma Basham (President of Little Rock League of Women Voters), and Mrs. William Massie (Negro Council of PTA) in regard to an intergroup citizens committee on school desegregation in Little Rock. The way seems to be open for some action here.

Arkansas

LOG FOR DECEMBER 1955

Dec. 1 Spoke to combined group of Social ~~Service~~ Science classes at Philander Smith College, Little Rock, on implications of Supreme Court's decision on segregation in the schools. Emphasis on pointing out available data, literature, and sources to students, faculty, and librarian. Request for information came from group. A special reference shelf was set up in the library with material given, loaned, and sold as a result of discussion. Dr. Georg Iggers, ACHR board member and professor at Philander Smith sponsored meeting.

Attended luncheon meeting of Young Business & Professional Men's Club (Young Negro professionals with keen civic concern and much public respect). Group currently working with business concerns with large Negro patronage requesting them to hire Negroes in commendable positions--receiving encouraging results. This is an excellent "existing" group through which ACHR can work.

Dec. 6 Had coffee with Charles Johnston of First Federal Building and Loan about work with Finance Committee. Found him quite enthusiastic about our work. He is quite a liberal, feeling the church colleges and the churches are "pussy footing."

Began process, through Rev. E. B. Williams and Rev. Robert Dickerson, of getting an interracial committee named by the Ministerial Associations of North Little Rock.

Dec. 8 & 9 Held office conference with Mr. Benjamin Finley, a graduate of A. M. & N. College, Pine Bluff, and currently a 5th year student at the University of Arkansas on the "Arkansas Plan" (Experiment in teacher-training sponsored by the Fund for the Advancement of Education) in regard to proposed Seminar of the 5th year class on Integration. Seminar to be part of regular classroom activities extending over 2 days with 3½ hour sessions each day. Assisted him in setting up agenda and furnished all materials to be used. Approximately 25 students (integrated) in the class, all of whom will be future teachers in Arkansas schools.

Held confab with Mrs. Bruce D. Moore, ACHR board member and principal of Stephens Elementary School, Little Rock, on the implications of a study conducted in Little Rock of the promotion records in the first six grades. Report of study was made in the local press showing the percentage of failures according to race, although no analytical comment was made. Apprehensions about the true purpose of the matter are still being studied.

Bright and early to Jonesboro for the Federal District Court hearing the petition of the Hoxie School Board for permanent injunction against interference with school operation by the pro-segregationists. Judge Albert Reeves of Missouri hearing the case is eighty-two but obviously keen and alert. The plaintiffs (Hoxie School Board) presented a very strong case showing the state of near-panic created by the irresponsible actions of the defendants. The new lawyer for the

Arkansas

defendants (the former quit after the hearing at Little Rock in November) again proved himself inept and lacking in ordinary propriety. The morale of the plaintiffs, their legal staff, and witnesses was heartening to see. Luncheon with them at the local hotel was like a victory dinner after an athletic event. The state editor of the ARKANSAS GAZETTE agin proved to be a most effective witness.

In Jonesboro had cordial and encouraging conferences with the Superintendent of Schools, the ministers of the First Methodist Church and of the Episcopal Church. The superintendent promised to send membership and wanted for his committee all helpful literature.

Conferred with school superintendent at Walnut Ridge (23 miles from Jonesboro). He was friendly and talkative. Indicated their Board refused the plea of prosegregationists from Hoxie that Walnut Ridge take their children as transfers. Evidence seemed apparent to me that Walnut Ridge definitely plans to integrate its few Negro Students next school term but to make no public announcement until after state elections next summer. (The Chairman of the Board is a staunch member of the staff of the present governor!) The Methodist Minister verified the intention to desegregate next Fall.

DECEMBER 10 -

Discovered a meeting of citizens of North Little Rock about opening the library to Negroes had been unnecessary: The library made its services available to all citizens that day!

DECEMBER 12 -

Chris had a conference with Mr. Tom Bailey Shropshire, one of the Phillip Morris Company's top Public Relations Representatives for colleges. He is a native of Little Rock, graduate of NYU and one of the company's top Negro employees on its completely integrated staff. There was an exchange of "what's going on in Arkansas" for "what's happening to the sale of Phillip Morris products in the South because of the company's practices in race relations." Though this is not true for Arkansas, in many states in the South, sales have dropped sharply in a "boycott squeeze" against the company because of its impartial racial policy. Mississippi, as usual, is leading the brigade. It was learned (cofidentially) that the company is dispatching at least ten men to work on this problem.

Executive Committee meeting.

DECEMBER 14 & 15 -

Served as consultant to the Seminar on Integration at University of Arkansas Graduate Center. (Previously mentioned) The first day's session included presentations by class members, a special summary by Chris on the "Arkansas Picture" and a real wide-eyed discussion period. Panelists were both Negroes and whites. The second day featured a discussion by Dr. Tilman

Arkansas

C. Cothran, ACHR board member and Professor of Sociology at A. M. & N. College, Pine Bluff, dispelling the often cited apprehensions of "lowering the standards" if integration takes place. ACHR supplied all of the students and the professors with "enrichment" and background materials prior to the seminar, and had a display of materials on exhibit throughout the week. Reception of the program was warm and sincere and interest is reported to have run an all-time high. Though most of the students already had wholesome attitudes on the question, a few openly expressed "a change of heart" as a result of the revealing information presented. A follow-up to the program will be research papers based on "What I Can Do About Integration" by every student--as a class assignment for credit. To stimulate effort on this project, ACHR presented two books (The Negro and the Schools, and Schools in Transition) as prizes for the best papers.

Annual audit by A. B. Hodge. Spent almost an hour with Dr. Maurice Friedman (dentist) in his office talking about ACHR problems. Dr. Friedman is active with ADL and is in a position to do us good!

A visit from Cecil Cone, a student at Philander Smith College, seeking material for a theme proved informative. His father at Bearden, Arkansas, was one chief plaintiff bringing suit against the school district which in October resulted in the first clear decision in Federal District Court requiring desegregation. We were able to furnish Cone salient excerpts from that decision for the information of his father. He promised to report on developments in Bearden. We fear incidents there.

DECEMBER 16 -

Dinner meeting of Finance Committee with Darragh acting as chairman at Grady Manning Hotel. A prospect list of larger donors was made and approaches planned.

DECEMBER 20 -

Fred Darragh, J. R. Booker, Dr. Powell, Edwin Dunaway, met in our office for lunch and conference on finance plans in Little Rock.

DECEMBER 22 -

Received invitation from Superintendent of the Conway District of the Methodist Church to be on panel at district-wide meeting saying, " we think we have dodged the desegregation issue long enouch and want to get our teeth into it." This is a good indication of the direction of the winds, even though is is only a minor opportunity. This superintendent is moderate and cautious.

DECEMBER 28 -

Pine Bluff for conference with Mrs. Rust and others. Litigation over the Rust Foundation has paralyzed its usefulness for the moment. There is intelligent and sympathetic interest here. An hour's visit with Frank Schwartz was heartening. He is active with group in Pine Bluff and with

Arkansas

B'nai B'rith. His liberalism has roots in the soil cultivated at N. C. University by Frank Graham. He is to represent Pine Bluff on our Executive Committee. In conference with Dr. Cothran at A. M. & N. College received valuable suggestions about our proposed "Steps Toward Smooth Desegregation." He is Professor of Sociology and is as good as his advanced billing, a member of our Board now.

DECEMBER 29 - 30

At Fort Smith with Fred Darragh.

Conferred with Shoe Store owner Jack Ragon about ACHR and a possible donation. Found him entirely sympathetic. Gave me membership and promised we would hear in January about contribution. Volunteered three names of men "with big hearts and purses" for me to see. Extended his customary charity to ministers, a pair of new shoes! Good ones too!

Fred and the Director saw Rabbi Friedlander who almost volunteered to be on our Board. He can be of help in that area. He reassured us that sentiment in Fort Smith was much better than reflected by the school superintendent.

DECEMBER 31 - HAPPY NEW YEAR!

Nat Griswold & Christopher C. Mercer

# LOG FOR JULY (1956)

## ARKANSAS

Quite properly July may be labelled "Election Month" in Arkansas. The Democratic Primary was held July 31 and leading candidates had opened campaigns by the Fourth.

Before reviewing some activities and a post-mortem on the primary, one should note personal activities of the staff. The Associate Director was in Tennessee at Conferences July 1-14. The Director went on vacation July 23 - August 3. Mrs. J. O. Powell, Sr., mother-in-law of Velma, died on July 2 in the latter's home. Since, her husband, her father-in-law and her father in that order have been in the hospital for surgery!

USEFUL ACTIVITIES AND CONFERENCES. The Director and Board Chairman met with friends in Pine Bluff, July 6, on Campus of A. M. & N. College, reviewed goings-ons in Arkansas and ACHR's financial needs. Five new members and two donations resulted. A high school student joined asking, "what can a dozen of us do in H.S.?"

On the afternoon of July 6, alerted by Geo. Mitchell, the Director innocently started operations to make annual encampment of SW Unitarian Conference on Petit Jean racially inclusive. Through dynamic help of George Reynolds, a member of the State Commission for Publicity and Parks, this matter was settled amicably. Prompted by the Director of Alabama Council on Human Relations that same afternoon, the Director phoned the program director of WSFA-TV in Montgomery, Alabama, promising to send newspaper stories of the desegregation of buses in Little Rock to be used as a quasi-documentary by that station. Also, the director tried to soften some of the principals in the bus story here for possible interviews by WSFA-TV. (Found the principals frightened and hard.) (This arrow "fell to earth we know not where.")

On July 10, 6:00 p.m., after inordinate effort, the Board Chairman and Director met at dinner with three Little Rock men to discuss money-raising in the city. (The non-white contingent headed by Board-member Booker at the last minute found conflicts too many to participate. It plans a later meeting.) Apart from $150, a sacrificial gift of a young business man, no immediate results were realized. Actual personal calls were planned for August and September to follow-up letters sent to prospects. This dinner meeting seemed to have been fruitful in interpretation of the Council.

On July 16, as aftermath of a Sunday sermon, the Director had a conference with an associate in the State Department of Education and learned of the firing of Negro teachers in a certain district because they refused to sign interposition petitions. This story has yet to be reported but has newsmen on it. At least one of the teachers may be a hardship case, eligible for the proffered aid of the AFSC.

The return of Harry Ashmore to his post of Executive Editor of the ARKANSAS GAZETTE has resulted in an upturn in the editorial influence of that paper and a stiffening of the spines of fair-weather liberals.

The Director and Associate Director conducted the interest period

for the Senior Youth Camp of the Christian Church at Aldersgate on July 19-20, some 55 youth and leaders. The Associate Director was given tenative invitation to be on faculty of this camp in 1957. Our office has been called on to supply film for one of the ministers who was at the camp.

Associate Director's brief report on Tennessee Conferences: The second half of the sojourn in Nashville was spent at the Race Relations Institute at Fisk, with which you are familiar; and the first week at a faculty and resource person at the South Central Regional Training Conference for Youth Leaders in the United Christian Youth Movement. The UCYM is under the auspices of the Department of Youth Work in the National Council of Churches. Rev. Don Newby was conference director. States represented were: Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, Kentucky, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina.

ELECTION IN ARKANSAS. Insofar as the Democratic Primary was concerned with our major interest, attention was focused on the race for governor. The three major candidates, including the incumbent, espoused segregation. Governor Faubus was regarded by his friends and enemies as being the most moderate, personally. His statement that "no school would be forced to integrate against its will" provided his assignment measure is voted in November, perhaps correctly may be interpreted to mean that he believes the assignment law can delay Federal Court action in a specific case for two years. When charged with no action to prevent integration at Hoxie in 1954, he replied, "that district voluntarily chose to desegregate."

The people with sense of justice on the question of desegregation and others of good-will undoubtedly wished to defeate decisively the candidate of the White Citizens' Councils. At least many Negro leaders, while dissatisfied with Mr. Faubus, felt that an overwhelming defeat of Jim Johnson would serve their cause best. At any rate, Mr. Faubus won a majority of all votes cast for the five candidates defeating Mr. Johnson by better than 2 to 1. The latter carried only six counties. Even the pro-segregation Arkansas Democrat editorially declared that the people rejected Mr. Johnson's "philosophy" and found his publication "Arkansas Faith" distasteful.

In toting up the results we feel one should not overlook the influence of religious bodies which had been offended directly or indirectly by Mr. Johnson and his managers. The Methodist Church, the Southern Baptist, the Council of Churches, and auxiliary groups had reasons to take offense. Of course the White Citizens' Councils have associated with the known anti-semitic forces. So, the Jewish Church was solid against them.

In this connection it may be fair to indicate that the ACHR carried on some non-political activities which may have had political results. Long before campaign lines were formed, we were engaged in efforts to

paralyze the influence of hate campaigns by segregationists. We have had repeated conferences with major Protestant and Jewish leaders on this matter, calling attention to the scurrilous and sordid character of the literature and its potential influence in the state. While no official pronouncements were issued, to our knowledge there were quiet forces at work clear out to the cross-roads to unsaddle the white supremacy groups.

We have reason to believe extremist influence will decline in Arkansas. We hope the timid may stand up and the dedicated "stand tall" again.

***

Chris arrived home from Tennessee just in time to greet his new daughter, Tina Lucille, born the morning of July 16.

July has been an eventful month!

AUGUST LOG FOR ARKANSAS (1956)

August 6 - Director returned to office after two weeks vacation, half of it spent recovering from inner ear disturbance and sea-sickness!

August 13 - Executive Committee. Named Program Committee for annual membership meeting on October 12. Purpose of annual meeting: Strengthen Public Relations and Finances.

August 13-17 - Secretary took much needed vacation.

August 15 - Staff attended the court hearing in the integration suit against Little Rock School District. Suit hinged on the sufficiency of Little Rock's "plan for gradual integration," which is to begin "With the 1957 school year if the now proposed third high school is completed." Plan calls for a three step approach - High School first, then after successful integration there the Junior High next, and then to the Elementary. Lack of faith in the school board's sincerity in really carrying out a program of integration was cited by plaintiffs as their reason for instituting the suit. The Federal District Court, Judge Miller presiding, upheld the School Board's plan. As yet no formal appeal has been taken - but feel sure that this is not the end of this affair.

Conferred with Wiley Branton, one of the NAACP attorneys in the Little Rock School Suit and ACHR Board member from Pine Bluff, about fund raising activities for that section. Encouraged by his interest and assurance of devoting some time in our behalf in Pine Bluff.

August 21 - Conferred with Rev. Willcox stimulating action by Arkansas Citizens for Orderly Compliance against the three initiated measures against desegregation. Spent some time wording a declaration of opposition to these measures. We hope ministerial groups, womens groups, and churches will register protest against all legislation at the state level, as a matter of principle and not politics. State Council of Church Women have asked for our draft of a declaration for possible action by its Board on Sept. 13.

P.A.C. 2 0

The Executive Staff and their wives attended a food-filled soiree at Dr. & Mrs. Sparling's beautiful lake-front home on Lake Hamilton in Hot Springs with Drs. Ken and Mamie Clark of New York as honored guests. The Sparlings (ACHR members) assembled 35 or 40 other ACHR members and friends for the auspicious affair. The Clark's were in Hot Springs vacationing in the home of Mrs. Clark's mother and father, Dr. & Mrs. Phipps. The inspiring beauty of the lake front setting, flushed with the reflection of the moon on crystal blue water, and the abundance of gastronomical delights did not however decrease the interest for the stimulating discussion which Dr. Kenneth Clark led. A conservative assessment of the results of the affair would list these accomplishments: enjoyable interracial fellowship; keener insight on the techniques for advancing better human relations; personel enrichment for those present, which will increase their performing ability in working in this area; widening the circle of acquaintances for many of us with others of concern; and a reinforced sense of responsibility to persevere for a just cause even in the face of seemingly overwhelming odds.

August 22 - Conferred at Conway with my banker. Am always amazed afresh at ignorance and loose thinking about race relations! In conference with Methodist minister at Morrilton found this thought being accepted in re morrilton model school (Rockefeller project): Buildings to be adequate for both races but school will move along with other state schools in desegregating; will act when some legal pressure is put on school board! (Am not certain this is the policy.) On Petit Jean Mountain visited encampment of S-W Fellowship of Unitarians. Found appreciation for our help in getting open policy for Negroes. Unfortunately, no Negro delegates came!

Was guest speaker at the weekly fellowship supper at Miles Chapel C.M.E. Church here in Little Rock. Mr. E. L. Hawkins (ACHR member and principal of Dunbar Jr. High School in Little Rock) a member of the church, extended the invitation for a talk about the Arkansas Council with the hope that many of the church members would join. This aspect was unique in that all that they wished discussed was ACHR, wsually the topic for discussion deals with

(Cont'd.)

something else which you must share the time with. One thing that contributed to this was the fact that the pastor, Rev. Darnell, who is a graduate of Gammon Theological Seminary, knew Dr. Will Alexander well, in fact, he worked for him while in school at Atlants. Several of those present asked for application blanks to join. Approximately 40 persons were present.

August 23 - Attempting to locate George Reynolds at office of State Publicity and Parks Commission was engaged in conversation with Mr. Stearns, Executive Officer, who gave me cordial invitation to talk with him at any time and expressed the view we could work out questions amicably as they arise. I agreed!

Meeting of Program Committee for annual meeting. Decided to try for one of following as speaker: Ralph McGill, Robert Penn Warren, C. Vann Woodward. Harry Ashmore would be asked to help secure speaker. Oct. 12 preference for date.

August 27 - Lunch with Ashmore and Darragh in re annual meeting. Ashmore felt time inauspicious for "making a noise," or attempting a large public meeting. Also felt pressure was on McGill. Suggested Supt. Hickey of St. Louis School. Sounded reasonable and good.

August 28 - In pursueing the matter of Mr. Hickey was strongly advised by the Executive Secretary of AEA that it would be ill-advised to bring him to tell the St. Louis story at this time, too hot an issue before meeting of legislature! After much conferring have invited Secretary of the St. Louis Council on Human Relations, Donald Lowe. Boy this gets tedious!

Judge's decision in the Little Rock school case handed down. Spent most of the day reading the only available copy in the Federal Clerk's office and interpreting same to numerous concerned persons.

August 29 - Fred Darragh and Chris journeyed to several Eastern Arkansas towns (via Fred's airplane) and talked to Negro leaders about financial assistance for ACHR. Warm response was given us everywhere we went, along with some on-the-spot contributions and definite promises for more substantial support to come in September. We visited West Memphis, Marianna and West Helena. We feel that this was a day well spent, and that the friends we cultivated will give us strong support both financially and spiritually, in that section of the state.

August 30 - Staff collaborated with Arkansas Gazette reporter on facts and details for an article he was preparing on Integration in Arkansas for "Time" Magazine.

SOME ISSUES WHICH ROSE TO SURFACE THIS MONTH

1. In our finance efforts (Fred Darragh has given a lot of time) businessmen and professionals raise the issue of the interlocking relations of the ACHR and NAACP as evidenced in our Board. This resistance is serious even among those normally friendly. Attack is levelled at State President of NAACP particularly, Mrs. L.C. Bates. We may have to make a decision of how to meet this soon.

2. The distasteful behavior of White Citizen Councils, et al, discredited the movement in the democratic primary. We now fear a new "respectable" leadership which might rally peoples fears and feelings in a way more difficult to handle. Some of ACHR feel we should be bold now in stating our position as moderates in methods and strategy to forestall such a movement.

3. Financing such an organization at this moment is proving more difficult than we thought. We have no certain answer.

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| James E. Youngdahl, CHAIRMAN<br>1330 Tower Building<br>Little Rock 72201 | FR 4-8293 (Bus.)<br>LO 5-6434 (Res.) |

Attorney. National Committee Member, League for Industrial Democracy (1952- ). Vice chairman, Labor-Management Relations Committee. Arkansas Bar Association (1960-61). Published articles on Labor and other social problems in The Progressive, The Nation, the New Republic, and various law journals and union publications.

| | |
|---|---|
| Mrs. Ruth Arnold<br>219 Linwood Court<br>Little Rock 72205 | FR 4-4521 (Bus.)<br>MO 4-2053 (Res.) |

Program assistant, Arkansas Council on Human Relations. Member and president, Little Rock League of Women Voters. Chairman, Freedom Agenda, and Bulletin editor. State correspondent, American Civil Liberties Union, and member of its State steering committee for acquisition of voting machines.

| | |
|---|---|
| Reverend David Albert Boileau<br>2500 North Tyler<br>Little Rock | MO 3-1630 (Bus.)<br>MO 3-4011 (Res.) |

Roman Catholic priest. Professor at St. John's Seminary and at Little Rock University. Member, Arkansas Council on Human Relations. Co-founder, Greater Little Rock Conference on Religion and Human Relations. Board of Directors, Arkansas Urban League. Chaplain, Catholic Interracial Council.

| | |
|---|---|
| Fred K. Darragh, Jr.<br>P.O. Box 86<br>Little Rock 72203 | FR 5-8164 (Bus.)<br>CA 5-4750 (Res.) |

President, Darragh Company. Member, Little Rock Airport Commission. Former president, Little Rock Urban League and Arkansas Council on Human Relations. Former director, Southern Regional Council.

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Marion — (Res. & Bus.)

Farmer. Former employee (Washington, D.C.) Resettlement Administration, Rural Rehabilitation, Veterans Administration. President, Arkansas Farm Bureau Federation (Negro Division). Member, Arkansas Council Human Relations (Little Rock) and Arkansas Rural Development Committees.

Steele Hays
825 Pyramid Life Building — FR 6-2326 (Bus.)
Little Rock — MO 3-6096 (Res.)

Attorney. Delegate, Interracial Conference, Montreat Assembly Grounds, Montreat, N.C., sponsored by Christian Action Committee, Board of Education, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., with view to determining Christian responsibilities in the matter of desegregation.

H. Solomon Hill
President, Shorter College — FR 4-6305 (Bus.)
North Little Rock — FR 4-6994 (Res.)

Minister and College president. Member, North Little Rock Housing Authority. Former chairman, Housing Committee NAACP (Oakland, Calif.) NAACP, president (New Jersey Branch).

Professor Robert A. Leflar
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Professor of law. Associate Justice, Arkansas Supreme Court, and Chairman, Arkansas Statute Revision Commission (1945-54). Dean, School of Law, University of Arkansas (1943-54).

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FINANCE COMMITTEE**

C. S. Cartwright
Mrs. L. C. Bates

*Members to be added
**Have not yet chosen a chairman

eab/
9/29/55

Special Report on Situation
im Hoxie, Arkansas, by Nat Griswold,
executive director, Arkansas Council
on Human Relations.
August 23, 1955

Confidential

FOR YOUR INFORMATION
FROM
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVE., N.E. - ATLANTA, GA.

## A DIRECTOR GETS INVOLVED

All of us were elated that Hoxie voted to integrate its twenty-five Negro children into its school of one thousand and did it without outside influence or advice on moral as well as practical grounds. For three weeks after school opened in July there was not one incident, not one case of discipline, "the best beginning we ever had."

Judiciously ACHR avoided playing any role: there was no need for help, no "outside influence." Then the report of outside influence, irresponsible influence, of White America Incorporated. Monday morning after the report Fred Darragh, ACHR Board Chairman, called about doing something. E. B. Williams, a minister, Harry Ashmore, Perry Taylor (Urban League) and Darragh came to our office for a noon snack of barbecue sandwiches and cokes and 90 minutes of conference. Decided: E. B. Williams, who knows personally three of Hoxie's School Board as well as many citizens, and I should go to Hoxie as soon as possible. Purpose: to find out the truth to help stabilize the situation.

"This is a powder keg," was the greeting we received. The School Board members were greatly intimidated - around the clock calls, anonymous abusive language to members of their families, distrust of neighbors. Belief that money was flowing like water from Mississippi to the Hoxie hirelings. The board members ready to resign, " we can't take any more." "We will not rescind our action desegregating the schools. We'll not send the Negroes back to that rat-hole. But we'll turn it over to 'them.' (meaning the other side)"

All afternoon we spent calling on individual board members trying to bolster their courage and resolution. At 6:30 P. M. we left uncertain of the results but certain of the gratitude of school administration. It was clear that the great need was for legal counsel. People were being led to foolish acts under false premises as to simple legal matters. The Board members were confused and frightened.

We spent next day in Little Rock with Harry Ashmore setting things in motion to give morale to Hoxie. With a member of the Arkansas Education Association and Edwin Dunaway, lawyer for Winthrop Rockefeller, we did some planning and acting: requested Federal District Attorney to investigate charges of intimidation (local protection is nil) (Believe this will modify bullying tactics.); planned moves to get Department of Education to stop dragging its feet ( a public statement from the department's interracial "expert" critical of the Hoxie administration was the straw which broke the camel's back almost.) ; Gazette would send its reporter to Hoxie to get the facts in re intimidation and confusion for a Sunday edition spread; ACHR Director would go to Hoxie and stay over weekend - holding hands, organizing ministers of churches for some concerted action (now planning to publicize reading in the several churches of each denomination's official position in re desegregation.) ; following-up on the matter of legal advice (established working relation between Board and one of the respected legal firms in that area of the state, which has deeper interest in the case than winning a suit.)

Staff


# Arkansas Council On Human Relations

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
211 IZARD ST.

*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*

Vol.2 NOVEMBER 1955 No.1



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HARRY S. ASHMORE *Vice-Chairman*
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REV. C. S. CARTWRIGHT *Treasurer*

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IDA M. KNOX *Secretary*


# NEWSLETTER

## BOARD MEMBERS ELECTED AT ANNUAL MEETING

At the Annual Meeting on October 17 and 18 the following people were elected as new members on the board:

E. B. Williams - Pastor of Gardner Memorial Methodist Church, North Little Rock.

Mrs. Kyle Engler - State President, Council of Church Women, Fayetteville.

Walter Trulock, III - Planter, Sherrill.

Dr. Tilman C. Cothran - Department of Sociology, A.M. & N. College, Pine Bluff.

The Board elected the following officers for 1956:

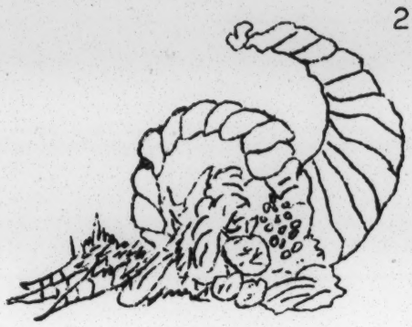
Fred K. Darragh, Jr., Chairman
Rev. C. C. Walker, Vice Chairman
Rev. C. S. Cartwright, Vice Chairman
Perry A. Taylor, Treasurer
Mrs. Dorothy Otis Wyre, Secretary

In addition to the elected officers, the following were named to the Executive Committee:

Mrs. L. C. Bates, Little Rock
Mrs. W. Floyd Bates, North Little Rock
Miss Mollie Heath Conn, Little Rock
Dr. Johan W. Eliot, North Little Rock
Mrs. Guerdon Nichols, Fayetteville


*Affiliate of Southern Regional Council*
*Atlanta, Georgia*

FALL BARGAIN



At the annual meeting, after discussion by the members, ACHR Board lowered the dues for members. The new rates are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Individual member | $ 3.00 |
| Husband & wife members | $ 4.00 |
| Organization member | $25.00 |
| Student member | $ 2.00 |

Dues include $2.00 subscription to NEW SOUTH.

ONE-BY-ONE

Enclosed is ACHR's first printed material. Like it? Also, one extra copy and a membership application card. WHY? In the hope you know someone who may wish to join ACHR. Will you share the folder and get someone to use the card?

NOVEMBER IS NEW-MEMBER MONTH

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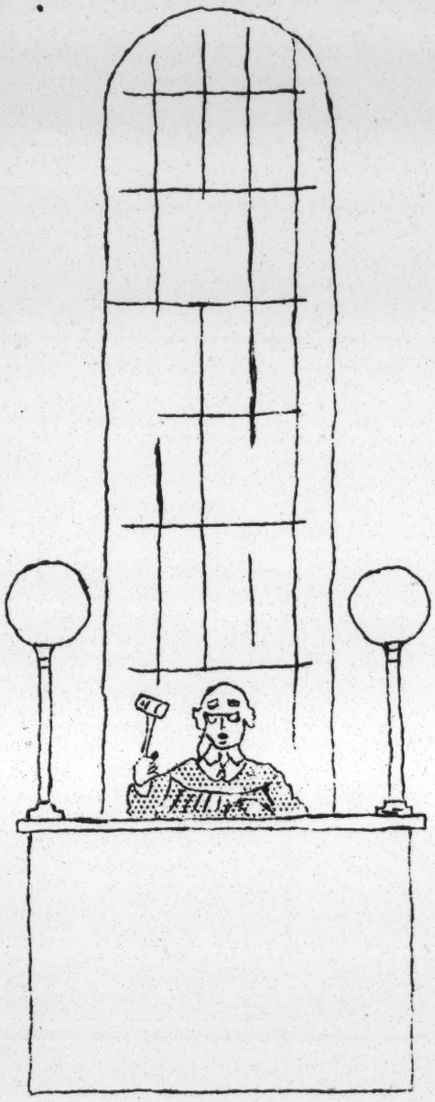
THINGS YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE COURT DECISIONS IN ARKANSAS

Two little-known court cases in Arkansas have resulted in far-reaching judgements for all Arkansas schools: that of Bearden School District and that of Hoxie School District. These decisions declare Arkansas laws requiring segregation void and give significant interpretation as to responsibilities of School Boards in regard to new buildings and plans for desegregation. They seem so important that excerpts from the proceedings and judgements are included. They may be of interest to local superintendents, ministers, and group leaders.



Excerpts from the transcript of proceeding before the U. S. District Court, El Dorado Division, Judge Miller presiding, October 4, 1955.

ALVIN J. MATTHEWS, ET AL.(Plaintiff)

VS

BEARDEN SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 53
(Defendant)

THE COURT: "This suit was filed on June 20th, 1952, seeking two things. First, the plaintiffs are seeking a declaratory judgement asking the Court to declare Section 80-509 of the Arkansas Statutes to be unconstitutional. That is the statute which requires the establishment of separate schools for white and colored persons.Second, the plaintiffs ask the Court to declare that the policy theretofore existing, in which segregation was recognized, is in itself unconstitutional under the Fourteenth Amendment. And therefore they asked that the state law be declared unconstitutional and that segregation itself be declared unconstitutional."

(The Court explained about conferences with parties while waiting for Supreme Court ruling of May 17, 1954.)

"One month after that (Supreme Court's decision of May 17, 1954), the plaintiffs here filed a motion for summary judgement on the basis of the record and law. Now that was June 17, 1954."

(The Court then explained the delay waiting for the Supreme Court's judgement of May 31, 1955.)

"Now, there is no question of law involved in this case. It is not a question, gentlemen, of whether you like the law or whether you do not like it. We are living in a Government of law, and not a Government of men, and the Supreme Court's ruling is binding on every citizen of the United States, regardless of color, creed or what not, until it is changed in the manner provided by law."

(Here, the Court commented on significance of the Supreme Court's decisions and orders.)

"...no people can, ordinarily, change overnight their whole educational and civic structures without violence. Now, that is the thing that I am interested in doing, to effectuate the changes in conditions without any undue discord among citizens."

(The Court then read without comment the major portion of the Supreme Court's decision of May 31, 1955.)

"There is nothing to prevent, under the law, any colored child within school age being admitted or enrolled in a white school. Likewise, there is nothing to prevent a white child from offering itself for entrance into a colored school."

..."I want to say this and I say it now without any feeling at all, that the vitality of the constitutional principles cannot be allowed to yield simply because of disagreement. The Court is not going to be precipitate in entering orders, but the Court is going to require the utmost good faith within the limits of the board's power to bring about the full recognition and operation of the law."

"The time has come when both races must lay aside any inborn prejudices that we might have insofar as education is concerned and for a good faith approach by both sides to the solution of the problem."

(Here began an inquiry into administrative problems of the Bearden Schools.)

THE COURT: "...the board is still encumbered by a heavy responsibility in determining what buildings, what new buildings, will be erected and to what use they will be put. Now, we will take the grammar school, for instance. If the number of students, white and colored together, cannot be properly housed in one building, two buildings would probably be advisable. But those buildings would not be the white school or the colored school."

MR. SMEAD: "I understand that."

THE COURT: "It is entirely possible and entirely probable, I think very probable, that it might be found advisable to put the first to the third grades in one building and the remaining grammar school in another building. ...The point is this, ..., that you can't build a colored school as such. You can't build as such a white school."

MR. SMEAD: (Attorney for School Board) "That's right."

MR. DAVIS: (Attorney for the plaintiffs) "...I specifically felt that if they were going to construct a new school, then in the planning for that it certainly should be anticipated that all students would be accommodated in the one school."

THE COURT: "Well, I don't think there is any question but what that will have to be done.... ...But you will recall that I said awhile awhile ago that any new construction should be made in full recognition of the law as it now is, whether it is for the first or twelfth grader."

MR. DAVIS: "Yes, Sir."

THE COURT: "... ...If they build a building it will be an integrated building, of course. Under the law if a colored boy or girl is otherwise qualified to enter that high school, it is just as much her high school or his high school as it is anybody else's. We won't have any trouble about that."

THE COURT: "Heretofore the law was that they (members of Board) were legislatively and statutorially required to maintain separate schools under the State law. Now, they are required, since those laws have been held unconstitutional, to maintain an integrated system of schools."

"...this Court...under the law must require the institution of integrated schools at the earliest practicable date and if practicable at the beginning of the next school term."

"...the determination of this motion is deferred until a date not later than the beginning of the next school year in Bearden, at which time the school board, the defendants, will be required to show cause why they have not integrated the schools."

"I am going to give you (all parties) an opportunity to do it. I think it can be worked out. But the Court is not going to undertake to tell the colored children that they must go to the white school. I am not going to tell the white children that they must go to the so-called colored school. But I am going to require, ultimately an integrated system of schools there. So when the high school is pointed out, that is the Bearden High School. It is not the Bearden Colored High School and it is not the Bearden White School. It is the Bearden Grammar School. It is not the colored school. It is not the white school. It is the school of the Bearden District.

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Quotations from Judge Trimble, U. S. Federal District Court, Little Rock Division, October 31 and November 1, 1955.

HOXIE SCHOOL BOARD (Plaintiffs)

VS

HERBERT BREWER, AMIS GUTHRIDGE, JAMES D. JOHNSON, CURT COPELAND, ET AL. (Defendants)

The case was brought by the School Board to secure an injunction restraining the prosegregationists from interference with the peaceful operation of the desegregated school. After the hearing, preliminary injunction was granted by the Court against interference, and a hearing for a permanent injunction set for December 8th in Jonesboro.

At the very beginning the Court said, "...it must be stated that there are no valid segregation laws of the State of Arkansas, for they have been declared unconstitutional and void by the Supreme Court of the United States."

Further along the Judge declared, "...the defendants are seeking to compel the plaintiffs (School Board) in this case to do the very thing which the School Directors involved in that litigation (before the U. S. Supreme Court) were ordered not to do."

The Court is trying to protect that community (Hoxie). Things in this case show it would soon develop into a riot....the defendants have committed and continue to commit and threaten acts of intimidation, coercion, and boycott which interfere with the lawful operation of the Hoxie Schools...."

*****

THANKS

Our first Annual Meeting of members, with Irene Osborne and Fred Routh as featured guests, was a tremendous success. This was made possible by the loyal assistance and cooperation of you (members) and our many friends. The Staff would like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation for this show of faith and allegiance in the efforts of our organization. Our THANKS to all of you and especially to Rev. E. B. Williams, the Board and members of Gardner Memorial Methodist Church for making the facilities of their fine church available to us for a meeting place.

*****

INTERESTING COMMENT

"The South is beyond question a different place from what it was when I last visited it. One gets a vivid impression that the Deep South, the Deep South of the grossest inequality, the worst discrimination, of murder and violence, is slowly retreating. Its theories of white supremacy and segregation are slowly being forced into the Gulf of Mexico, where they will be drowned, thus holding water for the first time." (Alan Paton, "The Negro in America Today," COLLIER'S, October 15, 1954.)

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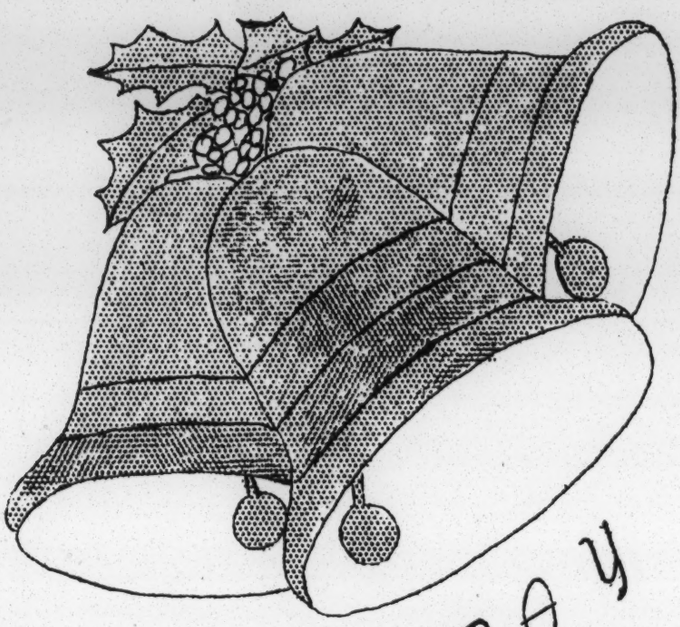
DON'T FORGET!

NOVEMBER IS NEW-MEMBER MONTH

Vol.2 - No.2 DECEMBER 1955

# ACHR NEWSLETTER



HOLIDAY GREETINGS

## A SEASON FOR PERSPECTIVE

Jesus' birthday became significant after he became significant, after men came to see in his person a unique fulfillment of the Hebrew Torah and the Prophets. He himself is reported as summarizing the Law and the Prophets in the two commandments to love God and to love man, which he clearly taught as one and not two commands. Subsequent Christian Scripture vividly declares: "If anyone says, 'I love God,' and hates his brother, he is a liar;" and, "He who loves God should love his brother also." Whatever Christians may disagree about, they are unanimous in the faith that "Love came down at Christmas-Time" in a unique sense. Therefore, for all concerned about human relations this is a season to review and evaluate basic principles to which we are unswervingly committed, a time to see them not in abstract language symbols but in concrete events and acts.

How do some current events look in the light of Jesus' love of God and love of man?

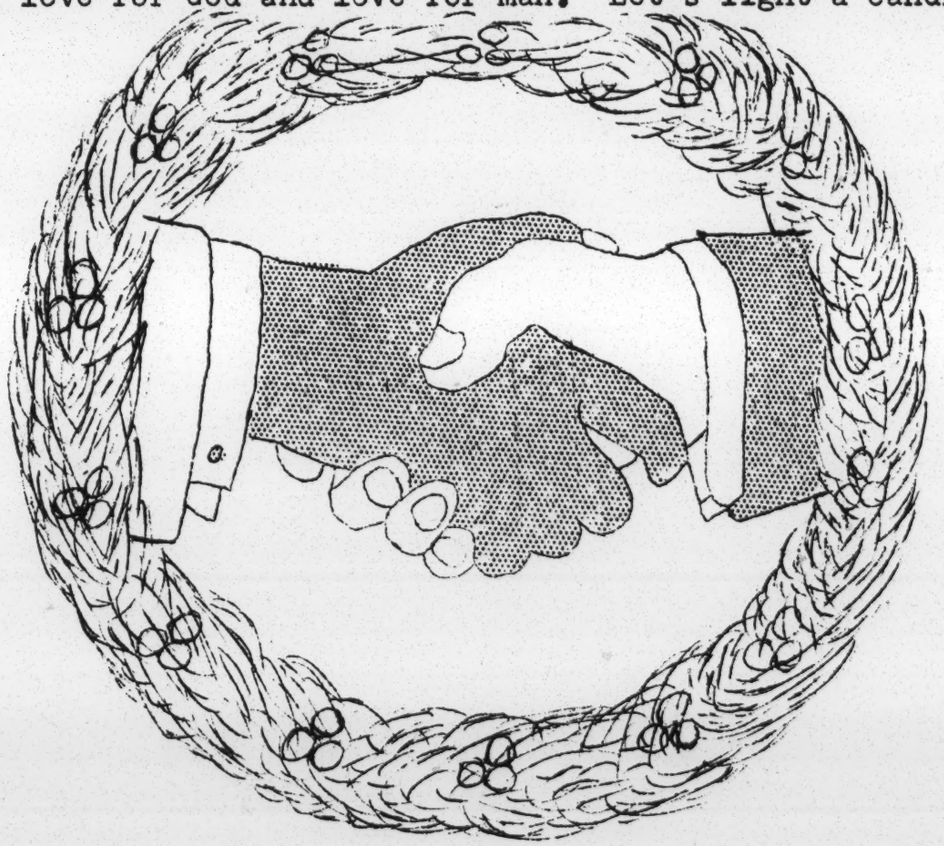
The Emmett Till case. The Winston-Salem Journal puts the matter clearly when it declares that "more terrible" than the miscarriage of justice "is the existence in this country of a state of mind that makes it possible, even easy, for a teen-aged boy to be kidnaped and murdered, whatever his alleged offense may be." What responsibility devolves on all "us good people" for such a state of mind!

The Hoxie story. The Court's injunction against irresponsible and hate-full men provides a legal peace in Hoxie. The legal peace surely provides an opportunity for the growth of a higher level of unity among all God's children there, that they may live in the "bonds of peace" through love and mutual respect "with liberty and justice for all."

Need good citizens "clam up"? Is not the principle of equal

justice and love to all men so universal that avowing it involves a quarrel with no man? Is this not a "given" principle resting not on Social Science or arguments or a majority vote? Is not its application in educational opportunities so self-evidently just that it needs no defense? Cannot we, "with malice toward none, with charity for all,... as God gives us to see the right," openly espouse this principle as the firm foundation for deciding all practical details in community institutions?

The staff greets you at this season with the hope that together we may reaffirm in practice our faith in that high religion made evident in Jesus' love for God and love for man. Let's light a candle before men.



## DESEGREGATION AT TEACHERS' MEETINGS

At the recent meeting of Arkansas Education Association a fearsome silence in regard to desegregation pervaded all meetings. While understandable, this silence was depressing. One had the feeling that school administrators must retire each night with the subconscious wish that the requirement to desegrate would be gone with the morning's light. One special teacher said privately, "They still are thinking more about how to evade the requirement than how to meet it."

In happy contrast was the heartening treatment given the subject at the annual meeting of Arkansas Teachers' Association at Hot Springs. One who attended declares that the topic of desegregation was being discussed directly or indirectly, by inference, in every session. That

group came up with these challenging decisions and suggestions:

1. AFFILIATION WITH OTHER N.E.A. UNITS

We reaffirm our position of March 31, 1950, that the A.T.A. will remain a distinct unit of the National Education Association and that restricted membership in any N.E.A. unit is unequivocally rejected by the A.T.A. and its members.

2. INTEGRATION

We believe that the May 17, 1954, decision of the United States Supreme Court ruling that segregation in public schools is unconstitutional is right. We believe that the implementation of that decision is the only Christian and democratic course that the United States can take. Our approval of racial integration in public education is thus expressed. We pledge cooperation with all individuals, agencies and organizations interested in an intelligent approach to problems involved in the implementation of the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954.

We believe that the welfare of Negro teachers is secure when strictly professional standards are maintained in the selection, retention, and promotion of teachers and other school personnel. Some school officials may resort to unprofessional standards and practices in the selection, retention, and promotion of school personnel.

If such acts should result in the unwarranted discharge of Negro teachers or failure to employ Negro teachers, we shall utilize every legitimate weapon to correct the evil, and recognize any failure as the price that individuals must pay for group achievement. We wholeheartedly believe that the American Negro will win first-class citizenship as racial segregation ceases to exist. Any losses to individuals or groups along the path to full citizenship will be more than compensated by the expanded opportunities offered when the goal is reached.

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Best wishes for the New Year

Chris,

Nat,

Velma.

A C H R NEWSLETTER

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 211 S. Izard - Little Rock, Ark.

Vol. 2 January 27, 1956 No. 3

## PERMANENT INJUNCTION AT HOXIE

On January 9, at Jonesboro, Federal Judge Albert L. Reeves made permanent the temporary injunction against the segregationists at Hoxie. The following points in his 24 page decision have wide implications:

1. The injunction forbids the defendants "from attempting trespassing or picketing on property of the plaintiff School District; from attempting to obstruct attendance at the plaintiff school; from attempting to interfere with lawful administration of plaintiff School District; from intimidating, threatening or attempting to visit harm on the plaintiffs and to cause them to violate the U.S. Constitution and the laws of the United States in regard to their official duties."

2. The court pointed out that the evidence showed that the defendants were guilty of a conspiracy, and as such could actually have been held liable by civil suits or criminal prosecution under federal law.

3. In the matter of free speech the court held, "some intemperance of speech and act may be tolerated, and the right of peaceful assembly and petition for redress should be respected and protected. In this case, however, the ... mass meetings were by inflamatory speeches dissolved into a spirit of revolt against the law, and acts were committed and words spoken that destroyed or thwarted one of the main objects of government, which is to insure domestic tranquility."

4. The court acknowledged that the School Board would have been subject to both civil and criminal liability under federal law if they had failed to desegregate the schools after the administrative obstacles had been removed. The board had officially decided that they had no such obstacles.

5. The court held that public officials have a civil right to perform their duties without undue obstruction. This is the first time on record that public officials have sought the aid of the courts for the protection of this civil right.

6. The court ruled that the Arkansas laws requiring segregation in public schools are invalid -- they were nullified by the

Supreme Court Decision.

7. Judge Reeves noted, in ruling that one of the defendants would not be included in the restraining order, that "... anyone who has notice of the injunction is restrained from violating its provisions."

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Worth repeating -- "The decision to desegregate was made by the Supreme Court but the principles involved were of Christian origin." -- from official report of the North Arkansas Conference of the Methodist Church.

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## FEDERAL COURT TELLS VAN BUREN TO INTEGRATE

Federal Judge Miller, on January 18 at Fort Smith, ruled that there was no question of law in the case because the U. S. Supreme Court has outlawed racial segregation in public schools. He said the only question to be decided is whether the Van Buren Board needs more time to integrate. August 15 was set as the date to report on "progress and plans."

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## GOOD NEWS

Garner Allen, News Editor of the Stuttgart DAILY LEADER, is plugging for the University of Arkansas to institute a course for training of police officers of the cities and of the state. Members of ACHR would do well to support this move. Protection of civil rights depends in no small measure on well-trained law-enforcement officials. They are indispensable allies to school officials in implementing the courts decisions on desegregation of the schools.

Dr. C. A. Lawlah of Pine Bluff has been elected Secretary-Treasurer of the Jefferson County Medical Society, the first Negro physician to hold an office in a county medical association in Arkansas. He is a native of Alabama and came to Pine Bluff from Atlanta, Georgia, in 1933.

Arkadelphia is among those towns which have ministerial associations with an inclusive (interracial) membership.

ACHR now has 148 individual members in 14 towns. We expect this number to be more than doubled by September. In every town persons are waiting to be asked to join. You know some of them. Won't you ask them?

*****

## ITEMS OF INTEREST

Mrs. J. Russell Henderson, a member of our Board, recently has promoted two very significant conferences for church women: One at Camp Aldersgate out of Little Rock for Methodist women, one for women of three states at Camp Amon Carter in Fort Worth, Texas. Both gave staff members excellent opportunities to reach people.

Mrs. Kyle Engler, President of Arkansas Council of Church Women and a member of our Board, presided over a very successful annual meeting of church women in Little Rock last week. Reverend Colbert Cartwright acted as a resource person.

Conway District of the Methodist Church in its quarterly conference passed unanimously a resolution reaffirming the stand of the Discipline on race and added "this conference encourages its Methodist leaders in local churches to accept their responsibility in seeing that the inevitable adjustments that must be made in elimininating segregation are carried out in view of the reality that every person, regardless of his color, deserves the right and freedom to affirm himself as a Son of God in all the dimensions of that relationship."

The Finance Committee, under the direction of Fred K. Darragh, Jr., is busy trying to sell 295 shares ($10 each) in the operational program for 1955-56. They estimate that they need 50 persons to buy one share each; 25 persons, 2 shares each; 15 persons, 5 shares each; 12 persons, 10 shares each. Obviously, many of these 102 purchasers of shares must be Council members. Payment for shares may be made quarterly. The Finance Committee needs volunteers for work and for purchasing shares. Write the office.

Board Meeting. Twenty-two attended the dinner meeting of the Board of ACHR at Hotel Grady Manning, January 16. Guests were Mr. & Mrs. Bill Penix of Jonesboro and Mr. Edwin Dunaway of Little Rock. Dr. Tilman C. Cothran, Department of Sociology, A. M. & N. College, led a discussion on "Does desegregation mean down-grading of public schools?" New board members elected by the Board: Mr. John Gammon, Jr., of Marion, Rabbi Albert H. Friedlander of Fort Smith, and Rev. E. B. Williams of North Little Rock.

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## QUOTABLE QUOTE

"The difference between the White Citizens Councils and the Klu Klux Klan is a matter of haberdashery." -- Murray Kempton.

# Newsletter

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS – 211 S. IZARD, LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

Vol. 2 March, 1956 No. 4


## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS BY THE GOVERNOR'S COMMITTEE ON VIRGINIA

"1. Interposition. The Committee is in full and complete accord with the principles set out in the Virginia Interposition Resolution... To that end the Committee recommends the enactment of an appropriate law, either by the General Assembly of Arkansas or by an Act initiated by the People of Arkansas under Amendment No. 7 to the Constitution of Arkansas, by the terms of which enactment the People of Arkansas would be given an opportunity either by direct vote of the people or by the vote of their representatives in the General Assembly to affirm or reject the principles set forth in the Virginia Resolution and authorizing the State to resort to a means for relief set forth in that Resolution."

(NOTE: The Governor's committee clearly recognizes that the Interposition Resolution has not the force or effect of law. Its report states, "The Attorney General (of Virginia) further stated, in answer to questions, that it was not within the powers of the General Assembly or the people of Virginia to legally nullify, in whole or in part, the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court or to suspend for any period of time the enforcement of the decision in Virginia.")

2. Tuition grants. (The committee makes no recommendations on tuition grants to permit attendance at private schools in lieu of integrated public schools. Rather, it raises four very serious questions about such a plan.)

"3. Assignment Plan. The Committee recommends that the General Assembly of Arkansas enact a pupil assignment law along the general lines recommended by the Gray Commission and as exemplified by the North Carolina Act of 1955... which was in operation at the beginning of the 1955-56 session of the public schools in North Carolina.... Under presently existing Arkansas Laws, if a Negro pupil is assigned to a segregated school solely on the ground of race, such Negro can apply immediately to the Federal District Court for injunctive relief... On the other hand, under the assignment law such as the 1955 North Carolina Act or the proposed Virginia assignment law, a child who had been assigned under the provisions of those acts and not solely on race would be compelled to exhaust the administrative remedy provided for in the act before the Federal Court would have jurisdiction to try the issues presented. The Committee recommends, therefore, the enactment of a School Assignment Law with appropriate administrative remedies patterned along the lines suggested by the Gray Commission and exemplified by the 1955 North Carolina Act. The Committee submits this report subject to such further requests and directions as the Governor may consider desirable and appropriate."

(NOTE: Efficacy of the Assignment Plan. The admitted purpose of the assignment plan in Virginia and in Arkansas is to delay the plaintiffs as long as possible in getting a hearing before a federal court. The Governor's Committee cites the fact that a federal judge in North Carolina refused a hearing of a plaintiff on the ground the plaintiff had not exhausted all administrative measures to get relief. However, they now may note that a three-judge federal court in Louisiana did rule

(Cont'd.)

on February 15 that the assignment plan was unconstitutional. Judge Wright in that case declared: "To remit each of these minor children and the thousands of others similarly situated to thousands of administrative hearings before the board to seek the relief to which the Supreme Court of the U. S. has said they are entitled, would be a vain and useless gesture, unworthy of a court of equity. It would be a travesty in which this court will not participate!")

*****

## "MANIFESTO" OF LEGISLATORS

Morale at ACHR office hit zero on Monday, March 13, with the reports of the so-called "declaration of principles" signed by all the Arkansas delegation in Congress. The most charitable view we could take of this action was that it was unblushing political expediency on the part of those legislators known to be soundly democratic and enlightened lawyers. One political analyst of repute interprets the action as pure expediency: "What would you do if you were coming up for re-election this summer?" He also gives great weight to the view that extraordinary means were necessary to save Senator George from defeat at the hand of Talmadge.

But expediency hardly seems to call for joining the unreconstructed dixiecrats in deceiving responsible citizens into believing that there is a perfectly legal way of circumventing the Court's decision and raising the expectancy of respecters of law that, as one put it, "Maybe we don't have to desegregate after all."

It seems probable that this "manifesto" plus the actions of the Governor will paralyze action of school boards in the direction of compliance with the Court's decision. We still can work with voluntary organizations, notably the churches. Evidence is growing that this "manifesto" is the stimulation needed to raise the voice of protest from that considerable block of silent moderates, including clergymen. Some of our congressional delegation may discover the truth that their "manifesto" clashes with judgement and conscience of a majority of responsible citizens. And of course, the plain truth is the Court's decisions on desegregation are still the law in Arkansas.

### Drummond on the Manifesto

Roscoe Drummond, the columnist, makes some seemingly valid observations about "the principles" of the congressmen: "... when citizens or states or congressmen or presidents are in disagreement as to the meaning of the Constitution, who is to decide -- the complainants or the court? Is the nation to take the verdict of 19 Senators or 81 Congressmen in place of the verdict of the Supreme Court?... If the Court was exercising proper jurisdiction in finding that 'separate but equal' doctrine was compatible with the 14th Amendment, it is exercising proper jurisdiction in reversing that finding. We may or may not approve the reversal, but it has the same sanction of law as the previous ruling unless we are to embrace the doctrine that we need only support the court when we like what it does."

*****

## BE SURE TO READ

LOOK (April 3, 1956) "The South vs. the Supreme Court" Described as "a penetrating 18-page report on America's greatest legal, political and emotional crisis since the Civil War." Ten writers and photographers from LOOK'S staff traveled through the South gathering the information and the pictures.

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST (March 10, 1956) "They Always Ask Me About Negroes" by Frank M. Snowden, a Negro and the American cultural attaché in Italy. Gives international flavor of U.S. racial question.

## UNDERSTANDING INTERPOSITION

Two forms of Interposition Resolutions are being discussed in Arkansas. The White Citizens Council and White America, Inc., are sponsoring an amendment of interposition which is avowed nullification such as Georgia has adopted with the instruction to the State Legislature to enact all measures calculated to give relief from the Supreme Court's rulings on desegregation. The Governor's Committee to Virginia recommends the Interposition Resolution adopted by Virginia without nullification language or claim to legal effect in suspending the Court's decisions. As such, it is a vote of protest against unwarranted authority exercised by the Supreme Court, nothing more.

## INTERPOSITION - LESSON IN HISTORY

Very instructive but little noted are the facts cited by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Professor of History at Harvard, in the N.Y. TIMES, March 2, 1956, in regard to interposition. "It was this doctrine," writes Schlesinger, "which another Southerner, Andrew Jackson, described as 'incompatible with the existence of the Union, contradicted expressly by the letter of the Constitution, unauthorized by its spirit, inconsistent with every principle on which it was founded, and destructive of the great object for which it was formed.'"

"When South Carolina," the professor continues, "tried to carry interposition into effect in 1832 it was unable to gain the support of any other southern state." He quotes the strong language of rejection from the legislatures of Virginia, Georgia, and Mississippi. All these echo the sentiment of Alabama which condemned interposition as "unconstitutional and essentially revolutionary, leading in its consequences to anarchy and civil discord, and finally to dissolution of the Union." Mr. Schlesinger concludes: "It speaks sadly for the decay of constitutional knowledge in our day that the Georgia,Alabama and Virginia legislatures should have all recently passed resolutions of the sort which the same legislatures condemned so categorically one hundred and twenty years ago." (It should be pointed out that the Virginia legislature modified its resolution to eliminate all language of nullification before acting on it.)

*****

## FOR WHOSE BENEFIT SHOULD SOCIETY BE OPERATED?

"Because we believe in democratic principles, society MUST be operated for the benefit of all people. It cannot be operated for a chosen few, no matter what group. All people must participate in and be respected by the society and by its governmental institutions without regard to their race, their creed, their national origin, their sex, or their age. The task of making democracy work in Arkansas must be performed by Arkansans. The dedication and the skills they bring to the job will determine the rate of progress." (From Fred Routh, staff member of Southern Regional Council, in his summary of the work conference held at Camp Aldersgate March 9-11 for board members and staff.)

In the conference sessions, we examined the current situation and "climate" in the State of Arkansas and the role of the Arkansas Council in seeking to help bring about smooth desegregation of the public schools. We came up with a two-part definition -- the role of the board and members; the role of the staff.

ROLE OF THE BOARD AND MEMBERS:

<u>Individual Role</u>

1. Reaching leadership people in existing organizations.
2. Working through other organizations to which we belong.
3. Knowing community resources and how to reach them.

(Cont'd.)

4. Talking with neighbors and friends.
5. Letter-writing to papers, to Congressmen, to state officials.
6. Broadening knowledge and understanding of human relations.
7. Functioning as individuals in areas where the Council cannot operate as an organization. (Such as politics.)

Organizational Role

1. Program development, planning and follow-up.
2. Fund raising.
3. Obtaining membership.
4. Recruiting new board members.

ROLE OF STAFF:

1. Working with board in program planning, development and follow-up.
2. Executing policy so determined.
3. Working in cooperation with other groups and organizations with similar goals.
4. Serving as information resources to the national press and local mass media.
5. Trouble-shooting and fire-fighting in local situations.

The work conference was a result of the seeking of the Southern Regional Council to strengthen the program development of the various State organizations. The SRC brought together a group of skilled and experienced social scientists to work under the direction of John Hope II. Arkansas is the second State to receive this program aid. Our two consultants were Dr. Bonita Valien, Fisk University, and Dr. Whitney Young, Director of the School of Social Work, Atlanta University.

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YOU WILL WANT TO READ

RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER (February, 1956, 292 pp., Vanderbilt University School of Law, Nashville, Tennessee; Subscription price $2.00 per year, Single copy $1.00.)

A newly inaugurated bi-monthly publication endeavoring to report material in all fields where the issue of race or color is presented as having legal consequence. Primary emphasis, however, is placed on public education and other related fields directly affected by the US Supreme Court decisions in the school segregation cases. Its coverage will be a complete, impartial presentation of basic legal materials, including and giving the exact wording of: (1) decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court, the lower federal courts, and the various state courts; (2) legislation enacted or officially proposed; (3) rulings and orders of administrative agencies, boards and commissions; (4) opinions of state Attorney Generals. The first issue covers the legal developments from the May, 1954, decision through December, 1955.

THE FEARS MEN LIVE BY (Selma Hirsh, Harper & Brothers, 1955, N.Y., 164 pp., $2.75.)

A short and provocative book about what science has learned of prejudice in America and what can be done about it. This book is a distillation of the findings of the distinguished and authoriative series of STUDIES IN PREJUDICE and brings together the findings of psychiatrists, psychologists, social and political scientists after years of painstaking research.

*****

"Although I found Negroes confident of victory, I also found concern among both Negroes and whites about the fact that, while much of the enlightened press lies timid and muffled, and many liberal white Southerners sit silent in fear and confusion, unscrupulous politicians and clever hate merchants are pushing a whole region toward darkness and despair." (Carl Rowan in LOOK, April 3, "What do Negroes Really Want?")

# Newsletter

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS – 211 S. IZARD, LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

Vol. 2 July, 1956 No. 5


## TAKE A "SHARE" IN ACHR's FUTURE

Most members, and others who are acquainted with ACHR, are aware of the huge cost it would take to set up in Arkansas an organization like ACHR to do the type of job it is doing--and we can ill afford to be without this service in our state, especially is this so now. We are fortunate that we already have such an organization in existence and effectively operating. It will take only a small pitance, figuratively speaking, to keep it operating.

Arkansas is only required to provide 360 shares (at $10 a share) to support this program this year. Three-fourths (3/4's) of our fiscal year has passed and only about one-fourth (1/4) of the shares have been purchased. This means that we are lagging with 3/4's of our responsibility. Our grant from SRC another year depends upon our purchasing these "shares." It is for this "pitance" that we need the help of you--ACHR members and friends. Your contribution for the continuation of this essential program is sorely needed--NOW! Unless we act NOW, continuing the organization another year will not be possible.

Make your contribution immediately! Buy a "share" or as many "shares" as you can today. Use your influence to get individuals, groups, and organizations to contribute whatever amount they can to insure the future of ACHR.

***

## WHAT ARE WASHINGTON, D. C., SCHOOLS REALLY LIKE?

Is it true what they are saying about the progress of school integration in the nation's Capitol? The "they" referred to are the various sources of recent and repeated criticisms of the desegregated school system; viz., Southern Congressmen and Senators, some of our local daily papers, and various other "anti's." (They continue to try and fog the picture by use of prejudiced sources while ignoring creditable sources which disagree with them.) Dispelling the myths which "they" are attempting to create is a report in Southern School News, June, 1956, of the Washington School Board's request before a Senate Appropriations Subcommittee for "180 additional teachers to cope with problems created by racial desegregation." The meat of the request, as presented by Supt. Hobart Corning, was to hire additional teachers to reduce over-size grade school classes. Under question by Subcommittee Chairman John C. Stennis (D-Miss.), Supt. Corning made it clear that: (1) integration was only one of several reasons for needing more teachers; (2) Washington schools were not integrated "too fast;" and (3) as to the reports that Washington students were falling below the national norms academically, that this situation was "discovered" after the start of integration but did not result from it.

In opposition to the impression that "they" would leave with us, is the record of success established in more than 30 states where integrated school systems have operated all along, and the hundreds of other examples throughout the country of recently desegregated schools.

***

ON INTERPOSITION

Arthur S. Miller

"...Historically, there is no question but that past actions of interposition or nullification have had no legal (or constitutional) effect whatever. Thus it can be said that interposition has no legal validity.

...This dual political aspect of interposition means essentially that the legal or constitutional arguments advanced by the interpositionist are to be considered as gambits which are designed to persuade, not lawyers who have some familiarity with the complexities of constitutional law, but the electorate at large. They sound good even if they cannot withstand critical legal analysis. And they appeal to deep-set emotions--and that is another reason for the modern interposition movement. Psychologically, interposition resolutions fulfill a real need. Taken all in all, it serves the important function of being an emotional catharsis."

(Arthur S. Miller, "Interposition: A Critical Analysis," INTERRACIAL REVIEW, May, 1956. Professor Miller is a member of the faculty of the Lamar School of Law of Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia.)

ALSO

Wylie H. Davis

"...In this writer's candid opinion there is no legal basis whatever for 'interposition' as a nullifying or voiding device. As anything more than a formal and official protest against federal action, the doctrine is a legal absurdity. ...And as a reputable political theory, 'interposition' in the nullification sense was dealt a grievous blow by the Henry Clay--engineered Tariff Compromise of 1833. After that even most of the Southern leaders who championed the right of secession did not contend that a state could both nullify and remain in the Union. Certainly the outcome of the Civil War did not enhance the legal and political luster of 'interposition.'"

(Wylie H. Davis, SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS, March, 1956. The editors of SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS submitted a series of questions on this subject to Prof. Davis of the law school of the University of Texas--formerly of the University of Arkansas. The above is from one of his answers.)

AND

The Faubus Interposition Resolution and School Assignment Measure were worked out by the Arkansas Committee after careful study of similar measures proposed by the Gray Commission in Virginia. It is interesting to note that the report of the Gray Commission in Virginia has been shelved. That Committee is at the moment re-studying the whole issue. (See SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS, June, 1956.)

***

IN THE NEWS

Army Objects to Story in "Arkansas Faith"

According to UP story in the ARKANSAS GAZETTE, June 8, Army Secretary Brucker declared the pictures and story in March and April issues of Arkansas Faith, publication of The White Citizens Councils, James D. Johnson, Director, are untrue as to fact. The account purports to show Negro soldiers and white WAC's out of uniform intimately fraternizing at the Service Club at Fort McClellan, Alabama. Secretary Brucker located the soldiers' station as overseas and the girls as European civilians. A later GAZETTE story quoted the Army Recruiting

(Cont'd. on page 3)

Officer for Arkansas as saying he expected to send copies of the UP story to all local papers in Arkansas because the untrue account in Arkansas Faith was hurting Army recruiting. ACHR wishes other groups as powerful as the Army were available to paralyze the influence of the multiplied misrepresentations in AF (not Air Force!).

--

North Carolina

Newspaper publicity gave considerable play to the fact that two North Carolina solons, Representatives Chatham and Deane, lost their seats in Congress following their refusal to sign the "Manifesto." Equal publicity was not given the fact that a third Congressman who also refused to sign the "Manifesto" regained his seat, Representative Cooley, and that another Congressman who did sign the "Manifesto," Representative Carlyle, was defeated for renomination after serving four consecutive terms. Box-score wise in North Carolina, this shows the non-signers and signers broke even: 2 non-signers losing, 1 non-signer winning, 1 signer losing.

***

RECOMMENDED READING

SIMPLE STEPS - (ACHR, May, 1956, 10 pp., 10¢)

All who have seen ACHR's most recent publication, Simple Steps In Compliance with Court's Decision on Segregation, are pleased with its format, content, and cover design.

If you have not seen it, we think you will share their enthusiasm when you do. Its content aptly suggests tested "Steps" which school boards, local leaders, and organizations may take as they plan in an effective and constructive manner to smooth the way to racially non-discriminatory schools.

Eleven outstanding and well-known Arkansans indicate on a cover enclosure that they think it deserves "...careful consideration by responsible local school people and patrons."

Send for your copy today (10¢ each) and for as many more as you would like for distribution to persons who have (or should have) concern for smooth desegregation. Eighty-five copies have been ordered by Kentucky friends and twenty-eight by Californians.

***

PHI DELTA KAPPAN - (Journal of Phi Delta Kappa, Professional Fraternity for men in Education, May, 1956, 55 pp., 50¢, 1201-05 Bluff Street, Fulton, Missouri.)

This 50th Anniversary issue is devoted entirely to "Problems of School Desegregation," and contains 12 articles which present a scholarly appraisal of some of the problems of desegregation, an appraisal written by professional men of both races and from the region where segregation has been practiced.

***

WHO'S ON FIRST - Jack Mabley. (Public Affairs Pamphlet #233, 22 East 38th Street, N.Y. 16, N. Y, 28 pp., 25¢.)

This provocative pamphlet relates how American sports have survived, thrived and made progress because democracy has been practiced and racial intolerance has almost been eliminated. The potential and core of this pamphlet is summed up in the preface by Lou Boudreau, Manager of Kansas City Athletics, in these words, "Discrimination has no place in baseball, and I hope that baseball may be an instrument to show that it has no place in America."

***

(Cont'd. on page 4)

THE NEGRO POTENTIAL, Eli Ginzberg (Columbia University Press, $3.00)

Demonstrates the economic and social folly of isolating educationally one tenth of the American people, "without emotional heat or acrimony." "Since the Negro goes to school for fewer years than do whites, he receives far less preparation for life and work. What schooling he does receive is of inferior quality...It has not been possible under segregation to break the cycle of poorly prepared Negro teachers teaching severely handicapped Negro students. Significant improvement will probably have to wait for progress in integration."

***

GOODBYE TO UNCLE TOM, J. C. Furnas (William Sloane Associates - see chapter printed from the namuscript, SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE, May 26, 1956.)

Takes an unusual approach: To deny that racial groupings are real serves poorly the interest of the American Negro. "Only when one knows why racial groupings are real can one distinguish properly between the West African Negro on the slave ship in 1705 and his American Negro descendant in 1955 with his Negro physical traits (and his Negro mental traits, if any such exists) modified by new environment, by stray mutations, and most of all by heavy admixture of Caucasoid genes over the intervening 250 years. ...American attitudes about sharp cleavage of opportunity between the white and the American Negro castes seem sillier still in view of Herskovits's finding, a generation ago, that three out of four American Negroes had some non-Negro ancestry, often Red Indian, oftener Caucasoid. After running a small sample to check Herskovits's results Stern recently judged that 'probably by 1980 there will hardly be a single Negro in the United States who can claim a purely African descent.' ...In no category does the denial of full educational and economic opportunity to Negroes make sense."

***

## ITEMS OF INTEREST

### Spring Membership Drive

ACHR's Spring membership drive was launched by the new membership chairman, Mrs. J. Russell Henderson. Invitations have been sent to a number of persons to associate with us in the vital work being carried on for Arkansas's improvement. Mrs. Henderson and the members of the committee solicit your help in making this a successful membership campaign. Encourage people you know who are concerned about Arkansas' welfare to join ACHR. Membership dues (which include a year's subscription to NEW SOUTH) are $3.00 for an individual and $4.00 for a married couple. Have your friends join now.

***

### Symposium

The interfaith symposium, May 21, following the Board meeting in Mt. Zion Baptist Church was received with enthusiasm by some 200 people. Six ministers were discussants: Rabbi Albert Friedlander, United Hebrew Temple, Fort Smith; Robert Chambless, First Christian Church, Russellville; H. L. Robison, First Methodist Church, Hoxie; Jac Ruffin, Second Presbyterian Church, Little Rock; David Talbot, Shorter College, North Little Rock; William A. Willcox, St. Mark's Episcopal Church, Little Rock. The Reverend Charles C. Walker acted as moderator. In addition to newspaper reports, KARK-TV and several radio stations carried the story. Topic: "What can the churches do to help communities meet the requirements of the Court's decision on school desegregation?"

***

GEORGE MITCHELL says:

"The corn pone curtain has become Cellophane."

# Newsletter

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS – 211 S. IZARD, LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

Vol. 3 September, 1956 No. 6


## CALL TO ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING

DATE: Friday, October 12, 1956 - 7:00 p.m.

PLACE: Auditorium, AEA Building, 1500 West 4th Street, Little Rock.

FEATURE: Dr. Robert D. Snyder: "THE ST. LOUIS STORY" - Public Meeting 8:30 p.m.

Dr. Robert D. Snyder: For three years chairman of St. Louis Council on Human Relations; Superintendent, Parkway Consolidated School District, St. Louis County. As Chairman of the St. Louis Council on Human Relations, an agency of City Government, Dr. Snyder had a key role in the work of preparation for school desegregation. The Council's Institute on Human Rights, December, 1954, had as its theme: "Integration in Education--A Process in Human Relations." Eighty-five organizations cooperated. Dr. Snyder will relate what happened in St. Louis. He will be factual. He will leave Arkansans to make their own applications and conclusions. We are indebted to Commissioner W.J. Duford for arranging Dr. Snyder's visit.

## THE ORDER OF EVENTS

7:00 p.m. - Annual Membership Meeting - Report of Shares Purchased
Election of Board Members

8:30 p.m. - Public Meeting - Dr. Robert D. Snyder

*****

## OPERATION SURVIVAL - October 12

This is a modest proposal, a modest proposal with stupendous potentials. By October 12, our Annual Membership Meeting date, ACHR must secure its budget balance for 1955-56, an additional $1500! Southern Regional Council grant for another year depends on this.

Our Finance Committee knows now "there ain't no Santa Claus." The needed sum must come from small contributors, all in the family of members and friends. $1500! Sound impossible? Here is how simple it is. By October 12 every member can purchase (or sell) one share ($10) or more in our program. This would do the job and guarantee survival.

In October 1955 the Annual Meeting reduced membership dues so that the state office gets only $1.00 per member. It was done with the understanding that most members would help finance program. Actually to September 13, only 15 members had purchased as much as one share ($10); eight non-members had done so. A few have been generous.

The staff has an unyielding determination to help Arkansas move toward equal opportunities for all citizens and children. This can be done: not by winning one or a dozen battles, but by solving problems together. We think our members are convinced that ACHR is needed more today than ever before. For the price of a cheap pair of shoes from each member ACHR can survive, qualify for the SRC grant for 1956-57.

ACT NOW!

BUY YOUR SHARE!

CONTRASTING VIEWS

An Arkansas Superintendent speaking in regard to his projected plans for desegregation: "There will be no integration of teachers. Negro teachers will not teach white children." (ARKANSAS GAZETTE 6-1-56)

Supt. Omer Charmichael on the eve of the integration of Louisville schools: "It is going to be rugged. But as far as I can determine the best teacher, Negro or white, is going to get the job. You are going to have Negro teachers teaching white children. That is what the Supreme Court decision means and that is what we will do." (NEW YORK TIMES 7-8-56)

*****

President of Texarkana Jr. College which is under court order to admit Negro students, after two Negro girls had passed the tests for admission to the college, on the eve of the opening of the college addressed a rally of White Citizens Councils: "When a government attempts to force it (integration) upon the governed it is not only our right to resist but our duty to do so." He urged his audience to stand "like Stonewall at Bull Run."

Chancellor of Woman's College of North Carolina briefed 100 student leaders in preparation for the entrance of the first Negro students: These girls have "a right to just and fair treatment, the basic rights of admitted students."

*****

HERE! HERE! "...in South Africa there is an apathy and a patience within the Church towards the evils of racialism which is harder to bear and far more difficult to break through than deliberate malice and wickedness." (Huddleston, Naught for Your Comfort, p. 75)

*****

DECISION

Justice John E. Miller's approval of the Little Rock plan for school desegregation on August 28 underscores one important fact with reference to the Supreme Court's decision which we have consistently tried to point out to local schools. Federal District Courts will allow ample time for individual districts to work out their administrative problems once they make a good-faith start toward compliance with the Court's decision. This fact makes any state action to secure additional time for meeting local problems unnecessary and confusing.

*****

NEWS ITEMS

The first meeting of the integrated ministerial association of Greater Little Rock, on Monday, Sept. 24, at the YWCA, had more than 60 present.

****

Dr. & Mrs. M.E. Sparling and Col. & Mrs. G.D. Rogers honored Dr. & Mrs. Kenneth Clark at a buffet supper for Hot Springs friends at their lakeside homes Tuesday, August 21. Dr. Clark is the Scoial Psychologist at Brooklyn College whose research in the effect of segregation on children has had such wide influence. His book, Your Child and Prejudice, records some of the conclusions from his studies. Mrs. Clark's parents are Dr. & Mrs. H.H. Phipps of Hot Springs. ACHR Directors and wives were guests.

****

RECOMMENDED FILM (16-mm sound)

THE TOYMAKER - 15 min. A delightful puppet film in color designed especially for children of from third to eighth grades. (Can be used effectively for all age groups.) Shows how we must all learn to get along with each other, because hurting one of us hurts all of us. (State Dept. of Health, Mental Health Library, no charge to civic and school groups.)

****

Do YOU want ACHR to operate another year?

This is OPERATION SURVIVAL! Each member must buy or sell at least one $10.00 share in the program by October 12.

Mail you $10.00 share TODAY! Envelope enclosed. Make check to ACHR

Final REPORT DAY - Annual Meeting - October 12.

SEND IT OR BRING IT!

RECEIVED NOV 2 0 1956

# Newsletter

FILE COPY

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS – 211 S. IZARD, LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

Vol. 3 NOVEMBER 1956 No. 1

## NOW, 1956-1957

We made it! Thanks to a few substantial contributions and the constant support of faithful members ACHR raised $1,500 during October. This qualified ACHR for the continued support of Southern Regional Council. Thanks! And let's go!

## ANNUAL MEETING

Dr. Snyder of St. Louis County brought to the Annual Meeting an inspiring factual account of one community's solid-front affirmative movement toward complete desegregation of the schools. (This story appears now in a 63 page pamphlet from the St. Louis Board of Education, soon to be available at ACHR office.) Here is a success story in a community with more than 25% non-white population.

Significant, also, was the luncheon meeting of Dr. Snyder with greater Little Rock community leaders to discuss the functioning of the St. Louis Council on Human Relations. "The best meeting yet," a comment by an ACHR officer.

***

Officers for ACHR for 1956-57

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Rev. Colbert S. Cartwright | - | Chairman |
| Dr. Tilman C. Cothran | - | Vice-Chairman |
| Mrs. E. M. Sparling | - | Vice-Chairman |
| Rev. Charles C. Walker | - | Treasurer |
| Mrs. Jesse B. Woods | - | Secretary |

New Board Members - terms expire 1959

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Mrs. John E. Burke, Sr. | - | Forrest City |
| The Rev. Robert Chambless | - | Russellville |
| The Rev. Geo. A. Chauncey | - | Monticello |
| Thomas E. Downie | - | Little Rock |
| Mrs. E. D. Galloway | - | Hot Springs |
| H. Charles Johnston | - | Little Rock |
| George Mouton | - | Greenbrier |
| Mrs. James H. Rice, Sr. | - | Little Rock |
| Mrs. E. M. Sparling | - | Hot Springs |
| William H. Thompson | - | Little Rock |
| Mrs. J. R. Vinson | - | Little Rock |
| Mrs. Jesse B. Woods | - | Little Rock |

***

## ITEM OF INTEREST

Preliminary release from Dr. Tilman C. Cothran's study of Negro voters in Arkansas as of October 1955: 69,677 qualified Negro voters, an increase of 8,264 since 1952. Negroes represent 21% of the total population of voting age, only 12% of qualified voters.

***

## THE VOTE ON DESEGREGATION - WHAT THE PRESS DIDN'T SAY

ACHR members well may reassure themselves with these observations in regard to the vote on segregation measures.

First, freedom to enjoy tax supported institutions is guaranteed by the Constitution. No poll or election vote properly can change this guarantee to individuals against the tyranny of a majority or a dictatorial minority. Polls are not relevant to the question of legal segregation of races in public schools.

Second, in the light of current opinions the vote on segregation should be instructive to would-be vote-getters. (Most politicians went along with the opinion that only 15% of the citizens of Arkansas were for compliance with the Court's decision.) The following results have not been made clear in the press:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Against Johnson's Amendment #47 | -26 Counties | -43% of voters |
| Against Faubus' Interposition Resolution | -14 Counties | -38% of voters |
| Against Faubus' Assignment Act #2 | - 6 Counties | -32% of voters |

Act #2, the Assignment Measure, was presented by proponents not as a defiance of the Court but a measure for legal and orderly compliance. Therefore, proposed Amendment #47 and the Interposition Resolution probably more correctly separate the opponents and the proponents of compliance with the Court. Votes indicate around 40% of the voters favor compliance. No politician can ignore such a block of voters.

Third, not all the counties repudiating segregation are in the North and West with insignificant non-white population. Seven counties in Central and Northeast Arkansas did so, including counties with these percentages of non-white population: 38%, 32%, 24%, 11%. (These observations are based on report in Arkansas Gazette, Nov. 8, 1956.)

***

## THE HOXIE STORY SEQUEL

(U.S. Appeals Court Forbids Interference
With School Administrators' Duty)

Nation-wide publicity of the disturbances at Hoxie, in the summer of 1955, over desegregation of the schools, made the name of that small Northeast Arkansas town as familiar to the American public as the traditional greeting "good morning." It was also common knowledge that many school districts, especially in Arkansas, were apprehensive of any move toward desegregation until the furor at Hoxie was settled. The decision rendered by the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals on Oct. 25,1956, at St. Louis undoubtedly provided the clinches for "settling the furor."

The Court of Appeals upheld the permanent injunction issued earlier by the Eastern District Court of Arkansas prohibiting segregationist groups from interfering with Hoxie's program of school integration.

The unique question of "whether school administrators desegregating public schools have a Federal right to be free from direct and deliberate interference" having been answered in the affirmative, should give encouragement to those school districts that had apprehensions about moving forward with school desegregation. On the duty to "move forward," the Appeals Court said, "The principles enunciated by the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases are binding upon plaintiffs in this case (Hoxie School Board) as well as on all other school boards or school officials administering public education programs."

The courage of the Hoxie School Board and its lawyers in carrying out the principles enunciated in the Supreme Court's decision has established the right for all school boards to be protected from interference as they move toward desegregating the public schools.

## DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON

The sudden death of the President of Fisk University, in Louisville, Kentucky, enroute to New York on October 27, for all who knew him is more than a shock. It brings a persistent sense of a void in the movement toward wholesome human relations, a void which simply cannot be filled. In an effort to overcome the loss, all who share this feeling surely will read and re-read his books, articles, and speeches. His knowledge, his wisdom, and his attitude must become a part of us all in some measure.

***

## THAT D.C. "INVESTIGATION"

Irene Osborne: "Integration in Washington has enjoyed a great degree of success."

Current Principal Woodworth: "This year it's (discipline) been perfect. It's as calm and well-organized a school as I've ever been in."

Editorial comment in COMMUNITY (Catholic Interracialist): "In our view the sub-committee hearings back-fired. Instead of proving Negroes are innately inferior, or that integrated schools in Washington were unworkable, they demonstrated that under segregation Negro youngsters received substandard educations; that under integration they are making progress."

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## NAACP POLICY

Dr. T.R.M. Howard, formerly of Mound Bayou, Mississippi, speaking at New York: "I became a doctor to save lives not to take them. And as an NAACP official, I am committed to a policy of law, not violence. Besides, violence only begets more violence, and everybody loses. We in Mississippi will win, but we will win within the law."

***

## WHAT YOU CAN DO

Reminders of how ACHR members and friends can be a vital force in ACHR's program for Arkansas.

1. Send in names of existing local groups that could use some of the services offered by ACHR - and if possible make some contact with the group toward this end.

2. Send in suggestions of services that you would like to see ACHR render in your community.

3. Send ACHR office all news, pro and con, on desegregation in local schools and other areas in your community.

4. Use your influence to encourage local groups to organize bi-racial committees to deal with community problems. Staff will be glad to meet with you.

5. Read and circulate literature.

***

## RECOMMENDED FILM

DESEGREGATION IN BALTIMORE - available (loan period five days) from the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave. NE, Atlanta, Ga.

A film concerning desegregation in the schools of Baltimore, Md. The movie tells of the planning involved in the desegregation move, what trouble was encountered, and how this trouble was combatted.

## YOU WILL WANT TO READ

THE ST. LOUIS STORY: A Study of Desegregation - Bonita H. Valien. A Freedom Pamphlet published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y., 72 pp. 35¢.

This pamphlet proves that authentic and documented facts can be enjoyable reading. It gives a dramatic account of desegregation in the St. Louis school system. Beginning with a lively portrait of a city divided between Northern and Southern mores, the author tells how Negro-white barriers were gradually broken down and how firm leadership brought about successful integration. Pointed up with on-the-spot quotes from parents, students and educators directly involved in the desegration process, and topped off with principles and "guide lines" gained from the experiences, makes this report on St. Louis school desegregation recommendable to other communities faced with the question.

THREE VIEWS OF THE SEGREGATION DECISION: William Faulkner, Benjamin Mays, Cecil Sims. Reprinted by Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, 32 pp., 20¢.

A symposium of three papers read at a session of the twenty-first annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association: "American Segregation and the World Crisis," by William Faulkner; "The Moral Aspects of Segregation," by Benjamin Mays; and "A Lawyer's View of the Segregation Decisions," by Cecil Sims.

## YOU OUGHT TO BE READING

SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS: Published monthly by Southern Education Reporting Service, 1109 19th Avenue South, Nashville, Tennessee, $2.00 per year.

RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER: Published bi-monthly by Vanderbilt University School of Law, Nashville 5, Tennessee, $3.00 one year, $5.00 two years.

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## ORDER TODAY

Put these on your current reading shelf.

| | Number Copies | Find Enclosed |
|---|---|---|
| 1. SIMPLE STEPS - 10¢ each (ACHR's suggestions for Community Action) | _____ | $_____ |
| 2. ST. LOUIS STORY, B. Valien - 35¢ each (Story of school desegregation) | _____ | _____ |
| 3. THREE VIEWS OF THE SEGREGATION DECISION -20¢ (Papers read at Southern Historical Assoc.) | _____ | _____ |
| 4. WHAT THE SUPREME COURT SAID - 10¢ each (The Decisions with Dr. Leflar's analysis) | _____ | _____ |
| 5. THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW, Woodward-$2.50 (Historical account of segregation) | ____ | _____ |
| TOTAL | _____ | _____ |

Please send to:

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

ACHR - 211 South Izard, Little Rock, Arkansas

# Newsletter

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS – 211 S. IZARD, LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

Vol. 3 JANUARY 1957 No. 2


"ALL PEOPLE . . . ALL!!!!!!

Our prayer this Christmas
is for the coming of this light
to every heart and mind in the world,
for the day when every person will understand
that in the light of love we are

All one family . . .

All children of one Heavenly Father . . .

All brothers and sisters through Him who came

'. . . to all people . . .'"

"And the angel said unto them, Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people."--Luke 2:10

(The closing stanza of a Christmas greeting from one Arkansas minister's family, not inappropriate to Epiphany.)

## WAYS AND MEANS

The Ways and Means Committee, headed by Fred Darragh, sent letters with "Intention Cards" to be returned by all members. This committee is starting promptly in an effort to prevent another last-of-the-year panicky finance campaign. Experience supports its analysis that the members must be the chief financial support for any movement.

The intention cards received thus far average three shares each. ($10 per share) BUT most members let the season's rush push aside this matter. The New Year is a good time to show your fine Ways and Means Committee that you believe in ACHR's program. Send today your intention card for two or more shares for this fiscal year. Hearten us now!

## BROTHERHOOD MONTH - FEBRUARY?

Teams of Christian ministers representing some ten communions are being formed across the state. Each team (one white minister and one colored) stand ready to speak before any church or church-group on the general theme: "A Christian Views Race Relations Today." Churches or church organizations will be invited to use the teams generally on other dates than those of regular Sunday services. Any such date in the month of February, the month of Brotherhood Week, will be acceptable to some team. ACHR is the correlating agent for this project. Members well may be alert to opportunities for use of a team in local churches.

## CHRISTIAN CENTURY ARTICLE

Colbert S. Cartwright, Minister of Pulaski Heights Christian Church, Little Rock, has a leading article in the CHRISTIAN CENTURY, Dec. 26. The article, "What Can Southern Ministers Do?," specifies answers based on what some ministers have done. Some ministers' roles in the Hoxie Story are related for the first time.

## SRC STAFF CHANGES

Last October, in characteristic Mitchellian phraseology, George Mitchell notified the Board of Southern Regional Council of his retirement, effective January 15. He has been Director of SRC since 1947. His yen to resume life with his first love, study of economics, seems his major motive. He retires to Scotland where he can live on available income and invites friends to visit him in his heathery home, admitting that while he will seem to be there he will much of the time "be hereabouts."

Harold Fleming, Associate Director of SRC, was promoted to Director by the Board in its November meeting. Fleming has been a staff member of SRC for nine years and has had charge of public relations for the Council. He is co-author of two recent publications "Integration North and South" and "What's Happening In School Integration?" (Both available at ACHR office.)

## THE CAPITAL CITIZENS' COUNCIL

In an obvious move to improve public relations, White America, Inc., and White Citizens' Council of Pulaski County did two things recently. They merged under the name The Capital Citizens' Council (omitting the "white") and elected officers. These are the new officers:

Robert Ewing Brown, promotion and publicity director of stations KTHV and KTHS at Little Rock, President.
T. A. Dillaha, connected with Dillaha Fruit Company in Little Rock, Vice-President.
Mrs. H. G. Anderson, Little Rock, Secretary-Treasurer.
Rev. L. D. Foreman, Little Rock, Chaplain.

## BUS DESEGREGATION

News release from SRC office, January 7, reveals these facts: "A spot survey by the Southern Regional Council disclosed that 21 Southern cities have ended compulsory segregation on local buses without difficulty.

The cities are: Little Rock, Pine Bluff, Fort Smith, and Hot Springs Arkansas; Charlotte, Greensboro, Durham, and Winston Salem, North Carolina; Knoxville, Tennessee; San Antonio, Corpus Christi and Dallas Texas; and Richmond, Norfolk, Portsmouth, Newport News, Petersburg, Charlottesville, Fredericksburg, Lynchburg, and Roanoke, Virginia.

In every case the desegregation took place without court action -- usually by a change of policy on the part of the transit company involved."

## EDITORIAL

ACHR members should ponder the meaning of the facts reported in an editorial of THE ARKANSAS GAZETTE, "Campaign for the 48 States," December 30, 1956.

## QUOTES

"The common notion that 'desegregation just can't work' in the South is plainly contradicted by the findings. The nearly 1100 instances of desegregation discovered were almost evenly divided between the five 'Border' states, on the one hand, and the twelve 'Southern' states on the other. Virtually all of them took place smoothly and harmoniously." (Integration North and South, Loth and Fleming, 1956.)

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"What is of prime importance is that southern white ministers do act, carrying out their actions not only with enlightened consciences but with intelligence and imagination. (Colbert S. Cartwright, The Christian Century, December 26, 1956.)

## CATHOLICS AND BAPTISTS

Two pamphlets (available at ACHR office) new to our desk are worth quoting. The First, "Facts in Black and White," is from Friendship House and has the imprimatur of Archbishop Patrick A. O'Boyle of Washington. It uses the question and answer approach and evades no areas. To the questions on intermarriage of races it answers in part: "Races don't marry. Individuals marry." "You can always say no." "(And unless my sister were very different from most sisters, my wishes in the matter would make very little difference in her choice of a husband.)" "While the Church requires that two people of different religions must obtain a dispensation before they marry, it makes no such requirement of people of different races."

The second pamphlet, "Integration," is a publication of the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention written by T. B. Maston of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary. Under "what should be our reaction" he writes in part: "We should accept the Supreme Court's decision as the law of the land." "Christians should also attempt to create an atmosphere that would make it possible for school boards and school administrators to comply with the instructions of the Supreme Court." This pamphlet has gone to all ministers of the Arkansas Baptist Convention.

## SEE IT NOW

Edward R. Murrow gave his See It Now show on January 6 portraying events at Clinton, Tennessee. Revealing are these near verbatim statements from principals in the show.

Kasper: "We had really no choice in the recent presidential election between the man elected and the man defeated. Both are plotters against the welfare of this country." "We have the same situation that they have in Russia. There they have nine men dictating to the country. Here we have nine men in the Supreme Court dictating to the country."

Marilyn (?) Anderson, Negro High School Student: "I did accomplish something during those bad days -- I made two "A's and one "B." Only one grade was low, a "C." Not so bad but I wish it could have been "A." My parents were proud of me and my teachers were too."

Rev. Paul Turner, Minister of the Baptist (white) Church, who was beaten by segregationists after he escorted Negro children to school, in sermon the following Sunday: "The choice which confronts us is not segregation or integration. It is the choice between law and anarchy. In a situation of anarchy none of us are safe or free."

The Local Editor: "It was the attack on Paul Turner that made us willing to speak out and act. We, most of us, wanted the law obeyed. We simply were not willing to stand up and speak out. When he was beaten, then we were willing to bring the troublemakers into the courts."

## A PRINCIPLE

We (privately) can illustrate this principle: When institution heads, caught between the wishes of what they call "extremes" (NAACP and White Citizens), decide to be neutral, i.e. to take no action, they thereby side with White Citizens who wish no change passionately. This suggests the oft quoted wisdom: Evil can succeed only when men of goodwill do nothing.

## QUOTE

"FREEDOM is more than a word. It is a deeply cherished belief in the essential importance of the person and in the supremacy of a society which respects and safeguards the eminent dignity and integrity of personality." (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.)

# Newsletter

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS – 211 S. IZARD, LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

ol. 3 MARCH 1957 No. 3


## AN ANALYSIS OF THE "SEGREGATION" LAWS OF THE 1957 GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF ARKANSAS.

ACT #170 - Appropriates $60,000 for the biennium to finance the operation of the State Sovereignty Commission.

ACT #83 - Creates the State Sovereignty Commission of 12 members: The Governor, the Attorney General, the Lieutenant Governor, Speaker of the House, two members of the Senate, three members of the House, and three citizens. (See Section #2.)

The Commission has powers and duties to:

1. Do anything necessary to protect the sovereignty of the State of Arkansas, and her sister states, from encroachment by the Federal Government.

2. Cooperate with other states or individuals and pool its funds and resources with their funds and resources to carry out the purposes of this Act.

3. Keep complete records and minutes of its proceedings which are open to the inspection of members of the Legislature.

4. Give advice and legal assistance to local school boards relating to the commingling of races in public schools.

5. (The most important and broadest power.) Study and collect information concerning economic, social and legal developments constituting deliberate, palpable and dangerous invasions of or encroachments upon the rights and powers of the State under the 10th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

6. Submit to the General Assembly a comprehensive report of its activities, findings and recommendations.

7. The general power and authority to do any acts necessary to carry out fully and effectively the provisions of this Act.

The Commission has the power and authority to examine books and records at a place of business, plus the power to subpoena witnesses as well as the power of subpoena duces tecum (ordering a person to bring books to a designated place for inspection.)(Sections #11, #13.)

The punitive measures of the Act are confined to failure to bring books and effects when ordered to do so, or for failure to answer a subpoena, and for perjury. The penalty for failing to obey either of the two kinds of subpoenas is punishment by fine of $100 to $1,000 and/or up to six months in county jail. The penalty for perjury would be the same as Arkansas law now provides for perjury in Circuit Courts.

In Section #10-e, no person or organization would be exempt from investigation by the Commission because of its power to "study and collect information concerning economic, social and legal developments et cetera ...." It would be reasonable to surmise if one complied with all aspects of this Act that the only thing the Commission could do would be to harass, ridicule and intimidate as there are no provisions which punish a specific act, except that unfriendly exposure would be punishment at the bar of public opinion.

ACT #84 - Relieves School Children of Compulsory Attendance in Racially Mixed Public Schools.

(Cont'd.)

ACT #85 - Registration Law

Requires persons to register with the Sovereignty Commission if they are engaged in certain proscribed activities and requires the making of periodic detailed reports to the Commission of receipts and expenditures of any monies if used in whole or in part for the proscribed activities. (See Sections #2, #4 for contents of report.)

Section #5 gives the proscribed activities:

1. Aiding in the passage of legislation in the Congress of the United States which limits or circumscribes control of school districts in Arkansas by officers of such districts. (A person is prohibited from petitioning Congress for passage of legislation affecting schools in Arkansas.)

2. Aiding in the defeat of legislation in the General Assembly of Arkansas designed to maintain state control of domestic institutions.

3. Soliciting and recruiting plaintiffs in litigation involving the operation of domestic institutions.

4. Promotion of integration of races in the public schools contrary to the choice and desires of the patrons.

5. Rendering legal aid gratuitously to Negroes who may be involved in such litigation.

Section #6 requires registration with the Commission before doing anything further on such activities as described in Section #5.

The punitive measure of this Act provides for a fine of not more than $5,000, or imprisonment for not more than 12 months, or both for violation of any provision of this Act.

ACT #86 - Provides for Legal Counsel for School Districts.

Grants school boards the authority to pay legal counsel from school funds in any action instituted against such school boards.

THE GOLDEN "OUT-OF-ORDER" PLAN

The creative Harry Golden, Charlotte, N.C., comes up with another "tongue-in-cheek" proposal, the "Out-Of-Order Plan."

"I tried my Plan in a city of North Carolina where the Negroes represent thirty-nine per cent of the population. I prevailed upon the manager of a department store to shut the water off in his "white" water fountain and put up a sign, "Out-of-order." For the first day or two the "whites" were hesitant, but little by little they began to drink out of the water fountain belonging to the "coloreds;" ---and by the end of the third week everybody was drinking the "segregated" water; with not a single, solitary complaint to date. ...It is possible that the "whites" may accept desegregation if they were assured that the segregated facilities still exist, albeit, "Out-of-Order." As I see it now the key to my Plan is to keep the "Out-of-Order" sign up for at least two years. We must do this thing gradually." (The Carolina Israelite, January-February, 1957.)

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MIRACLE OF SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT: DESEGREGATION OF THE WASHINGTON, D.C. SCHOOLS - Carl F. Hansen, 64 pp., 35¢.

"A miracle of social adjustment" -- This is the evaluation Dr. Hansen, Assistant Superintendent of Schools in the D.C., expressed to Congressman John Bell Williams of Mississippi. Dr. Hansen now offers a first-hand and detailed account of the "miracle," and of the preparation, planning and policy for the successful desegregation of the District of Columbia's public school system.

EXCERPTS FROM QUARTERLY REPORT OF STAFF TO BOARD OF DIRECTORS

I. WORK WITH CHURCHES: In Arkansas the churches are still our strongest ally and direct approach to local situations. --- The directors have been privileged to work with the Social Action Committees of two communions in the state, the Departments of Education of two.-- Churches in Crossett, Pine Bluff, Arkadelphia, Hot Springs, Little Rock, Fayetteville have used our speakers, films, and literature services. --- Both directors spoke before the District Associations of Negro Baptists at Hope and Little Rock. --- A church in Hot Springs is using the directors in organizing and executing an interfaith, interchurch study on human relations February 10-24. --- In the state-wide Brotherhood Month Project, 155 ministers from ten communions were invited to participate. Three hundred churches were canvassed for invitations to speakers. Twenty-seven teams (composed of one colored and one white minister each) were formed. Fifty ministers were sent packets of information and literature.

II. WORK WITH THE SCHOOLS: The directors have respectful and/or friendly relations with 17 school superintendents and have cordial relations with many principals of Negro schools. --- They are working directly with one large local teachers association and have helpful conferences with the officers of the state organization of teachers.

III. WORK WITH STATE AND PRIVATE COLLEGES: The colleges continue to be a source of counsel and cooperation in all phases of our work. --- Two college presidents have become members of our advisory committee. --- Members of faculties of at least four colleges are available as consultants and speakers. --- Students of the colleges use our material and counsel in preparation for class reports and term papers. In one case the student took copies of a pamphlet for the entire class. ---

IV. WORK WITH LABOR UNIONS: Two state officials of Amalgamated Garment Workers have counseled with us about approach to labor and about their problems growing out of racial tensions. One conference was held with an organizer of the Furniture Workers Union, which has many Negro workers in it. --- The Associate Director addressed the Religion and Labor Council at the Grady Manning.

V. WORK WITH BUSINESS ASSOCIATIONS, FRATERNAL ORDERS, SOCIAL AGENCIES: In cooperation with others, we have had two conferences with AIDC officials about the role of Negro citizens in the industrial growth in Arkansas. --- The Associate Director has a promising relation with a Little Rock promotional group which is confronted with the employment of Negro workers in the process of getting new industry with government contracts. --- The directors attended sessions of the annual meeting of the Farm Bureau, Negro Division.

VI. WORK IN THE INTEREST OF GOOD PUBLIC RELATIONS: The directors attend the meetings of the following groups: Greater Little Rock Ministerial Association, Religion and Labor Council, Social Workers Organization, local NAACP, Negro PTA Council, Pulaski County Community Council, and GACE. --- They attend the annual meetings of these groups: Arkansas Teachers Association, Arkansas Educational Association, the School Administrators, the Urban League, the NAACP, the Methodist Conferences and Pastors School. --- The luncheon with the speaker for our annual meeting in October was attended by the President of the Pulaski County Community Council, three school superintendents, the Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, the President and Vice-President of the Greater Little Rock Ministerial Association. Subject: "Functioning of the St. Louis Council on Human Relations." --- Our office exchanges information and meterials with the following: National Council of Churches, the Commissions on Human Relations of Milwaukee and Cincinnati, Anti-Defamation League, National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Catholic Interracial Council, the American Friends Service Committee, National Association of Intergroup Relations, the ten Southern state Councils on Human Relations.

VII. WORK IN DISSEMINATING INFORMATION: (Requires many hours of reading.) Obviously much of our work already cited makes giving of information primary. Here we point up some details of this service.--- We maintain a complete file of clippings from state dailies covering the matter of human relations and desegregation in particular. --- We personally collect information on events, especially by attending court hearings. Our files and information have been used by lawyers, organizations, and individuals seeking facts. --- Our NEWSLETTER goes to members monthly. --- Sitting in our office one can count twenty-eight

(Cont'd.)

separate titles of current pamphlets and books which are available to the public. --- Three thousand of our introductory pamphlets have been distributed.

VIII. WORK OF BOARD MEMBERS AND OTHERS: Implementing the practices of ACHR naturally depends on many others besides the staff. --- Our chairman's article in the CHRISTIAN CENTURY, December 26, speaks for itself: "What Can Southern Pastors Do?" --- Our treasurer represented the Congregational-Christian Communion as lecturer at Chicago Theological Seminary January 21-26. --- One vice-president, assisted by a member (faculty member at A. M. & N. College) did a detailed study of the qualified Negro voters in Arkansas. --- Three of our Board attended the Annual Board meeting of the Southern Regional Council in Virginia. Members of Board and members of ACHR have opened doors in local communities, too many to detail. --- Above all the directors depend on the patient counseling of individual members of our Board and Advisory Committee and the monthly guidance of the Executive Committee.

SOME INTERPRETATIONS: We have plenty of experiences to keep us humble. But we are optimistic. Ours is the optimism of those who feel deeply they are allied with the right and with time. Also, there are some signs that events may move faster toward that right. --- The churches are doing things. (Five cases were cited in the report.) --- Conferences with strategic persons probably is our most effective method of work, though they cannot be publicized or reported. For example, a Jewish friend asked us just recently to investigate possible anti-semitism in one of the Christian churches. The full portent of this sort of encounter is not yet apparent. --- The superintendents show signs of withdrawing their guards against us. One, who has been fearful of us if not antagonistic, told one of our members recently, "That organization is doing a fine job, we must find ways to utilize its services." Another, superintendent of one of our larger towns said to us, "The way you are working at it is the only way to get the job done." The following week still another on the first meeting of him, "We perhaps will be calling on you for help." We think we see a new approach to the question of desegregation reflected in the response of all these. This approach can be simply stated: Integration must be done; when and how are the only questions. We do not claim that many superintendents have arrived at this point. But there are evidences that some are moving toward it. --- We are surer than ever that our position is as sound as it is simple: Segregation is a needless cruelty to the human spirit and must not be continued--must not be continued in the schools, in housing arrangements, in the churches, in public facilities and accommodations, in job opportunities. This brings us to quote from that amazing "last will and testament" of Dr. Charles Johnson of Fisk University reprinted in the December NEW SOUTH: "Time will prove that our fears have no foundation in fact. ... Segregation breeds fear; and when the barriers of segregation are at last removed from American life, we will wonder why we feared at all."

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## QUOTES

"When an ostrich buries its head in the ground to avoid unpleasant facts, it not only presents an undignified spectacle; it also constitutes an irresistible target." --- Abba Eban, Israel's ambassador to the United Nations.

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William P. Engel, former chairman of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce Committee of 100, pointed to segregation clashes in Birmingham and Montgomery as the principal reason industry is looking elsewhere for plant locations.

"We must face up to our own deficiencies," warns Mr. Engle. "The hoodlumism here has hit headlines throughout the nation. Place yourselves in the shoes of a man who wants to bring a plant to Birmingham. Would you, under the circumstances, do it? If we object to interference from outside interests, we should object to interference from within."

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# Newsletter

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 211 S. IZARD, LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

Vol. 3 September, 1957 No. 4


## ANNUAL MEETING

The annual meeting of members will be October 28, beginning with a dinner. The executive committee is trying to secure a "name" person as speaker, not in hope of luring the timid, but of reinforcing the courageous. Reserve the date. Details later.

## SIGNS OF THE TIME

### The Schools Move

Four large and two smaller school districts are taking first gradual steps toward school desegregation in September: Little Rock, North Little Rock, Fort Smith, Hot Springs, Van Buren (under court order), and Ozarks.

The organized segregationists have been active. Robert E. Brown, president of Capitol Citizens Council, and Amis Guthridge, made speeches in Tulsa, Oklahoma. As reported by the newspapers, Mr. Guthridge indicated there would be "hell on the border" if Little Rock followed its plan for gradual desegregation in September. The Council also called on Governor Faubus to order Little Rock not to desegregate through a letter and newspaper ads. Members of the Council presented certain demands and fear-inspiring questions to the School Board. Mr. Guthridge is reportedly bringing a libel suit against the Arkansas Gazette.

These efforts in Little Rock seem to have no adverse effect on the Board's plans or on the climate of opinion. Standing firmly on law, the Board gave unequivocal answers to demands and questions. Significantly, the Arkansas Democrat in an editorial, July 31, 1957, supported the School Board in its plans for gradual desegregation.

### Postscript to the Above

Events since the above was written late in August, by now have been "heard 'round the world" and are well known to all. On September 19 in Little Rock, a three-judge federal court hears the case brought by ten Negro ministers who attack the constitutionality of the so-called "segregation" measures passed by the last General Assembly. On the following day the federal court will hear the case in which the District Attorney asks the court for temporary injunction against the Governor and two State Guard officers. Our best understanding leads us to believe desegregation will go forward in Little Rock as planned by the School Board. Our concern is that the community be strong enough after all the artificial provocations and stimulated tensions to move forward with a minimum of discord and hurt to students.

### A Judge Speaks

Judge Lee Ward of Paragould, in his Commencement Address to Arkansas State on August 9, warned that the South must accept racial desegregation as "the law of the land". Chancellor Ward, said the South has to make a choice between democratic principles or the abandoning of these principles to retain segregation. "The South has lost its battle against integregation on every democratic front." This means, he said, that the concept of integration is fully supported by the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the government. He asked his listeners, "Shall we abandon democratic processes in our National Government just so we can retain segregation?" Good citizens will want to give words of encouragement to Judge Ward for this reasonable yet courageous

statement of the case for democratic methods and institutions.

Sovereignty Commission

Membership completed. Act Number 83 of the 1957 Legislature, creating the State Sovereignty Commission became effective June 13. It was not until August 1 that Governor Orval Faubus completed the personnel of the commission by naming three members. The members are Governor Faubus, Attorney General Bruce Bennett, Lt. Gov. Nathan Gordon, Speaker of the House Glenn F. Walther (Little Rock), Representative Rodgers of Crittenden County, Senators Smith of West Memphis and Hurst of Hot Springs, Connie Fields of Shirley, Dr. Joe Rushton of Magnolia, and J. L. Shaver of Wynne.

Report on Fayetteville

Activities of members of ACHR in Fayetteville may well be emulated by those in other towns. A committee plotted plans to raise funds needed for State activities. The results: A Sunday afternoon tea attended by more than seventy in the beautiful home of Dr. and Mrs. LeMon Clark with contribution and membership fees totaling more than $200.00; a concert by Rosa Page Welch at First Christian Church which netted $40.00 in spite of adverse circumstances; plans for a $5.00 a plate dinner to be held later. Aside from money raised, which is greatly needed, these activities have intrinsic worth in human fellowship and understanding of ACHR.

## STAFF ACTIVITIES

Since a meeting of staffs of southern states in Atlanta last May, members of the staff have been vigorously involved in two different phases of activities: Plans for continuing ACHR and intense program activities. Of course, loyal members and officers have been engaged seriously in these activities too.

Next Year

The period for the original grant from SRC in 1955 ends on September 30th. This has necessitated applications for continued help from SRC and for new grants from other sources. Three applications with supporting exhibits and data were prepared in as many weeks.

Final decision on the request for the largest sum will not be made until "this Fall". As a result, the Executive Committee has made plans to operate on a minimum budget for the first quarter beginning October 1st. A favorable decision means a full program would be resumed immediately after the effective date of such decision.

Arkansas friends may note that grants from all foundations depend on the amount of financial support from the State. Financial support from our friends over the State immediately may be decisive in getting support from outside the State.

Some Significant Activities

Chris Mercer has given time to directing Day Work Camps promoted by Church leaders in Little Rock as organized by the Community Services Department of the Urban League. Each Tuesday in July and August, Senior-High young people from the various Churches have engaged in helpful work in the community, relieved by periods of worship and rest together. Work has been done at Aldersgate Camp, Gillam Park, and the Child Development Center.

Nat R. Griswold has had some new opportunities for consultation in small school districts which have kept him travelling North, West and East.

Both directors have had the usual engagements to speak, including a week for Chris Mercer in a regional camp for the United Christian Youth Movement near Nashville, Tennessee, and for Nat Griswold an appearance in the Annual Convention of the Christian Churches and the meeting of the Auxiliary of the National Dental Association in Hot Springs. (Mrs. J. E. Burke arranged this last engagement.)

Below is a description of the film, Face of the South. The directors with the help of a loyal member in North Little Rock have had some

effective showings of this feature of George Mitchell. One showing was for the membership in Little Rock.

YOU SHOULD KNOW THESE

Face of the South - a 16 mm color filming of George Mitchell's famous chalk talk on the Southern region and its problems, full of facts, spiced with George's sly good humour and hardly understandable Virginian accent. The copy now available is imperfect as to sound. (That's why we have it!) But it is usuable in small groups under good circumstances. It is quite a film! Any Santa want to buy a perfect copy? Price - $125.00.

A City Decides - a documentary film of the St. Louis Story of desegregation, to be nominated for an Oscar in its class; 37 minutes, black and white, 16 mm, sound. Contempory Films, 13 East 37th St., New York 16, N. Y. Rental fee $7.50.

The Louisville Story - Carmichal and James. A 169 page account of what happened in Louisville, Kentucky, told by the Superintendent of Schools, paper back, $1.00, ACHR office.

Assault Upon Freedom of Association - American Jewish Congress. A study of Southern attack on the NAACP and what it means in terms of the principle of voluntary associations in a democracy, 47 pages, $.50.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

Life Magazine, The States' Rights Issue, an Editorial from the September 23 issue:

"But that issue (real states' rights) has nothing to do with Negro rights. .... The Civil War amendments, especially the Fourteenth, changed the nature of our constitution in a fundamental way. They made all Americans, including ex-slaves, citizens not only of their states but of the U.S., and established rights of national citizenship that no state might infringe. Among these rights is equal treatment under the laws. No state, however "sovereign", can be the final judge of this right, any more than it can coin money, make treaties, grant titles of nobility, or do any of the other sovereign things it once could."

Life Magazine, A Fifth Column of Decency, an Editorial, from the September 23 issue:

"In his Segregation, Robert Penn Warren quotes a Tennessee editor as saying; 'There's a fifth column of decency here, and it will, in the end, betray the extremists, when the politicians get through'. In a week when the decent people of Nashvill restored law and order and integration continued in once troubled places like Clinton and Sturgis, it would seem the fifth column is already at work. In time it may even demonstrate that it was a majority."

Arkansas Methodist, Conviction and Courage, an Editorial, from the September 12 issue:

"Equally as courageous have been the nine Negro high school seniors who have sought admittance to Central High School in Little Rock. They wanted that which the nation's constitution and its interpretations guaranteed them. They calmly faced a hostile crowd at the high school, endured jeers and insults only to be turned back by armed guardsmen who surrounded the school property. The courage of any one of these students was more than the combined courage of the crowd and those responsible for the guardsmen being there."

Arkansas Council Newsletter

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS--1220 W. Capitol, Little Rock, Ark.

Vol. 4, No. 3 December 8, 1958

## SEASON'S GREETINGS

A Christmas gift suggestion for friends with a sense of propriety and of social concern. Instead of personal gifts to friends this year contributions in their names can be made to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. An appropriate Christmas card will be sent by ACHR to each friend so honored acknowledging the gift in his name.

## BIAS BLIGHTS SOUTHERN DEVELOPMENT

We haven't heard too much locally about the economic costs of racial tension in our state, but papers outside of Arkansas devoted to presenting business news point up the problem sharply. "The Billboard," trade journal for the entertainment industry, headlined its report of this year's Arkansas Livestock Show like this: "Weather, Tension Hits Little Rock." The article had this to say in part: "Hit both by weather and tension over the school segregation issue here, the six-day Arkansas Livestock Show closed October 4, with attendance off sharply from 1957, when the segregation issue also had hurt....The segregation issue kept Negroes away. Normally, about 45,000 of them attend, but at the wind-up, Clyde Bird, show manager, estimated that fewer than 300 went thru the gates."

The "Wall Street Journal" recently had an article headed "Dixie Exodus." In it these statements are made: "The departure of the better educated young people may surprise those who have shrugged off migration from the South as primarily a movement of unskilled Negroes. Actually, figures from Mississippi, Arkansas, Tennessee and some other states indicate whites may be leaving at a faster clip than Negroes--despite recent flare-ups over school integration. Conclusive area-wide figures are not available, of course. In Arkansas, however, eight whites have left the state since 1950 for every five Negroes who departed....At the University of Arkansas it's estimated that about 16 science and liberal arts graduates in the 1957 class departed the state for every one graduate who stayed."

The same article indicated that many Southerners are convinced the key to their problem lies in more industrialization. Other publications have quoted Winthrop Rockefeller, head of AIDC, as indicating the racial tension has seriously hurt Arkansas' industrial development. They also point out that no new industry has come to Little Rock's industrial development site since Governor Faubus called out the National Guard in September 1957.

According to a NEW YORK TIMES story financing of school construction in the South has become more and more difficult. One New York bank executive told the TIMES that many of his trust accounts would no longer accept school bonds of certain Southern states. Another reported that casualty insurance companies were also leery about buying such securities. Another investment banker said he would not underwrite a Southern school district bond issue until the segregation problem is settled, or at least until the emotional upset dies down.

Some business men in Little Rock report that "business is good." One wonders what criteria they use.

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"If we had more faith in God, we should have less fear. If we were filled with faith, we should have none."---James McBride Dabbs

## ITEMS OF INTEREST

WE MISS THEM - This is the heading for one Little Rock church's report on absent high school students. This one church lists forty-seven students from its families who now are in other cities attending schools. The minister indicated these are his leaders, the upper-classmen. This disintegration of the youth program in Little Rock churches is echoed by every minister with whom we have talked.

***

Associate Justice Felix Frankfurter in his "concurring opinion" reversing Judge Lemley's decision on the Little Rock School Case issued on October 6, 1958, says in part: "That the responsibility of those who exercise power in a democratic government is not to reflect inflamed public feeling but to help form its understanding, is especially true when they are confronted with a problem like a racially discriminating public school system."

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A Pulaski Council on Inter-group Relations has been formed. The new Council, a local organization, has adopted a Constitution similar to the ACHR's with the same purposes and aims. Officers of the local group are: Dr. M.A. Jackson, President; Mrs. Ben Heller, Vice-President; Mrs. Margaret Griswold, Secretary; Mr. John Kimball, Assistant Secretary; Dr. E. Upshur Freeman, Treasurer.

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The Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools was formed in Little Rock in mid-September and has grown to over 900 members. According to published information the organization is dedicated to the principle of free public school education. It stands neither for integration nor for segregation, but for education. The aim is to get the four free public high schools re-opened; to get students back in their classes; to retain the staffs of good teachers; to regain full accreditation by the North Central Association.

The women say, "we know that the 'school situation' at Little Rock is not simply a local problem....and that Arkansas has been disgraced in the eyes of the entire world. We realize that what has happened here is elsewhere considered symbolic of 'American Democracy' and so has made every American citizen the object of distrust and even hate. We believe that our free public school system is essential to the future of our city and state. It is our hope to say to all the world that there are many of us here who care enough to do something about this problem."

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On December 1, The Rev. George A. Chauncey, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Monticello for four years, became Associate Secretary of the Division of Evangelism of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Atlanta, Georgia. Mr. Chauncey served on the ACHR Board for two years.

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Arnold B. Sikes, executive secretary to Governor Faubus, asked the Arkansas Legislative Council to recommend higher salary authorizations for servants at the governor's Mansion. The reason: "If the integration situation gets 'acute;'" Sikes explained, "the three Negro house servants at the Mansion may have to be fired and replaced by white persons. White employes would have to be paid more."
----From THE ARKANSAS GAZETTE, November 26, 1958. No comment needed!

***

"Be not afraid; for behold, I bring you good news of a great joy which will come to all people..." ----The Christmas Angel.

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

Vol.7 No.2 NEWSLETTER July, 1962

## Summer Membership Meeting

More than 100 came to Aldersgate Camp on June 23 to be charmed by Margaret Long, editor of New South. As a writer, she is described on the back of the paperback edition of her book, Louisville Saturday, (which sold a million copies, by the way) as a "sort of female Hemingway." As a speaker she turned out closer to a feminine (and much younger) James McBride Dabbs.

The Board's afternoon workshop culminated in committees to write new by-laws for ACHR and a handbook for Board members.

## "Freedom Rides North"

Little Rock leadership once again found itself paralyzed and silent in the wake of wide-spread publicity over "freedom rides North."

First reaction was not to take the situation seriously -- "No one will take them up on it." or "Let them waste their money if they like." When two mothers with their twenty children became involved people became more concerned. The Chamber of Commerce denounced the rides and to save face gave "equal time" denouncing "freedom rides South."

Little Rock officialdom has yet to assume responsibility for the city's "national image." If a Guthridge or Taylor operated out of Louisville, Kentucky, for instance, that city's image would not be affected, since Louisville does not have an official public policy of discrimination against Negroes. It is only because Guthridge and Taylor give coarse and vulgar expression to the city's official policy of discrimination against Negroes that they are so effective in gaining destructive publicity for Little Rock. Little Rock officialdom can hardly apologize for the White Citizens Council when it is in court futilely trying to preserve the right to keep Negroes off the golf courses or tennis courts.

## North Little Rock Declares Its Parks Desegregated

In contrast to Little Rock where the city park commissioner personally "removes" any Negro who presumes to play golf or tennis in a city park, North Little Rock announced its parks were not segregated. There was no adverse reaction - only a few critical phone calls from Little Rock officials!

## Little Rock School Assignments

ACHR staff on its own did some "legal" research on the Little Rock school assignments for the 62-63 school year. This included documentation of the appeals decisions in the Memphis, New Orleans, and Little Rock cases as well as a careful analysis of the disposition of Negroes' applications to white schools and the relationship to recent decisions.

The following generalizations can be supported:

All white students are automatically allowed to attend the white school in their attendance zone or are granted permission to attend any other white school providing such school is less crowded than the one in their area.

All Negro students are assigned to a Negro school no matter where they live unless they meet the following requirements:

1. Apply for a white school on an application that asks for the names of the parents' employers.

# Arkansas Council On Human Relations

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
211 IZARD ST.

*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*



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Vol. I No. II


# Newsletter

"But when she (Dr. Grambs) deals with children and teachers working together, the content fairly glows with assurance and certainty that wonderful things then happens. Dr. Grambs may have produced for us the real answer to all our fears, trepidations and hesitations - just get good teachers together with children in a friendly, hopeful atmosphere and stop worrying." - L. D. Haskew, School of Education, University of Texas, in his foreword to Grambs' "Education in a Transition Community," available from ACHR office for twenty-five cents.

The ACHR way


*Affiliate of Southern Regional Council*
*Atlanta, Georgia*

Hoxie Story -

The big news story centers at Hoxie. Most of you have the details covered well in the Arkansas Gazette (August 21 and 28) and other state papers. ACHR staff and Board members and many important friends have devoted much thought and time to this since the intervention in that community by some out-of-state forces and, notably, White America, Incorporated, on August 13th. Your Executive Director has spent eight days in that vicinity lending some help in mustering the legal and moral forces.

The present situation is much steadier and the irresponsible opposition seems to be waning. Support for school authorities is coming from over the state and nearby communities. The Board has never wavered in its resolution to contrive legal integration. It was once on the verge of resigning which would have been calamitous. At present school board would welcom a law suit. Surprisingly, school morale was always good.

Groups and the school at Hoxie are now working on ways to re-establish good community relations between factions, graceful re-admission of children kept out by parents, clearer community understanding of the legal necessities with regard to desegregation and the moral issues. Members of ACHR can be of real help if they will write the school authorities through K. E. Vance, Superintendent.

Some plans and actions at Hoxie suggestive to other communities:

1. Voluntary organization of Hoxie Committee on Community Relations,which regards itself not as just an emergency organization.

2. Continuous relation of school board with reputable and responsible legal firm.

3. Unwavering stand of some strong ministers of churches.

4. Circulation of the official position of Christian churches with decisions, in concert by churches if possible.

5. Secure the backing law-enforcement agencies-local, or state, or national.

Good News -

Columbia, South Carolina - A Federal Circuit Court ordered the Clarendon County School Board to establish a school system not based on racial discrimination with deliberate speed and in good faith. This same court which ruled, just three years ago, that secregation in puplic schools was not unconstitutional if facilities were equal, said through its presiding chief judge, Honorable John J. Parker, that "whatever may have been the views of this court as to the law when the case was originally before us, it is our duty now to accept the law as declared by the Suprome Court."

"Birmingham, Alabama, August 26 - A Federal Court ordered the University of Alabama to admit two Negro students it had refused admittance three years ago. Federal Judge Hobart Grooms, in issuing the order to restrain the University from refusing to admit the students

because of race, declared that the court is bound by the U. S. Supreme Court decision to issue the order."

Big Spring, Texas, August 26 - Sixty-four school districts in Texas that had already announced plans to desegregate can now go ahead if they choose and not lose the state funds on which the public school are largely dependent. This action was made possible by a ruling of a Federal District Court in a suit brought by a Texas Citizens Council to stop the Big Springs School District from integrating and to block the use of state money by districts that do desegregate. This was a test case by the Citizens Council wherein they tried to block moves to desegregate by invoking Texas' complicated school financing laws, which call for state aid on a separate white-Negro basis.

"Pine Bluff, August 27 - A committee will be appointed to study and outline plans for integration in Pine Bluff Schools. Gordon Young, president of the school board, said the committee would co-operate with all groups in attempting to comply with the Supreme Court ruling. A detailed and definite program will be announced before the end of the year, Young said."

"Hot Springs, August 17 - L. A. Westmoreland, president of the Hot Springs School Board announced that a committee would be appointed sometime before school opens September 6th, to help the board plan integration. He said Dr. Imon Bruce, superintendent of schools, would confer with prospective members to determine their willingness to serve."

Hoxie - Integrity of the Hoxie School Board: "We may resign, but we will not rescind our action on integration. We think the Negroes have it coming to them. We will not send them back to that 'rat-hole.'

Official Meetings -

The Executive Committee held its regular monthly meeting on August 9th at the ACHR office and accepted reports from the staff on its program activities and proposals. A good portion of the meeting was devoted to a discussion of membership and finance and the emphasis that should be placed on each.

Fred Routh and C. H. Parrish, SRC's Assistant Directors for State Organizations, were in Little Rock on August 23rd, and the night of the 22nd. They conferred with officials in the State Department of Education, had a "luncheon-snack" meeting with the Executive Committee, and discussed generally SRC's and ACHR's programs and program emphases with the staff. In the meeting with the Executive Committee, they reported SRC's plans to strengthen its services to the State Organizations and the Region, based upon an Evaluation Conference of SRC's role in the present crisis held recently in Atlant

Staff Items -

The staff has made visits to many parts of the state and contacte many members and friends as a part of its new get-acquainted program. (Some details are herein)

The Associate Director participated in the annual Little Rock Colored PTA Council Workshop on August 19, held at the Phyllis Wheatly YWCA.

The Associate Director was a special delegate to an Evaluation Conference held in Atlanta, Georgia, on August 10th and 11th. The conference, sponsored by SRC, was for the purpose of making a critical analysis of the role of SRC, in the light of its resources, in this crisis period. Approximately twenty-five (25) experts in the field of race relations and human relations from all over the South made up the personnel of the conference.

A pulse-feeling excursion to Southeast (Pine Bluff, Dumas, McGehee, Dermott, Monticello) convinces that this is a useful activity for staff.

Seventeen members and friends met at Pine Bluff YWCA, August 9, for informal talk about their situation. Group is very optimistic about school board plans to work with an interracial committee of citizens. Named a temporary chairman and secretary (Ed Freeman and Mrs. O. G. Dawson.) They will offer their services to school board.

Reverend Arthur Terry, superintendent of the Pine Bluff District, Methodist Church, encouraged the Director to visit his ministers individually helping to make them feel personal responsibility in this matter. Mrs. John Rust was visited and ordered two copies of Strange Career of Jim Crow.

At Monticello conferences were had with the Methodist and Presbyterian ministers. A group of the young men leaders of the Presbyterian church met for a full evening at the manse to talk informally about Monticello. This group feel that Monticello will go ahead without great difficulty and without unnecessary delay in desegregation. They also seem to think it will be easier to desegregate the schools than the churches.

We find these useful: (available from ACHR office)

"THE CHURCHES SPEAK" - official pronouncements of various denonimation on the May 17th decision of the Supreme Court. (10¢)
"THE RIGHT OF EVERY CHILD" - April 1955 report by American Friends Service Committee on School Integration in Washington, D. C. (10¢)
"EDUCATION IN TRANSITION COMMUNITIES" by Dr. Jean Grambs, includes documents and actions employed by communities successfully desegregating, case studies. (25¢) "School in Transition," North Carolina Press, second book in Ashmore studies giving case reports on integrating schools, the failures and the successess, very instructive. ($3.00)

What "You" Can Do -

This is a follow-up on suggestions of what members and friends can do to help achieve the goals of ACHR.

1. Send in names of existing local groups that could use some of the services offered by ACHR - and if possible make some contact with the group toward this end.

2. Send in suggestions of services that you would like to see ACHR render in your community.

3. Write a letter to the Hoxie School Board, through Superintendent K. E. Vance, expressing your appreciation for their courage and attitude.

4. What's being done on integration in your community? Are you familiar with the facts? Concern yourself about same. If nothing is being done, see if you can't influence some positive thinking on the matter.

Coming Event -

We are happy to announce that Irene Osborne will be with us at our First Annual Meeting in October and will remain in the state working with ACHR for at least a week. Miss osborne is the Washington, D. C. Representative of the American Friends Service Committee's Community Relations Program. She is a nationally recognized authority in the field of community relations, and, because of her work with voluntary groups in Washington, D. C. in preparation for integration in the schools, she was cited by Mademoiselle Magazine as one of its "Ten Women of the year." Miss Osborne is on a six month leave from AFSC to SRC to work with its state affiliates in the area of community relations. Arkansas is her first stop on this tour.

# Arkansas Council On Human Relations

**LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS**
**211 IZARD ST.**

*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*

Vol. I, 2

Newsletter



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## BASE LINE

The base-line axioms from which ACHR begins its functions to help equalize educational opportunities in Arkansas:

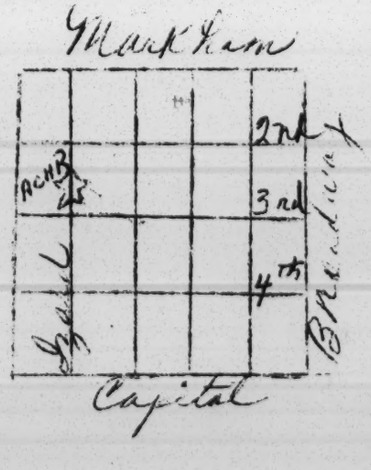
1. The decisions of the United States Supreme Court are just and reasonable:

   a) "Segregation of children in public schools on the basis of race even though the facilities may be equal," is unconstitutional.
   b) "State and local laws requiring and permitting such discrimination must yield to this principle" of desegregation.
   c) Local schools must "make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance with the May 17, 1954 ruling."

2. As a result of these decisions the difficult changes which local school boards must make, the psychic and social adjustments which individuals and groups must make, call for the energetic cooperation of all good citizens and institutions to the end that these may be made smoothly.

Come to See Us -

Your state office is very accessible: The middle house on the East side of Izard between 2nd and 3rd streets, four streets from Broadway and 2½ streets from capitol Avenue and 1½ from Markham.





*Affiliate of Southern Regional Council*
*Atlanta, Georgia*

Good News -

"Richmond, Virginia, July 14th - Racial segregation on city buses was declared unconstitutional today." The case decided by the Fourth U. S. Court of Appeals involved the transit system of Columbia, South Carolina.

"Norfolk, Virginia, July 7th - Federal Judge Walter E. Hoffman ruled today that the State of Virginia cannot deny Negroes the use of Seashore State Park."

"Hoxie, July 8th - Schools will open here Monday - and for the first time in the area's history Negroes and Whites will attend the same classes. AP quoted Superintendent Vance: "No special attention will be paid the Negro students. It is our intention to treat every White and Negro child alike."

North Little Rock School Board voted on July 14th to integrate its schools within two years beginning with the high schools.

Bryant Bowles, founder and president of NAAWP (National Association for the Advancement of White People,) resigned July 18th as president saying, "I am resigning because of lack of interest. I don't feel like helping people who don't try to help themselves."

The petition for Articles of Incorporation, which was filed by Chris Mercer, was granted by the Pulaski Circuit Court on July 20, 1955. We are now an Incorporated body under the laws of Arkansas. The Charter hangs on the wall in ACHR office. Have a look at it when you visit us.

Official Meetings -

The Executive Committee has met each month. On June 10th it met prior to the dinner meeting of the Board of Directors. On July 11th after a yum-yum buffett supper at Fred Darragh's it gave the entire evening to discussion of program emphases.

Fifty persons were served at the dinner meeting of board members and guests on June 10th, Dunbar Community Center. Four new board members were approved: Clarence R. Thornbrough, Ed Stone, Sherman V. Zinn, and Miss Emma Scott. The Director and Associate Director gave reports on the Staff Conference in North Carolina.

The Executive Committee had a special luncheon meeting with Frank Loescher, Representative of the Fund for the Republic, at the Marion Hotel, June 15th, discussing in some detail ACHR's relation to the plans for integration in Little Rock.

The Staff and Executive Committee has kept in close touch with plans for integration in Little Rock, North Little Rock, Fort Smith. Superintendent Blossom explained his plans to the Executive Committee and a few guests on June 14th. Our staff and committee were represented at the meeting of the North Little Rock Board when it voted to integrate in two years. Conferences have been had with individual representatives of the school boards of both cities.

Staff Items -

We would like for you to meet our office Secretary and receptionists, Mrs. Frederick W. Carter, nee Ida M. Knox, who began work June 6th. She came to us from the office staff of Dunbar Junior College.

The Director and Associate Director have attended two important educational events since beginning work: A general meeting of the states' staffs of SRC at New Hope Camp, North Carolina, June 1 - 3; the Institute of Race Relations at Fisk University, June 27th-July 9th.

The staff has participated in the following conferences and workshops: Rotary Club, Forrest City, May 10th, at invitation of Attorney John Mann; May 18th, an interdenominational workshop on "The Church and The Supreme Court Decision," at Fort Smith, sparked by William Gibson of Fayetteville; Rural Life Improvement Conference, Damascus Baptist Church, Grady, May 21st; Fiftieth Anniversary Session of the Arkansas Association for Colored Women, June 6th, Little Rock; Southwest Medical, Dental and Pharmaceutical Association, Hot Springs, June 10th; North Arkansas Conference of the Methodist Church, Jonesboro, June 16th-17th.

Christopher C. Mercer, Jr., Associate Director, became a full-time employee of ACHR on July 1st, through the good offices of the SRC and the Fund for the Republic.

Staff to Visit Members -

The Executive Committee has suggested an extensive visitation program for the ACHR staff which will send both Nat Griswold and Chris Mercer to all corners of the State to visit ACHR members. The program is designed to acquaint the members, and others too, with the staff and its program, and to allow the staff to get acquainted with the members and the problems of their area. The staff is anxious to visit you and your friends, and anticipate seeing you soon. You will be notified of our visit to your city.

What "You" can Do -

Many members have often asked: "What can I do to help? In response to them, and also anticipating the same question from other energetic souls, here are a few suggestions: - (others will follow.)

1. Send the State Office all news, pro and con, on desegregation in the local schools.
2. Send in names of persons or groups that you would like to see receive the materials on the ACHR mailing list.
3. Use your influence to encourage local groups to organize bi-racial committees to deal with community problems.

Have you Read?

The following books and pamphlets? - if you haven't, why not do so NOW, because we know you will enjoy each of them.

1. "ANSWERS FOR ACTION," "SCHOOLS IN THE SOUTH:" (20¢ a copy, and obtainable through ACHR.) This is an excellent pamphlet "ANSWERS" to many of the questions that haunt the South in the wake of the Supreme Court's decisions on public school education. It also contains the text of the May 17, 1954 decision, as well as a large area map of the South, showing the distribution of non-white population.

2. "SEGREGATION AND THE SCHOOLS" (25¢ a copy, and also obtainable through ACHR.) This is a succinct summary of the book THE NEGRO AND THE SCHOOLS, by our own Harry S. Ashmore. Just plain good reading for young and old alike.

3. THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW, by C. Vann Woodward (Oxford Univ. Press,) excitingly reveals the historical facts about legal segregation in the South, exploding many myths as to its nature and age. Establishes convincingly - that: (1) Jim Crow is just 60 years old; (2) is the offspring of planning (scheming) parenthood and not simply a child of natural prejudice and social mores. ASK YOUR LIBRARIAN FOR IT.

Coming Event -

The annual meeting of the members is scheduled to be held in Little Rock in October. This will be our first such meeting since ACHR has been reactivated, and plans are underway to make it a very outstanding event. We invite you to look forward to this occasion and to make plans to come and bring your friends. You can expect more on this, so watch for details.

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
211 South Izard, Little Rock, Arkansas

Please enroll me (us) as indicated:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ____ | Individual member | $ 3.00 |
| ____ | Husband and wife, members | 4.00 |
| ____ | Organization member | 25.00 |
| ____ | Student member | 2.00 |
| ____ | Contributor | ____ |

Name _____

Address _____

_____

(Membership includes subscription to NEW SOUTH.)

# The Arkansas Council on Human Relations

## An Introduction

Incorporated
July, 1955

**HUMAN**
**BI-RACIAL**
**EDUCATIONAL**
**NON-POLITICAL**
**NON-DENOMINATIONAL**

An Organization . . .
Of All-Arkansans
For All Arkansans

211 South Izard
FRanklin 4-4521

Little Rock
Arkansas

# THE ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

## Its Constitution

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations came into being in December, 1954, by the organization of the Arkansas members and friends of the Southern Regional Council of which it is an affiliate. The Southern Regional Council is the successor to the southwide Commission on Interracial Cooperation founded in 1919 by beloved "Dr. Will" Alexander and, as such, continues as an organization of Southerners, themselves interested in solving the problems of the South.

ACHR has its own Board of Directors and Executive Committee which determines program and policy for Arkansas. Its paid staff consists of an Executive Director, an Associate Director, and an Office Secretary. All are native Arkansans.

## Its Goal

It is an organization of Arkansans of all races and creeds that seeks "to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunities for all peoples" in Arkansas. Through democratic processes at the local level it seeks to make continued progress in race relations sure and smooth. Its efforts are directed toward an Arkansas "where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where a common citizenship will work in democratic understanding for the common good; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where all can feel confident of personal safety and equality before the law; where there will exist no double standard in housing, health, education, or other public services; where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed."

## Its Focus

It supports all efforts toward abundant life for all people—economic, domestic, recreational, religious life. However, the decisions of the Supreme Court, May 17, 1954, and May 31, 1955, requiring the desegregation of public schools, have created a situation in local school districts which serves to focus the present major activities of the Council. It undertakes to aid local communities of Arkansas to actualize the spirit and letter of those decisions. It is committed to the view that the people of each community with integrity can achieve this without enduring bitterness.

## Its Base

The Council approaches its work from certain baseline axioms with reference to the Supreme Court's decisions.

1. These decisions are both legally just and morally right: "Segregation of children in public schools on the basis of race even though the facilities may be equal," is unconstitutional; "state and local laws requiring or permitting such discrimination must yield to this principle" of the constitution; and local school districts must "make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance with the May 17, 1954, ruling" requiring desegregation.
2. The social and psychic adjustments which groups and individuals must make in obeying these decisions call for the energetic cooperation of all good citizens and institutions to the end that these adjustments may be made with the minimum of pain and rancor.

## Its Way

Each school district's decisions are its own and in some particulars are peculiar to it. Consequently those decisions can only be made wisely by the community itself. The Council has no ready-made solutions. It suggests methods of procedure, basically democratic methods, for arriving at solutions. It brings resources—findings of research, experiences of other communities, survey instruments, consultants.

Basically, it recommends deeds rather than words. Experiences now available all point to this fact: human behavior in actual interracial contacts is consistently better than avowed attitudes. A man can despise the symbol for another man (words, pictures, stereotypes) when he cannot despise the man in person. When confronted with persons all of us tend to behave like humans, if not like Christians. What Baltimore learned through integration of the schools has a wide application: "Most of the parental fears of integration can be dispelled through the actual experience of integration." So, the Council suggests that each community begins the process of actualizing the courts decisions by giving to its citizens bi-racial experiences, particularly through interracial committees of schools, churches, women's organizations, civic groups. Such committees working together can find answers to local community problems and insure smooth transition to new relations. The Council itself provides its members just such experiences.

## Its Services

The staff and state office is a service agency: a clearing house of literature and films, funded experience and facts from research, suggestive of action for local groups; a source of counsellors for officials and school administrators, speakers and consultants for conferences and commissions; a center for ideas and information; an agency for correlation of the efforts of individuals and organizations now working for better human relations in Arkansas.

## ▶ *Its Hands*

For its effectiveness, the Council depends on its individual members throughout the state working through various organizations and institutions already functioning for intergroup relations. It encourages only a loose organization of these members for the purpose of fellowship and consultations. These members can be the liason between the state office and local groups, arranging for the available services to be used at the community level. These services are offered to churches, schools, libraries, women's organizations, radios, newspapers, teachers, parents, farmers, youth groups, civic clubs, labor unions, professional organizations. The Counicl recognizes that these groups must take the responsibility for working out local solutions. They are the ones who can do well this job of improving relations and providing fuller opportunities for all the people. The Council hopes its help may be transmitted through these hands of persons in local communities.

## ▶ *Its Spirit*

While the Council has a point-of-view on human relations — a point-of-view which it seeks to make clear at all times— it fosters a climate of opinion in which people of different views may work amicably toward a better life for all Arkansans. It recognizes no individual or group has the complete answers to complex social changes which confront us. It seeks the creative energies of all individuals and groups that together they may find the *best* answers. It accepts the faith of all high religions, faith in men as the children of God and brothers of one another.

## ▶ *Its Members*

The Council welcomes as members and contributors all who share these fundamental aims and who wish to join others in realizing them.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Rev. C. C. Walker, Vice Chairman ..... Little Rock
Rev. C. S. Cartwright, Vice Chairman ..... Little Rock
Perry Taylor, Treasurer ..... Little Rock
Mrs. Dorothy Otis Wyre, Secretary ..... Conway

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M. W. (Mike) Willis ..... Little Rock
Sherman Zinn ..... Little Rock

### STAFF

Nat R. Griswold, Executive Director
Christopher C. Mercer, Jr., Associate Director
Mrs. Velma Powell, Secretary

# State Department of Education

OLIVER HODGE, SUPERINTENDENT
E. H. McDONALD, ASST. SUPERINTENDENT
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

July 26, 1957

Mr. Frederick Routh
c/o Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

I am listing below several school superintendents who have done away with segregation in their schools in Oklahoma.

1400 Charles Vaught, Superintendent, Spiro, Oklahoma. LeFlore County.
ok — 4800 G. E. Evans, Superintendent, Poteau, Oklahoma. LeFlore County.
2700 Dave Phillips, Superintendent, Chandler, Oklahoma. Lincoln County.
4400 J. R. Gililland, Superintendent, Sulphur, Oklahoma. Murray County.
2300 C. H. Pinkerton, Superintendent, Tishomingo, Oklahoma. Johnston Co.
3300 Russell Pursell, Superintendent, Kingfisher, Oklahoma. Kingfisher. Co.

Charles Vaught and G. E. Evans are located in LeFlore County, which borders Arkansas; therefore, if they are chosen, the distance would not be great for them to attend your conference. The other four men mentioned above have done an excellent job in integrating their schools. Russell Pursell, of Kingfisher, and J. R. Gililland, of Sulphur, have integrated their high school, junior high, and elementary students. Dave Phillips, of Chandler, operates an elementary Negro school; however, students attend that school only by choice.

I hope that you may be able to choose from this list individuals who will add something to your conference.

Sincerely yours,

E. H. McDonald

E. H. McDonald
Asst. State Superintendent

EHM:kd

Lexington 46787


# Arkansas Council On Human Relations

211 SOUTH IZARD TELEPHONE FR 4-4521

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS


*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*


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STAFF
NAT R. GRISWOLD, Executive Director
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR., Associate Director
MRS. VELMA POWELL, Secretary


MEMORANDUM

TO: John Hope and Fred Routh

FROM: Nat Griswold Nat

SUBJECT: Administrators Conference on School Desegregation

PARTICIPANTS: The superintendents of schools west and north of Little Rock on either side of the Arkansas River. Possibly fifteen participants including two college deans and one head of a college department of education. The schools have three things in common: 1) - they are relatively small systems; 2) - they have very small Negro enrollment; 3) - they provide inadequate but expensive schooling for the Negro children, under the present segregated system.

These schools are all favorably influenced by the prompt action of Charleston (a near-by town) which desegregated its few Negro students promptly after the Supreme Court's decision and by Fayetteville which is in the same general region. However, they ~~find it convenient to "wait and see" what happens in other places.~~ fear ~~They allude to~~ "another Clinton" or "another Hoxie." But they seem to accept desegregation as inevitable. "They (white and colored children) will all go to school before long." The administrators are concerned about the high costs of taking care of so few Negro students and troubled by increasing demands of Negro patrons for better facilities and teachers, possibly a ~~studied technique by these patrons~~.

~~PLACE AND~~ CHARACTER: ~~Present plans call for the meeting at one of the schools a hundred miles west of Little Rock on the evening of August 7, with follow-up on August 8.~~ This will be an off-the-record meeting without a word of publicity. Maximum freedom of discussion is anticipated -- airing of unreal fears and real problems, extracting all kinds of information on successes and admissions of failures from the consultants. This will be schoolmen in a session.

OBJECTIVES: From our viewpoint looking at the whole stage of Arkansas we would have three ends achieved:

1) - Have these superintendents reassured that they can desegregate without serious community discord.

2) - Have them learn and relate to their situations effective steps to insure smooth transition in desegregation.

3) - (This above all) Have them motivated to act promptly to desegregate this year. We think this is the year for the schools to act: a non-political year; five larger schools begin to move and will get most of the publicity; delay strengthens segregationists; this is sound education, economics, and politics for Arkansas.

As these superintendents gather the first two objectives will be uppermost for them. While it is uncertain that any come expecting to be moved to act this year, a number of them want to do the "right thing" without "trouble" and would really like to "get this thing over with."

July 27, 1957

| DOMESTIC SERVICE | |
|---|---|
| Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram | |
| TELEGRAM | |
| DAY LETTER | |
| NIGHT LETTER | |

$ S E

# WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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| INTERNATIONAL SERVICE | |
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| Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate | |
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| NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC. | PD. OR COLL. | CASH NO. | CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF | TIME FILED |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC. | |

*Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to*

JULY 31, 1957

DR. WILLIS SUTTON
UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY

MEETING TO BE HELD AT LAMAR, ARKANSAS BEGINNING 7:30 P.M., AUGUST 7.

SUGGEST YOU ARRANGE TO MEET GRISWOLD IN LITTLE ROCK. LETTER AND

ADVANCE BEING SENT TO FLETCHER.

FREDERICK B. ROUTH
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

SAME LETTER SENT TO: Dr. Wilbur Adams
Superintendent of Schools
Carrolton, Missouri

Blind copies to: Nat R. Griswold
Dr. Willis Sutton

**VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY**

July 31, 1957

Mr. G. E. Evans
Superintendent of Schools
Poteau, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Evans:

Enclosed is an information sheet on the Arkansas School Administrators Conference on Desegregation.

We are indebted to you and want to thank you for your cooperation. The Southern Regional Council will pay your expenses involved in this consultant work. We pay eight cents per mile for automobile travel and actual costs for plane or train tickets. Meals and lodging are also taken care of. Our consultant fee is $35.00 per day of actual work. This particular job would constitute 1½ days work or a consultant fee of $52.50.

Arrangements for the Conference are being made by the Executive Director of SRC's state affiliate. His address is:

Nat. R. Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 South Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Phone: FRanklin 4-4521

Mr. Griswold will be driving from Little Rock to Lamar in the afternoon of August 7. If you prefer to fly to

Little Rock or to drive there and complete the trip with him, he will be happy to make such arrangements. If you wish to do this please indicate to Mr. Griswold your time and place of arrival in Little Rock.

Mr. Sutton will serve as team coordinator.

With every wish for the success of the meeting.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/mf
Enclosure - 1 Information Sheet re
Arkansas School Administrators Conference...

# INFORMATION SHEET

## ARKANSAS SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS' CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION

:

PLACE: The Public School, Lamar, Arkansas (5 miles east of Clarksville on U. S. Highway 64.)

TIME: 7:30 Wednesday Evening, August 7, to _____ Thursday, August 8.

PARTICIPANTS:

Selected superintendents of schools west and north of Little Rock on either side of the Arkansas River. Possibly 12 - 15 participants including two college deans and one head of a Department of Education at a college. The school systems have three things in common: (1) they are relatively small; (2) they have a small percentage of Negro pupils; and (3) they provide inadequate but expensive schooling for Negroes under the present segregated system.

These schools are favorably influenced by the prompt action of Charleston (a near-by town) which desegregated its few Negro pupils promptly after the Supreme Court's decision and by similar action at Fayetteville which is in the same general region. Some of these places fear another "Hoxie" or another "Clinton." With five larger communities in Arkansas preparing to move this fall this seems a strategic time for these smaller systems to comply. The more communities which desegregate the more difficult will it be for any to be singled out for "attention" by the White Citizens' Council or other resistance groups.

CHARACTER:

This will be an off-the-record meeting, without publicity. Maximum freedom of discussion is anticipated — airing of unreal fears and real problems; extracting all kinds of information on successes and admissions of difficulties from the consultants. This will be schoolmen in a session.

OBJECTIVES:

Looking at the broad view of the whole state of Arkansas and its strategic importance to the rest of the region, three objectives

seem most important:

(1) Have these superintendents reassured that they can desegregate without serious community discord;

(2) Have them learn, and relate to their own situations, effective steps to insure smooth transition in desegregation;

(3) Open the way for joint preparation for action this fall.

August 1, 1957

Dr. Willis Sutton
c/o Mr. Frank P. Drake
Fletcher, North Carolina

Dear Willis:

It was good indeed of you and Dot to agree to serving as consultants to the school superintendents in west Arkansas. I know this was a personal sacrifice on your part.

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which we sent to Mr. Evans and Dr. Adams. I am also sending along a travel advance of $100.00.

Since you will be the representative of SRC at this conference, we would like a fairly full report and evaluation of the workshop. You will note in the letter that you are to be "team coordinator." Actually, we would hope that you would serve as a sort of catalyst in session; helping keep the discussion on the main theme of the workshop. It would, of course, be helpful along the way to occasionally summarizing where the discussion has led or to perhaps raise questions for further points of discussion.

Best of luck in the undertaking. We have every confidence in you. Once more my personal thanks.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/mf
Enclosures:
1 Check for $100.00 - No. 4043
Copies of ltrs. to Mr. Evans and Dr. Adams

August 1, 1957

Mr. Nat R. Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 South Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

I am enclosing a copy of the letter which was sent to Mr. Evans and Dr. Adams. I have sent a copy of it to Dr. Sutton too. They will be getting in touch with you.

We believe that the Arkansas Council is moving in really significant ways in this undertaking. It appears to us that this is the year of the big breakthrough in the middle South with Nashville moving, plus three communities in North Carolina - Charlottesville, Winston-Salem, and Greensboro. If some half dozen to a dozen communities in Arkansas can also move it will be of great significance to us in the South.

Warm personal regards,

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/mf
Enclosures - Copies of ltrs. to Mr. Evans and Dr. Adams

August 1, 1957

Dr. Hubert Wheeler
Commissioner of Education
Board of Education
Jefferson City, Missouri

Dear Dr. Wheeler:

This is just a note to thank you for your cooperation enlisting superintendents for possible use as consultants to the school systems in Arkansas. We chose Dr. Wilbur Adams of Carrolton.

When a report on the workshop session is available we will send you a copy.

Thanks once more for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/mf

August 1, 1957

Mr. E. H. McDonald
Assistant State Superintendent
of Education
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. McDonald:

Just a note to thank you for your cooperation in enlisting superintendents for possible use as consultants in Arkansas. We chose Mr. G. E. Evans of Poteau.

When a report of the workshop session is available we will send you a copy.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/mf

**POTEAU PUBLIC SCHOOLS**

G. E. EVANS, SUPERINTENDENT

POTEAU, OKLAHOMA

August 13, 1957

Mr Fredrick B. Routh
Assistant Director, Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

Just a note to tell you that the Conference on Desegregation at Lamar, Arkansas was one of much interest to the few but, select groupe of school people.

Mr Nat R. Griswold did a great job as our groupe leader. We were very sorry that Dr. Sutton was unable to be present. I am sure that I will be able to help some of these people who will be desegregating soon.

Expense as follows:

198 Mi. @ 8¢ -------$15.84
Hotel & Meals-------- 7.00
1½ days---------- 52.50

Total----------$75.34

If We can be on any assistance call on us.

Sincerely,

G. E. Evans

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

FBR - File Copy

August 15, 1957

Dr. G. E. Evans, Superintendent
Poteau Public Schools
Poteau, Oklahoma

Dear Dr. Evans:

First, let me take this opportunity to thank you for your contribution to the Arkansas School Administrators' Conference on Desegregation. We have had good reports on the conference and your participation in it. We believe you made a real contribution to peaceful social transition in Arkansas. We do think highly of Nat Griswold and appreciate your words of kindness about him.

I am enclosing our check in the amount of $75.34 which covers consultant fee and travel expenses incurred by you for this conference.

Your offer to further assist the local superintendents in Arkansas will mean a great deal to them. The old saw, "nothing succeeds like success" will influence them in following your lead. We live in challenging times and it is good to know a person such as you who is willing to meet the challenge.

With sincere appreciation for your leadership role in the conference, I am

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/mf
cc: Dr. E. H. McDonald
Enclosure - 1 check

POTEAU PUBLIC SCHOOLS
G. E. EVANS, SUPERINTENDENT
POTEAU, OKLAHOMA

August 13, 1957

Mr Fredrick B. Routh
Assistant Director, Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

Just a note to tell you that the Conference on Desegregation at Lamar, Arkansas was one of much interest to the few but, select groupe of school people.

Mr Nat R. Griswold did a great job as our groupe leader. We were very sorry that Dr. Sutton was unable to be present. I am sure that I will be able to help some of these people who will be desegregating soon.

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1½ days---------- 52.50

Total----------$75.34

If We can be of any assistance call on us.

Sincerely,

G. E. Evans

FBR - File Copy

August 15, 1957

Dr. W. L. Adams
Superintendent
The Board of Education
The Carrollton Public Schools
Carrollton, Missouri

Dear Dr. Adams:

We have had good reports on the Arkansas School Administrators' Conference on Desegregation. We have had good reports on your part in that conference. I believe you have made a real contribution to the furtherance of peaceful transition for a democratic society in Arkansas.

We are enclosing here our check for $120.39 which covers both travel costs and consultant fee for the conference.

Our sincere thanks to you for coming on such short notice and doing so fine a job.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/mf
cc: Dr. Hubert Wheeler
Commissioner - Board of Education

The Board of Education The Carrollton Public Schools

SCHOOL DISTRICT R-VII OF CARROLL COUNTY . . . . CARROLLTON, MISSOURI

ROBERT HAEGG
ELEMENTARY SUPERVISOR

W. L. ADAMS
SUPERINTENDENT

E. M. HAGGARD
HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPAL

AUGUST 12, 1957

MR. FREDRICK B. ROUTH
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
ROOM 432, 63 AMBURN AVENUE N.E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

DEAR MR. ROUTH:

I ENJOYED THE ARKANSAS SCHOOL ADMINISTRATOR'S CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION. I FOUND NAT R. GRISWOLD A HARD-WORKING, DEDICATED MAN. I THINK WE MADE PROGRESS.

THE FOLLOWING IS A STATEMENT OF MY EXPENSE:

| | |
|---|---|
| SANTE FE--CARROLLTON TO KANSAS CITY..... | $ 2.01 |
| TAXI TO KANSAS CITY AIRPORT..... | 2.00 |
| DELTA FLIGHT FARE--ROUND TRIP TO LITTLE ROCK FROM KANSAS CITY.... | 46.20 |
| SIX MEALS..... | 5.74 |
| HOTEL--WEDNESDAY $3.09; THURSDAY $4.12..... | 7.21 |
| TAXI FROM LITTLE ROCK AIRPORT..... | .85 |
| TAXI FROM K.C. AIRPORT TO UNION STATION..... | 1.75 |
| WABASH TO CARROLLTON..... | 2.13 |
| CONSULTANT FEE AT CONFERENCE..... | 52.50 |
| TOTAL ACCOUNT..... | $120.39 |

YOURS TRULY,

W. L. ADAMS

MAS

ENCLOSURES: RECEIPTS FOR RECORDS.

August 21, 1957

Dr. Willis A. Sutton
% Sociology Department
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Willis:

Thanks for your letter of August 20th with the detailed report on the conference in Arkansas. We found the report most informative for it helped spell-out some of the items reported by Nat Griswold. I have asked each of the Superintendents who participated to write brief reports too.

We were sorry to hear about the plane trouble, but as the "Old Wanderer" of SRC I wasnt surprised. I've had the same thing happen a half-dozen times in the past three years. At first I was highly disturbed about it; more recently I have become philosophical about such misadventures. It was good of you to drive to Knoxville and make the trip from there. Had you called, I would have advised, "Go West, young man !" So you did just right.

I am sending along our check for $60.58; of which $52.50 is consultant fee and the remainder ($8.08) is the amount due for travel expenses beyond the $100 advance.

Nat called yesterday to say that the Arkansas State Police might want a consultant-specialist for a one day institute. We thought of Col.McCandless of the Southern Police Institute, Louisville, but have not moved til Nat gets more definite word.

Thanks for doing a good job at Winrock; that's an important contact and Nat feels good about your part in helping Mr. Hudson understand the workings of SRC and the Arkansas Council.

Sorry Dot's father is worse; one always feels so helpless in dealing with terminal cases--particularly when its someone you care for.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh

452 West Parkwood Road
Atlanta, Georgia
August 20, 1957

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Sourthern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Please excuse my delay in getting some sort of report to you regarding my trip to Arkansas August 7-9, 1957 as consultant for SRC. Dot and I continue to be heavily involved with family commitments. Her father was admitted to Emory Hospital a week ago and has been failing rather consistently.

You already know, of course, of my bad fortune in having my Asheville-Knoxville flight cancelled at the last moment. The plane had engine trouble just as it landed in Asheville. This meant that I did not get to Little Rock until 7:300 that night, and missed the night meeting which, as you also now know, was the only real meeting of the group of school superintendents. In view of this, I think a few brief paragraphs in this letter are probably all that is warranted in the way of a report. If you should have other questions, I will be glad, of course, to try to answer them.

I arrived in Russellville, Arkansas about 9:30 on the 7th after having been driven from Little Rock by two Negro members of the Arkansas Council.(I can't remember the name of the main one--a high school principal in Little Rock. The other, one of his teachers, was Mr. Palmer.) Mr. Griswold and Mr. Adams (consultant from Missouri who seemed very fine indeed) arrived from the night meeting a little after 10:00. We had a post mortem over some coffee and tried to plan the next day's activities.
Next morning the three of us first called upon Professor Warren, head of the Education Department at Arkansas State (the college name I'm not sure of) there at Russelville. He had been at the night meeting. I gathered he was in full sumpathy with the Council's aims and, further, was a recent acquaintance of Mr. Griswold and one who might be very helpful in the future. We made no specific plans with him but groundwork was laid for having his advice, and I think, aid on future steps by the Arkansas Council.

Meanwhile, Mr. Griswold had made an appointment for Mr. Adams with a Mr. Bailey, Superintendent of Russellville Schools, who had failed to come to the previous night's meeting though he had promised he would be there. I gathered from Mr. Adams that his conference with Bailey (Mr. Griswold had felt wisely I think that it would not be best for all three of us to "descend" upon Bailey) was cordial. He reported Bailey personally in support of desegregation, but with no plans to do anything for the foreseeable future.

While Mr. Adams saw Bailey Mr. Griswold and I filled an appointment with Mr. John Rye, currently chairman of the Arkansas State School Board, and a man apparently expected to run for Governor soon--an expectation which he himself directly confirmed while we were with him. Rye had been in college with Griswold. There were family connections. We broached the subject indirectly through general questions on Arkansas Educational progress. True to his role he waxed proud if not poetic, cautious and careful though verbose. As an outsider I mentioned the importance of the State Board's position and something of the forthright position taken by the Kentucky State Board of Education. He merely reemphasized the position of Arkansas Board that they would stand behind their local school boards no matter what position they took. Mr. Griswold had indicated to me that the state board had actually hindered planning for desegregation, and Rye gave no indication that any real change in policy would be made. He did state however, that he had been in conference the day before most of the day largely about this "matter" and he added that there would be a few more systems desegregating in Arkansas this fall than most people including Mr. Griswold knew anything about. He stressed the need for keeping down any "trouble" defined mainly in terms of lawsuits and Mr. Griswold balanced this with the suggestion that there was a real need also to deal with Citizens' Council agitators. Perhaps seeds were planted here. At least the contact was made that may be useful later.

The three of us then, after lunch, went to Winrock--Winthrop Rockefeller's farm. Here we had a lengthy contact with Mr. James Hudson, General Superintendent of the farm who happens to be a Negro. He was most cordial and showed us over the place of about an hour after our general conversation. Mr. Griswold mentioned the work of the Council and our purpose in Arkansas and then asked about means of improving chances of securing a grant from the "Brothers" Fund which the Arkansas Council has requested. At this point Mr. Hudson asked Mr. Rockefeller's secretary who happened that day to be at the farm office to talk with us. She did and she and Mr. Griswold agreed to plan an appointment with Rockefeller for sometime the next week or so when Rockefeller was in Little Rock. In addition, it was learned that the town of Morrilton, Arkansas whose schools Rockefeller is aiding, will either desegregate this fall or face the almost certain withdrawal of Rockefeller aid. Nothing in the way of public policy has either been publicly announced or informally conveyed by the school board, however, and everyone is watchfully waiting.

This completed our day. We drove on to Little Rock--had supper together with Mr. Griswold and I got my plane to Memphis where I spent the night before getting my flight back to Knoxville the next morning.

I'm sorry that I did not get to participate in the main meeting for the Council. I feel a little embarassed at costing so much to the Council for such a little return. When the plane difficulty developed, after I was able to learn what alternatives and chances I had, I considered calling the SRC Office for advice, but it was then lunch hour and I decided chances were slim that I could reach anyone

and I had to leave immediately if I were to make my next flight out of Knoxville. (I barely got there ten minutes before take-off.) So I made the decision. Had I known then that the meeting on the 8th would not be held, I probably would not have gone. I hope, however, that I was of some use.

I am attaching a statement of my expenses along with hotel and plane receipts. You will note I drove my car from Fletcher, N. C. to Knoxville Airport and return. I received $12.76 refund on the $77.94 plane ticket for this roundtrip leg of the journey so I have deducted this from the plane amount. And, of course you recall I have already had a $100.00 travel advance from SRA which I have deducted from the travel total. I don't now know how long I shall be in Atlanta so just mail my checks to me

c/o Sociology Department
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Ky.

Thanks. I appreciate this opportunity, Fred. Sorry "Providence" wh wouldn't allow my full participation. Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Willis A. Sutton, Jr.

Willis A. Sutton, Jr.

EXPENSES OF WILLIS A. SUTTON, JR. AS CONSULTANT OF SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL TO MEETINGS IN ARKANSAS, AUGUST 7-9, 1957

| | |
|---|---|
| Plane Ticket | |
| $77.94 less $12.76 refund | $65.18 |
| Limousine from and to Memphis airport | 2.50 |
| Travel by personal car Fletcher, N. C. to Knoxville Airport (Aug 7) and return (Aug 9) --141 miles each way 282 miles at $ .08 | 22.56 |
| Hotel Bills | |
| Russelville Ark Aug 7th | 3.60 |
| Memphis, Tenn, Aug 8th | 6.18 |
| Meals | |
| Aug 7th | |
| Lunch | 1.40 |
| Aug 8th | |
| Breakfast | 1.10 |
| Lunch | 1.15 |
| Dinner | 1.75 |
| Aug. 9 | |
| Breakfast | 1.10 |
| Lunch | 1.55 |
| General Total | 108.08 |
| Less general advance | - 100.00 |
| Amount due on expenses | $8.08 |

52.50
8.08
60.58

sh
FBR

Willis A. Sutton, Jr.

26 August '57

Dr. W.L. Adams, Superintendent
The Carrollton Public Schools
Carrollton, Missouri

Dear Dr. Adams:

We have received your evaluation of the Arkansas Conference and appreciate your comments. The evaluations we have received on this conference will help us in planning future efforts along these lines.

It was a pleasure to have you work with us on this project; we believe you contributed significantly to the success of the conference. Nat Griswold speaks highly of your part in the meeting.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/s

**The Board of Education** *The Carrollton Public Schools*

**SCHOOL DISTRICT R-VII OF CARROLL COUNTY** * * * * **CARROLLTON, MISSOURI**

ROBERT HAEGG
ELEMENTARY SUPERVISOR

W. L. ADAMS
SUPERINTENDENT

E. M. HAGGARD
HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPAL

AUGUST 22, 1957

MR. FREDRICK B. ROUTH
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
ROOM 432, 63 AUBUN AVENUE NE
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

DEAR MR. ROUTH:

THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS CONCERNING THE ARKANSAS SUPERINTENDENTS' CONFERENCE IS MY BRIEF EVALUATION OF THE MEETINGS:

1. THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS IS IN GOOD HANDS, AND A VERY SENSIBLE APPROACH IS BEING MADE TO THE PROBLEM OF DESEGREGATION.

2. THE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS WERE IN COMPLETE SYMPATHY WITH THE MOVEMENT TO DESEGREGATE BUT HAVE A RELUCTANCE TO TAKE THE LEAD.

3. A POLICY OF ENCOURAGEMENT ON THE PART OF THE STATE SCHOOL BOARD OR BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL WOULD HELP THE ADMINISTRATORS TO MAKE A DEFINITE MOVE.

4. THE CONFERENCE WAS DEFINITELY AN IMPORTANT STEP IN A GRADUAL PROGRAM TOWARD ACCOMPLISHMENT.

5. ASIDE FROM THE CONFERENCE MEETING, TALKS TO VARIOUS OTHER INFLUENTIAL PEOPLE IN THE LITTLE ROCK AREA SHOULD PROVE TO HELP OBTAIN FAVORABLE RESULTS.

YOURS TRULY,

W. L. Adams

W. L. ADAMS

MA

Arkansas' First Consultant Conference

For Superintendents

This first conference with superintendents up the Arkansas Valley is an integral part of the Operation Break - the Back. This operation began seriously with a conference with an administrator of the University School of Education July 8. He had little information, but he praised one superintendent as a dependable administartor. Subsequently this suggestion opened the door for the conference.

A preliminary circuit of some of the Arkansas Valley schools left the impression, since confirmed, that action toward desegregation was far from the minds of the school administrators, though they recognized it was inevitable. A swing to the Northeast, near Hoxie, convinced us that only a court order would get action there.

I. Setting up the Conference.

Seemingly thwarted in our effort to get immediate action by appeal to sweet reasonableness, we determined to try a meeting with consultants furnished by Consultant Service. The Director, acting like a fool rushing in, set out to call on superintendents, to tell them of this service, to ask if they would be willing to join in a conference with other schoolmen from neighbor states.

Here providence played a role. The superintendent of one of the larger schools was not available when the Director called. The next superintendent, whom I had never met, was the one commended by the University of Arkansas administrator. He proved to be secure, reasonable and willing. Moreover, he had the confidence of most all other superintendents. " Sure I'll be glad to meet in such a conference. The men are interested enough in this that you should have no trouble getting attendance for a conference." Subsequently, and luckily, the second man visited was a county supervisor who took the same view. With a few more visits seven superintendents seemed certain to attend. Also, one college dean and one head of a college department of education.

On this basis on July 26, John Hope, was phoned and immediately went into high. He was able to call me back on July 27 to assure me consultants, perhaps three would be furnished. We understood F. Routh and C.H. Parris were geared into this rapid move to get consultants. The date already set by the superintendents was Wednesday. August 7th, 7:30 P.M.

Getting a place for such an off - the - record meeting proved tricky. One superintendent, a fearful one during our first conference in an off - hand way said, " If it is really an off - the - record meeting of superintendents, I'd let them come here in my office. " When I called to confirm this offer he had changed! " Better have this in a district where there are no Negro children enrolled." It took a trip of 160 miles and two long - distant calls, conferences with a college dean and president ( who glowered and threatened to disrupt the whole proceedings ) before the place in a tiny town was secured.

Mr. Evans as his guest to Rotary. We decided to plot Thursday Conferences, perhaps with some absent superintendents, after consultatation with the missing coordinator Sutton. The Professor of Education invited us to use his home for any follow - up meetings arranged.

Final program followed: Mr. Evans would " fraternized " with the city superintendent and the county supervisor on Thursday in Clarksville. The other two and the Director would have an evaluation meeting with College Professor. Then Mr. Adams would consult with a superintendent not in attendance, who holds key position. The Director and Sutton would confer with an influential member of the State Board of Education living in the same town. Afterwards, we would try to confer with the general superintendent of Winrock which would serve the dual purpose of cultivation for our program and encouragement in the Morrilton System which is very much a part of this whole picture. ( Most of the schools send their Negro children to Morrilton for secondary education.)

IV Evaluation.
Our purpose in this project were listed:
1. Reassure superintendents that desegregation can be done smoothly.
2. Suggest steps for smooth desegregation.
3. Supply incentive for this action now.

The first purpose was very well achieved. Not only this, but they were assured that our proffered help is not " loaded." We hope the news about this may spread.

There were some definite steps suggested by the consultants, Mr. Sutton could have helped pull these together and added to them notably in the matter of community preparation. We missed him at the general session.

We were not successful in the third purpose. Sometime, yes: " It has to come. When the time comes we can do it." The Director in his working hours Wednesday might played with the wicked thought as to what good a suit for damage against some school superintendents and board members might do! There is no doubt that we have one district where such a suit could be won. It might activate many of these schools where administrative difficulties do not exist.

In some ways the two hours with Mr. Hudson at Winrock and a shorter period with Mr. Rockefeller's administrative Assistant may prove to be most fruitful. We learned what is happening in Morrilton; we prepared the way for a conference with Mr. Rockefeller on behalf of ACHR; we demonstrated what and how we do; we had a short course on operating a farm with unmeasured money! ( Mr. Hudson has our copy of <u>The Face of the South.</u>)

Since this was a " cloak - and - dagger " meeting invitations were made in person by the director. Some of the schoolmen offered to re - enforce the directors invitation but did not volunteer to issue an invitation. This personal invitation was necessary, too, because the idea, the consultant, the director, and " stimulating " organizations were all unknown to most of the schoolmen.

After a swing of some 365 miles those persons indicating their intention to come included: eleven superintendent, one county supervisor, one college dean, the head of the University School of Education, one head of the department of education, a total of fifteen. Some indicated they might bring a superintendent friend who had not been invited. We deliberately limited this meeting to smaller districts with most common factors.

II. The Conference.

Afternoon on August 7, a wire from the coordinator of consultants indicated plane trouble meant he would not arrive in Little Rock until 7:15 P.M. The meeting was at 7:30 P.M. one hundred miles from Little Rock! No private or public plane accommodations could be arranged. A loyal member of ACHR, agreed to meet the plane and bring the consultant to his hotel so he would be available for the follow - up.

The consultant from Missouri drove with the Director. The consultant from Oklahoma and his wife met us there. Final number at conference: seven superintendents, one head of a college department of education, one county supervisor.

Since the University administrator did not come the director was obliged to open the meeting. There was free and quite relaxed discussion. It was obvious that the schoolmen were talking with no time schedule or dates in mind. Much discussion lacked concreteness when applied to their problems. When the chair tried to push the discussion toward a beginning date, they all flew for refuge into: " It is too late this year. We have written agreements to send the Negro children to other districts filed at the State Department of Education " ( this makes the State Department some sort of conspirator in evasion of law! ) An interesting contrast in attitude toward Negro patrons became clear. Both consultants explained that after Board action for desegregation they first called together Negro patrons to convince them that desegregation was best for their children. They actively sought to get full cooperation from the Negro parents. The Arkansas schoolmen in describing their situation obviously were elated that Negro parents were satisfied with segregation and had made no objections.

The administartors indicated they were using methods to continue this satisfaction, even though they admitted it greatly disadvantaged the children!

III Thursday Follow - Up.

No suggestion came from the group on Wednesday evening for further consultations on Thursday. ( Under the circumstances we were obliged to play it by ear.) A most timid superintendent invited

~~J R Gilliland - Sulphur, Okla.~~ Ph. · 826
Supt'd of ~~[illegible]~~ - Schools

✓ G E Evans - Poteau Okla · 246

✓ Willis Sutton [c/o Earl P. Drake - ~~Lexington~~ Lexington] Fletcher, N.C.

Dr. Wilbur Adams - Supt of ~~[illegible]~~ Schools - Carrollton, Missouri.

---

Send W. Sutton Travel advance of $100.00

Dept of Rural Socio - U of Ky.

Mtg: starts & ends when.

GARY FLEMING

FRED ROUTH

# Information Sheet.

Arkansas School Administrators Conference on Desegregation.

Place:

Time: ____ Wed Evening Aug 7 til ____ Thursday Aug 8

Participants:

~~Ark. Administrators' Conference on School Desegregation.~~

~~Time: Evening of Aug 7 and Day of Thurs Aug 8.~~

~~Place:~~

Ark. –
Atlanta
Ga.
Tenn.

Cong. Rec.
MHW –
REC –
J.W.
D.P.

JFK - Chapel - 2-1025 ~~[illegible]~~
Chapel 2-3396 vf.

Mrs James Cheney - Newport News
7-1061

Aug 7 - in Arkansas JFK

7 supt'ls 5 possible
1 chm. 2 school & Ed. men

Team 2-3 people -
1 supt'l small town band journ
1 reg. staff or 2 - 1 reg. consult Lee Coleman ?

~~Atlanta Moore~~
~~[illegible]~~
Reckler
↑
Navy

Jim Eve - Wed. Hampton Inst. Thurs.

Wm Walker - Pres W Va State Coll - Institute, W. Va.
✓ Trent - State Supt - W Va
✓ board guy Okla. or Mo.

Segal
Seagle

Rept. Hampton
3-6-81

Dr. Oliver Hodge -
St. Supt'd of Pub. Inst.
Oklahoma City, Okla.
Ja. 5 - 2153

Mr McDonnel -

Dr. Al Harris
Clinton, Okla. } 20,000 pop 7,555

Mr. Frances Tuttle
Hordenville, Okla. } 6192

~~Richard Birds~~

Rosco Playforth - Barbourville 2926 (Ph D Ed D at U-Ky)
8-9 Negro kids -

Millespie - City - Georgetown - (No)

Dr Albright.

Rich Hunter Eng
Lew Pressley.

Dr. Hubert Wheeler - Commissioner Bdg Eb Jefferson City, Mo.

35
1750
52.50

Arkansas Special grant (application attached)

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

July 9, 1957

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

I am pleased to inform you that we are making a special grant of $1500 to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, as requested in your letter and attached proposal dated July 3, 1957. Our check for that amount is enclosed.

It is our understanding that these special funds will enable the Arkansas Council to give special attention to the possibility of school desegregation in the western counties of the State this September. This will be done through conference and advisory assistance to school superintendents and other community leadership in the counties under consideration. It is also understood that you may request supplementary consultant services or other assistance in this project from the Southern Regional Council.

The usual prohibition against use of Council funds for political activity or other purposes inconsistent with tax-exempt status applies to this special grant.

This special project grant in no way affects the Arkansas Council's status as an applicant for aid from the Council for the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1957.

We shall look forward to being kept informed of the progress of your efforts and ways in which the Southern Regional Council can give program assistance to the project.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 check for $1500

cc: Mrs. Ruth H. Alexander

RECEIVED JUL 5 1957

Arkansas
# Council On Human Relations

211 SOUTH IZARD TELEPHONE FR 4-4521

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*

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**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD
*Executive Director*
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR.
*Associate Director*
MRS. VELMA POWELL
*Secretary*

July 3,1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Harold Fleming:

Enclosed is my effort. You are hearby given poetic and/ or editorial license. This is the more necessary since the chairman of my board did not collaborate, except by telephone.

You will detect my uncertainity as to what I ask of SRC - to advance a grant to be repaid by the fund, to make a special grant, or what?

Also, you may note that no terminal date is given for the project. Ofcourse the essential job must be done by September. But the project anticipates a chain reaction among other school districts. This will mean continued operations.

As you very well know, a variety of possibilities arise as to costs. For example: today I am considering calling John Hope to see if he has just the superintendent, in Oklahoma perhaps, to spend several days with me in informal visits to our superintendents. The cost of such a consultant might be charged against budget of this project.

The clipping attached substantiate our case. Ozark, where we have done a little work with ministers, was on our list of " a dezen Clinton's." It still is!

This is,a sorta do-or- die project. If all of us can gain a degree of success in it we here will " rise up and call you blessed."

Sincerely

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

RECEIVED JUL 5 1957

Arkansas
# Council On Human Relations

211 SOUTH IZARD TELEPHONE FR 4-4521

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*

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STAFF
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Executive Director
CHRISTOPHER C. MERCER, JR.
Associate Director
MRS. VELMA POWELL
Secretary

July 3, 1957

## OPERATION BREAK-THE-BACK

A ~~Project Proposed~~ Proposal To The Southern Regional Council.

**In Simplest Terms:**

" What we need in the South is to have a dozen Clinton's desegrating at the same time." This is the appraisal of a conrageous and long-suffering Presbyterian minister late of Mississippi.

In simplest terms The Project Proposed here is to implement just such a situation - " a dozen Clinton's at the same time." We propose to stimulate and aid some ten school administrations to act in concert to desegrate their schools this year. All these districts ( and others which may join them ) have very small enrollments of Negro children and, therefore, have a strong administrative and economic urge to desegrate. The impact of such action added to the force of the announced moves of four large urban districts of Arkansas in September may be adequate to " break the back " of blind defiance in Arkansas and start the roll-back of the same forces of de-

fiance in the other States of the old Confederacy.

A Summary Of The Proposal

The forces of defiance to the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions are the same in Arkansas as in the other Southern States. In that sense this State rightly belongs to the " confused and angry South." She has the same evidences of the work of these forces. All her federal legislators signed " the Southern Manifesto." She has a resolution, an amendment, and statutes to maintain segregation, stated in terms of interposition, pupil assignment, State Soverignty Commission, registration of organizations.

On the other hand, historically, certain progressive forces and a climate of opinion have evolved in this State which distinguish it as " the Upper South " sharing much of the outlook and temper of the " border states." "The plantation" area of Arkansas has never dominated its economics, education, social customs, mass media, or politics.

These progressive influences are reflected in some concrete results -- voluntary desegregation of city buses, of state-supported university and colleges, of five public school districts, of a number of public libraries and ministers' associations. All these developed without community discord, except at Hoxie.

September, 1957, will be a critical date in this contest of strength between the defying and affirming forces in Arkansas. Four large urban school districts take steps in

school desegregation on that date. Each district has considerable strength in carrying through its proposals. This is multiplied by the fact that all four are moving at once.

The defiant forces are reorganizing and already are issuing threats. A Little Rock leader of Capitol Citizen's Council speaking on June 21st in Oklahoma threatened there would be " hell on the border " in Little Rock in September. That group officially has asked the governor to order the Little Rock district to continue segregation in the name of law and order. On the basis of the Hoxie experience, the Arkansas resistance forces may be supplemented by those from nearby States.

The project here proposed would add strength to the constructive forces and multiply the confusion of the resistant groups. Here is the real hope that those forces blighting the promise of the " New South " may meet a signal reversal on the favorable ground of Arkansas. If this does occur it will be a victory for the whole South, possibly a break-through and the crumbling of resistance.

This project added to the accumulating responsibilities of present activities of ACHR necessitates supplemental funds. An initial estimate of the discernable cost for this project totals $ 1500.00. We ~~request~~ ask the Southern Regional Council for a special grant of this amount for the project.

Further Exposition

The map of Arkansas showing by counties the non - white

population reveals a great section West and North with a small colored population. Twenty - five of the seventy - five counties have a 1 % non - white population, or less; thirty three have less than 5 %. Many school districts have very small enrollments of children from Negro families. Provision ~~even~~ for even poor separate educational opportunities for these children is administratively inconvenient and financially wasteful. The annual expense of education for each colored child in in some districts is three to five times as much as for each white child.

To our knowledge some of these districts are restive in this situation. At least one school board, faced with this dilemma, before the Hoxie fiasco voted to integrate fourteen colored children with 1800 white children and thereby save $ 5000.00 for the district. The decision was never implemented because of Hoxie. Another small district has been encouraging a petition for integration from Negro patrons because this would net $ 1500.00.

If, in the wake of the action of the four large urban districts, in September, without sounding of trumpets, six to twelve districts such as these move in concert, the results would be unpredictably significant. Each of them would serve its own best interest and at the same time avoid concentrated publicity and possible public opprobrium. It would confuse and scatter organized resistance and further strengthen the four larger districts already committed.

The public support mustered in each situation would have an overall impact on the public opinion of the State. It might even " break the back " of blind resistance in this State and weaken it everywhere in the South.

The Role Of ACHR

The role of ACHR in keeping with its charter would be to stimulate, correlate, educate. Stimulate the school adminstrators to act in concert and the community groups to support this action. Correlate any interdistrict meetings needed. With help from SRC, answer requests for consultants to reassure school officials and to bring know - how. Help develop informed community backing for such moves.

ACHR's activities at every stage would be in close cooperation with SRC. At this moment SRC's consultant services appear most useful. Frequent conferences by telephone now seem to be inevitable.

Expenses Of This Project

The cost of such a project is unpredictable. The expenses will be closely meshed with regular expenditures. The operating program of ACHR will require the services of other consultants to replace those of the Director while he is engaged on the project. Certainly the Director will need help from members and friends for the work in the several school districts - ministers, school administrators, professors and lawyers. Temporarily secretarial work of our office is carried on by the associate director. We must have a full

time and efficient secretary. Because of the time element extra expense will be inevitable, travel by air, use of phone, hotel accommodations. The nature of the work requires that almost everything be done in person.

Here then is the breakdown of our initial estimate of the budget beginning July 1st. Because of the fluid nature of this enterprise we cannot be rigidly bound by the details of this breakdown:

| | |
|---|---|
| Salary for Secretary | $ 418.00 |
| Arkansas consultants on per diem | 250.00 |
| Travel for consultants | 238.00 |
| Extra telephone and telegraph | 92.00 |
| Additional staff travel | 312.00 |
| Extra office supplies | 40.00 |
| Contingencies | 150.00 |
| Total | $ 1500.00 |

Gazette 7-2-57

# Ozark Board To Integrate High School

Gazette State News Service

Ozark, July 1.—Racial segregation in Ozark High School will be ended in the fall.

Superintendent R. L. Graves said today that three Negro high school students would attend the previously all-white High School this fall. Two of the Negro students are seniors, and one is in the ninth grade, Graves said. There are 475 white pupils in the High School.

In the past, Negro pupils of high school age have been transported to Fort Smith. Graves said the cost for transportation and tuition had been $400 a year for each pupil and that the School Board decided to desegregate the High School "as a matter of economics."

Graves estimated there would never be more than six Negro pupils in the High School at one time.

Eighteen Negro children attend the Carver Elementary School for Negroes at Ozark. Graves said there were no plans to end segregation on the elementary level.

Five Arkansas public schools integrated classes last year, and Ozark is the fourth to announce plans for desegregation this fall. Bentonville, Hoxie, Fayetteville, Charleston and Hot Springs have had some integrated classes for some time. Little Rock, North Little Rock and Fort Smith have announced plans for desegregation this fall, and the Van Buren School District is under a federal order to desegregate this fall.

## Empty Boxcar Rolls 9½ Miles on Prairie

# RACE-MIXING!

Arkansas Democrat
July 1, 1957

IN

## Little Rock, North Little Rock, Ft. Smith and All Arkansas Schools

# CAN BE STOPPED

## BY THE GOVERNOR

**HOW?** Read solution below by President of the Capital Citizens' Council in letter to the Governor April 30, 1957.

**To:**

**Governor Orval E. Faubus**
**Little Rock, Arkansas**

**The people of Pulaski County and the State of Arkansas expressed themselves last November when they approved overwhelmingly the three segregation proposals on the ballot.**

**The 1957 legislature, with your help, followed the will of the people by passing four segregation laws.**

**The Little Rock School Board, dominated by its superintendent, who was born, reared, and educated just below the Iowa state line in Northwest Missouri, announced a school race-mixing policy one week after the federal Supreme Court's May 17, 1954, opinion.**

**The school board and the superintendent played along with the N.A.A.C.P. and wound up in federal court on the question of should we mix completely now, or just start with the high schools.**

**In Clinton, Tennessee, there were only 12 Negroes seeking to mix; in Mansfield, Texas, only 13; in Hoxie, Arkansas, only 25 (of which only 6 are still in school). But in Little Rock, 30 per cent of the pupils are Negro. The superintendent says that 200 are to go to the white Central High School in September.**

**Under the sovereignty of the State of Arkansas, you can, under our police powers, in order to preserve domestic tranquility, order the two races to attend their own schools. As the sovereign head of a state, you are immune to federal court orders.**

**Mansfield, Texas, was ordered by a federal judge to admit 13 Negroes, but when trouble started, the governor sent Texas Rangers there, and ordered the 13 Negroes back to their schools. That was the end of the trouble.**

**The Central High School here in Little Rock is 30 years old. The taxpayers, less than 2 years ago, opened the million dollar Horace Mann Negro high school. It is not overcrowded. Just why do Negroes need to go to our white high school?**

**Governor, as executive head of this state, please act forthrightly, because the problem will not go away unless you solve it. An ounce of prevention is still worth a pound of cure. You, Governor, and you alone, can act on this most serious matter—will you?**

**Respectfully,**

**ROBERT EWING BROWN, President**
**Capital Citizens' Council**

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Respectfully,

ROBERT EWING BROWN, President
Capital Citizens' Council

## The Capital Citizens' Council maintains that . . .

1. Since a sovereign state is immune to federal court orders . . .
2. Since the Governor as head of the sovereign state is also immune to federal court orders . . .
3. Since the Governor, himself, placed on the ballot in last November's general election a resolution of interposition calling for the use of these sovereign powers to protect our people . . .
4. Since the people of Arkansas by a tremendous, overwhelming majority approved the Governor's resolution for this purpose . . .
5. Since the legislature backed up the people by voting overwhelmingly and passing four segregation laws . . .

## The Governor Should Exercise This Sovereignty to Protect the People of Arkansas

## He Was Elected on This Basis

### Write, Wire or Phone the Governor • Urge Him to Use These Powers Now

## PARENTS! SUPPORT THE CITIZENS' COUNCIL!

A small clique of white and negro revolutionaries, supported by wealthy tax-exempt foundations, is trying to FORCE RACE MIXING on the unwilling people of Arkansas—on YOUR CHILDREN AND OURS. They are tightly organized, amply financed, and have been working at their brainwashing project for a long time.

To oppose them and disrupt their vile schemes by using every resource of publicity and of the law is the aim of all Citizens' Councils throughout Arkansas. We need your help and support! We must get our message to all the people! RACE MIXING CAN BE STOPPED! IT CAN BE STOPPED BY PERFECTLY LEGAL METHODS!

To help us get the truth to every citizen of Arkansas, mail whatever financial contribution you can afford to CAPITAL CITIZENS' COUNCIL, P. O. Box 1977, Little Rock, Ark. PHONE MO 6-8648. If you wish to help us actively in this fight by becoming a Council member, ask for full information, which will be mailed you.

(All Arkansans living in places where there is now no Citizens' Council, are eligible to join CAPITAL CITIZENS' COUNCIL, which represents the capital city of the state. Whenever a Citizens' Council is formed in your home town, you can transfer the membership to it.)

HELP FIGHT THE GOOD FIGHT! MAIL CONTRIBUTION NOW!

**We need your moral and financial support now. Remember, school opens September 3rd.**

**Send Your Contributions to: CAPITAL CITIZENS' COUNCIL, P. O. Box 1977, Little Rock, Ark. Phone MO 6-8648.**

Ad paid for by these officers of Capital Citizens' Council: Robert Ewing Brown, President; Theo A. Dillaha, Vice President; Will J. Smith, Secretary-Treasurer.

Copy for Mr. Fleming

RECEIVED JUL 5 1957

July 1, 1957

Mr. Robert M. Hutchins
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Bob:

This will confirm our telephone conversation concerning the possibility of a special appropriation not to exceed $2,500 to the Southern Regional Council for special work through its Arkansas affiliate, the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

The situation that has developed here in the last few weeks is this:

The Little Rock School District, under federal court order, is scheduled to begin limited desegregation in September. Following its lead without formal court action the North Little Rock and Fort Smith districts have announced similar plans. These are the state's three largest school districts.

These announcements have produced a new burst of activity by the White Citizens Councils, which are flooding the mails with literature aimed at Governor Faubus, who has been wobbling badly. The contention is that the Governor is beyond the reach of the federal courts as the head of a sovereign state and can order the districts not to integrate. This also has the effect of persuading a good many innocent people that somehow the Court ruling is illegal and doesn't really have to be obeyed.

There is reason to believe that there are a dozen and perhaps 20 other school districts in Western Arkansas, where Negroes are few, that are ready to integrate but have held off in the wake of the disturbances over the recent Hoxie case. The prospects are at least fair that they might be persuaded to go ahead now that the three big districts have taken the lead. The trouble is that somebody has got to do the persuading -- which can only be done by personal contact. And time is running out.

The local SRC affiliate has a two-man staff and no money. They are short some $1,500 of paying their

current bills and are spending most of their time trying to raise funds. And of course there is nothing left over for travel expenses. It is my opinion that a special grant right now to take up the slack and free Nat Griswold, the director, to devote full time to the project would be worth the gamble.

This is not, of course, simply a local matter. If an appreciable number of school districts in Arkansas could make the first, tentative move in September it would constitute a significant break in the regional front. The Councilmen and the Klux in the Deep South are fully aware of this, and I anticipate that they will throw considerable money and manpower against the Little Rock district -- which the Department of Justice has indicated it considers a pattern-setting case.

I have discussed this on the telephone with Harold Fleming at SRC, and he agrees with the views I have expressed here. I told him of your willingness to recommend to the Board a supplemental grant of up to $2,500 if he sees fit to advance funds for the Arkansas chapter for this purpose. He will discuss the matter with Griswold in detail and will write to you if he decides to go ahead.

It strikes me that this is a hell of a way for a director to be trying to run a foundation, but time is of the essence and I have vaulted over any number of channels.

Regards,

Harry S. Ashmore

cc: Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Hutchins, Robert

REGARDING:

Arkansas Council - Special Project, 1957 (Request for Special Allocation)

DATE:

July 23, 1957
Sept. 13, 1957

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Fund for the Republic, Inc. - ~~Officers~~ Hutchins, Rbt.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Hoffman, Hallock

REGARDING:

Arkansas Council - Special Project, 1957

DATE:

September 25, 1957

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Fund for the Republic, Inc. - ~~Officers~~ Hoffman, Hallock

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Hallock Hoffman

REGARDING:

Arkansas Council - Special Allocation (Request for remaining $1,000 of Special Allocation)

DATE:

October 30, 1957

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Fund for the Republic, Inc. - ~~Officers~~ Hoffman, Hallock

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Hoffman, Hallock

REGARDING:

Fund for the Republic Special Allocation to Arkansas Council.

Date:

November 21, 1957

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:
Foundations:
Fund for the Republic - ~~Officers~~ Hoffman, Hallock

Cr-ref.

November 27, 1957

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 South Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Here is a letter just received from Hallock Hoffman of the Fund for the Republic. You may have heard the good news already from Ashmore. He just did a fine speaking job here.

As soon as the check is received, we'll forward the $1,000.

Sorry to hear from Cartwright that things look so discouraging there. All any of us can do is keep plugging with all the skill and imagination we can muster. The thing has to work out sometime, and who knows what may prove decisive?

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (copy of ltr. from Hallock Hoffman - 11/21/57)

# CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Hoffman, Hallock
Treasurer
Fund for the Republic, Inc.

REGARDING:

Remaining $1,000 special allocation to Arkansas Council.

DATE:

January 17, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Fund for the Republic, Inc. - [redacted] Hoffman, Hallock

April 3, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

A letter from Mr. Worley of the I.R.S. Friday brought the news that A.C.H.R. is granted tax exemption. We sent our supplemental material March 18. How is that for bureaucratic speed!

Naturally, we hope this undams the river of dollars flowing our way. We have not heard from the Brothers Fund.

We expect to mail our quarterly report to Paul on the fifth. I will write him concerning the regular time for our quarterly report.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat Griswold

NG:msg
cc: Paul Rilling

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME:

John W. Walker

Regarding:

Action taken by Personnel and Executive Committees of the Arkansas Council.

Date: August 6, 1958

(SEE)

Correspondence folder marked Arkansas Council, Nat Griswold, Exec. Dir.

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Executive Committee Minutes

January 20, 1959

Present: Mrs. Engler, Willis, Mrs. W.F. Bates, Cartwright, Cothran, Mrs. Woods, Charles Walker, Griswold, John Walker, Powell.

Minutes of December meeting approved as mailed. Financial report for December 1958 as follows: balance on hand November 30, 1958, $1,782.68; income from all sources in December, $622.50; expenditures for December, $1,289.30; balance on hand December 31, 1958, $1,115.88. Report accepted and filed for audit.

Proposed budget for 1959 was presented. After full discussion, motion was made to accept Sections A and C under Expenditures and defer Section B for further discussion. Motion carried. (See summary below.)

Mr. Griswold read letter from Harold Fleming informing Executive Committee of an anonymous special gift of $2,500 to ACHR. Consensus was this gift should not be budgeted under regular items but that the Executive Committee should devise some special way under Program for using the money which might help break through the impasse in which the community is caught.

Report and evaluation was made of recent hearings of Education Committee of Legislative Council. Office made a tape recording of the hearings for future reference.

Quarterly board meeting was discussed and the unanimous feeling was meeting should we patterned after report meeting of last year on "Where Are We Now." Motion made to hold retreat meeting on February 20 and 21. Motion carried. Executive Committee instructed Director to secure place (Ferncliff if possible) and notify board members.

Staff reported on various happenings: Nat Griswold reported on recent trip to Atlanta; John Walker reported on Twelfth Night Program of January 6 in which 75 to 80 people took part; Velma Powell reported on work of women in community; John Walker discussed possibility of ACHR helping some students meet cost of correspondence courses until funds could be secured to defray this cost. Executive Committee, after discussion, felt it proper for staff time to be spent in this area but that ACHR money should not be used for scholarships. The Rev. Charles Walker suggested this project be brought before a community "Scholarship Committee" of which he is a member. This committee was set up in 1957-58 and has some money available.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

Mrs. Adell Woods,
Secretary

Summary of Budget for 1959

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| RESOURCES | | | $ 19,715.88 |
| EXPENDITURES | | | |
| A. | Salaries | $ 13,718.00 | |
| B. | Program | 3,597.88 | |
| C. | Office | 2,400.00 | |
| | Total | $ 19,715.88 | $ 19,715.88 |

*Arkansas*
# Council On Human Relations

1220 W. CAPITOL TELEPHONE FR 4-4521

*LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS*

*A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.*

**OFFICERS**
REV. COLBERT S. CARTWRIGHT
*Chairman*
DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN
*Vice-Chairman*
MRS. E. M. SPARLING
*Vice-Chairman*
MRS. JESSE B. WOODS
*Secretary*
REV. CHARLES C. WALKER
*Treasurer*

**BOARD OF DIRECTORS**
REV. A. M. ANDERSON
MRS. L. C. BATES
MRS. W. FLOYD BATES
MR. J. R. BOOKER
MR. WILEY BRANTON
MRS. JOHN E. BURKE, SR.
REV. GEO. A. CHAUNCEY
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MRS. VIVIAN HEGWOOD
MRS. J. RUSSELL HENDERSON
REV. WILLIAM C. HOWLAND
MRS. D. D. JAMES
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MR. GEORGE MOUTON
MRS. GUERDON NICHOLS
MRS. JAMES H. RICE, SR.
MISS EMMA SCOTT
RABBI IRWIN SHOR
DR. STEPHEN STEPHAN
MR. PERRY TAYLOR
MR. WILLIAM H. THOMPSON
MR. WALTER TRULOCK
MRS. J. R. VINSON
REV. E. R. WILLIAMS
MR. MIKE WILLIS
MRS. DOROTHY OTIS WYRE

**STAFF**
NAT R. GRISWOLD
*Executive Director*
JOHN W. WALKER
*Associate Director*
VELMA POWELL
*Sec'y and Program Assistant*

February 2, 1959

Dear Board Member:

One item in the minutes of the Executive Committee enclosed you should note. It sets February 20-21 for a Board Retreat!

So, will you mark your calendar now for those dates.

You perhaps remember the Board retreat last year (Valentine and snow!) at Ferncliff Lodge. The reaction to that meeting and notable program prompted the Executive Committee to vote for a "repeat performance."

Details of program will have to come later. We will meet at Ferncliff Lodge Friday, February 20, at supper and adjourn around 3:00 p.m. Saturday. A minimal charge will be made for food, and we do mean minimal. Travel for Board members will be paid.

Will you indicate your plan to attend on the card enclosed? This is needed for arrangements. Ferncliff, February 20 (6:00 p.m.) February 21 (3:00 p.m.). No snow!

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold
NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

John Walker
JOHN W. WALKER
Associate Director

NRG:vwp
Enc.

August 11, 1959

Mr. John W. Walker
Associate Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Walker:

I am sending under separate cover three dozen cartoons on paper and one half dozen of the poster card stock of the cartoon which appeared in the Atlanta Constitution November 21, 1958. The charges are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 3 dozen @ 5¢ | $1.80 |
| ½ dozen @ 10¢ | .60 |
| | $2.40 |

Sincerely,

Miss Sandra Le Shanna
Secretary

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

July 31, 1959

Mr. Paul Rilling,
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Paul,

We note by your memo of July 20 that you have available copies of the editorial cartoon appearing in the Atlanta Constitution November 21, 1958. Please send and bill us for three dozen cartoons on paper and one half dozen of the poster card stock.

We feel they will be quite helpful for some of us. Thank you.

Sincerely,

John Walker

John W. Walker

(4)
3 doz cartoons on paper
1/2 doz. " on poster - editorial cartoon appearing in Atlanta Cons. Nov. 21, 1958

Ja 31618 done 8/3/59
sent 8/11/59

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

PROTEST MOVEMENT

On November 10, 1959, an announcement appeared in the Arkansas Gazette headed "Negro Drops Election Plans". Many persons overlooked the story while others viewed it with mixed emotions. The events leading up to that announcement should be recorded.

The Little Rock public high schools were opened several weeks ahead of schedule by the "moderate" school board to "head off" a call for a special session of the Arkansas Legislature. One week's notice was given to high school students to register. At that time more than 60 Negro students applied for admission to white schools, and all but six of them were reassigned to Horace Mann, the only Negro high school. This specific act caused great resentment within the Negro community. A parent's meeting was held the following week to determine 1) if the parents were satisfied with the assignment procedures; 2) how many would follow through the effort to have their children enrolled in the "white" schools; and 3) how to arouse the community to speak out in numbers against the school board's abuse of the pupil placement law.

Out of the third point came the appointment of a 14 member committee representative of all areas of community life to seek "increased, direct communication between the Negro community and the school board". The first overt action taken by the committee was a meeting with the Little Rock School Board. At that meeting the board attempted to justify its "no communication" policy by saying they were avoiding all groups - the Women's Emergency Committee, White Citizens Council, Ku Klux Klan and the Negroes - they were not there to represent the public, but to run the schools. The Negro group urged the Board to establish an inter-racial advisory committee to deal with community preparation and thereby help create an atmosphere of acceptance for the court-ordered desegregation. The group was flatly rejected.

This rejection convinced the committee that "the only way to have direct communication is to have a Negro on the Board". This they set out to achieve. Several meetings were held to determine community sentiment. At each of the meetings the overwhelming majority felt that these "moderates" were genuine segregationists whose actions were just as unscrupulous and much more effective than those of the racists. However, there were those present at each meeting who felt that this board was the best "we can have under the circumstances".

As the idea of a Negro candidate began permeating the Negro community, several Negro "leaders" were called by certain white "moderates" and were told to call off the effort to elect a Negro to the school board. They reasoned thus: running a Negro is ill-timed because 1) with four positions at stake the segregationists will be able to defeat all four moderates and thereby reclose the schools; 2) violence would recur; 3) a Negro wouldn't have a chance to win; and 4) this would strengthen Mr. Faubus and enable him to wield more influence in the city and state.

The Arkansas Supreme Court afterwards held that only two of the six positions would be up for election. This action refuted claims 1 and 3. Reasons 2 and 4 had no basis because the possibility of violence is always present and there is no indication whatever outside of Little Rock that Mr. Faubus is losing influence. East Arkansas is still a Faubus stronghold.

After this effort the white "moderates" used absurd arguments like: "a Negro running would destroy the WEC", "We have to look forward to 1960 to defeat the proposed school-closing amendment", and when those arguments failed they fell back on the fabrication that "this effort has been Faubus inspired". Nonetheless, the group decided to pursue its efforts to have a Negro candidate. In an effort to be fair to all factions of the Negro citizenry, it was decided that a candidate would run only if a minimum of 1000 voters signed a petition to support him.

Dr. W.H.Townsend, optometrist, Mr. Fred Byrd, federal employee, A.B.Fox, retired teacher, and Dr. M.A.Jackson were suggested as candidates. Three of them subsequently withdrew in favor of Dr. Jackson who agreed to consider running. The idea was immediately attacked by several Negro politicians as untimely and futile. After considerable pressure from certain white "liberals", several older Negro "leaders", and his immediate family, Dr. Jackson decided against filing but said firmly that he was not yielding to the pressure of the "this is not the time" exponents. He very definitely felt that "this is the time". His decision was based solely on personal reasons emanating from within his immediate family, this in spite of the fact that more than 1000 patrons had signed the petitions.

November 10, 1959

Mr. John Walker
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear John:

Since I do not hear from you further, I assume you worked out your problem of a consultant with local resources or postponed the whole effort. Be sure and let me know how things are going.

I heard from another source in Little Rock that you had abandoned the idea of Negro candidates for the school board? I see that the Knoxville plan for such candidates was carried through with considerable success. If you do think that it would be useful at some time in the future to bring in a consultant to work with you toward the more effective organization of the Negro community in Little Rock, I believe that we could be of help through the Consultant Service Program.

I do have the approval of John Hope who directs the CSP, to pay the expenses of John Wheeler of Durham, Dr. Herman Long of Fisk University, or Dean Whitney Young of Atlanta University. Any other suggestions would have to be cleared with John Hope.

Let us know if we can be of further service.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

HCF
return PR

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

November 17, 1959

Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thank you for the efforts you put forth to secure a consultant to help us organize the Negro community. Because of later events which you heard or read about, I did not contact you again. However, the core group which promoted the idea of "community action" is very definitely interested in planning for concerted participation in future developments re desegregation in Little Rock. I have discussed the matter of consultation with members of the group and they are anxious to explore the possibilities further.

I am enclosing a brief statement of most of the events which took place leading up to and perhaps, influencing the decision not to run at this time. You would be interested to know that persons long known as friendly to the Negro exerted tremendous pressure against the proposed candidate. Among them were the executives of the WEC and the head of the Urban League Board of which Dr. Jackson is Vice-president. These persons exploited the "recurrence of violence" theme, emphasizing the possibility of personal violence against Jackson to discourage his running.

Many things were learned or confirmed by our experiences with the "leadership" forces within the community: 1) Negro leadership is virtually nil; 2) the white "liberals" or "moderates" who have some standing in the community can control the present Negro leadership and considerably influence any emerging leadership; 3) the "masses" of Negroes are anxious for more progressive leadership from new people. (This was evidenced by more than 1000 qualified electors petitioning Dr. Jackson to run for the board in a four day period.)

Paul, after more discussion on this end we shall contact you for whatever assistance we need from the sources you mentioned. Thank you again for your efforts to aid us.

Sincerely,

John Walker

John W. Walker

JWW:ra
Enc:

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

November 19, 1959

Mr. John Walker
Associate Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear John:

Thank you for your run-down on the events. I had heard some details from Bert Cartwright who commented briefly on the situation during our Annual Meeting here. We naturally were somewhat concerned as to what had transpired.

It seems to me you might definitely be able to make use of a consultant in the field of community organization. We await your thinking on this.

I have several reactions to this information, most of it fairly obvious. I believe that honest differences of opinion concerning strategy will inevitably occur even among people who sincerely share common goals and aspirations. I trust that none of those involved in the situation are leaning toward the stereotype opinion that all white moderates and liberals are unreliable or untrustworthy.

I think it entirely probable that in the long run the cause of progress would be best served in Little Rock by the emergence of a more independent and more tightly organized Negro community. It would, however, be tragic if the liaison or working relationship existing between Negro leadership and white liberals or moderates should be abandoned or jeopardized. This cooperative relationship has performed important service in the past and will continue to be needed. It should, of

course, be the cooperation of two independent parties, sharing many common goals.

I know that you must be somewhat discouraged about the collapse of your last minute effort concerning the election of the school board. I suspect, however, that the effort itself had some salutary effects and has helped to prepare the groundwork for the future.

Clearly, it would be very helpful to elect a Negro to the school board. I continue to be of "moderate" opinion, however, that the important thing is to get the right man, a sincere liberal, on the school board and that this is the more critical factor than the race of the individual concerned.

Do keep us informed. Things seem to be moving fast in many ways in Little Rock. Good luck to you.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

March 17, 1960

Via Air Mail

Mr. John Walker
Associate Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 W. Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear John:

Concerning your question about the attitudes of college administrators generally toward the current wave of student protest demonstrations, we do not have too much specific information but the following general conclusions would, I believe be justified:

1. For the most part, although college administrations have not encouraged these protests, they have rarely made any effort to squelch them through the use of official authority. In only one college have any disciplinary actions been taken. This was at Alabama State College where the president under direct orders from the Governor expelled some of the protest leadership.

2. College administrators have exerted a cautionary and restraining influence on students in many cases. This has ranged from advice that the demonstrations not take place to suggestions that they be timed and coordinated in a particular fashion for strategic reasons. I kn ow of only one case where reportedly college administration has been responsible for persuading students to abandon the sit-down idea. This was in New Orleans, where we understand the administration of Dillard University persuaded the students to participate in an on-campus demonstration instead. We understand that authorities at Atlanta University cautioned postponement of demonstrations but made no real effort to do more than suggest their ideas to student leadership. In Richmond, Virginia and in Allen and Benedict Colleges in South Carolina, college administrators urged the students to cease their

demonstrations after they had made the initial protest. The argument in each case was that the students should desist until legal litigation had been concluded. I suspect that in some of these cases the demonstrations have been more effective for the restraining and counseling influence of college administrators.

3. Two colleges in North Carolina did take strong stands against the demonstrations. The administration of North Carolina College issued a strong statement. And the president of the student body at Fayetteville State Teachers College was forced to resign from this office by the administration because of his prominent involvement in the protest movement.

4. In the majority of cases, college presidents and administrators generally have given open support and understanding to the demonstrators after the fact. At A & T College and Friendship Junior College in North Carolina, the administrations went further giving particularly strong and forceful support publicly to the students.

Keep us informed on how it is developing out your way.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

July 15, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling
Field Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

Nat passed your letter of July 13 on to me for my information. Unfortunately (or perhaps fortunately), public attention was called to my role in the student transfer requests.

A statement describing the efforts was enclosed in our most recent quarterly report to SRC. In it you will find that this was not an effort for publicity for any organization or person, especially the ACHR or me.

I, to an extent, agree that the publicity was unfortunate. The School Board, because of Mr. Bates' statement about the public meeting, was able to harass and confound the parents and students in the hearings.

I am enclosing two Gazette News stories relating to the transfer appeals and an unauthorized news release by Mr. Bates. We have, however, received only words of appreciation for our role in the effort.

Sincerely,

John

John W. Walker

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

B 18

RECEIVED IN THE
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
FEB 5 1964

# ACHR FINANCIAL DATA

| | 1963 Budget | Actual | 1964 Budget |
|---|---|---|---|
| Exec. Dir. Salary | $6200 | $6200 | $6800 |
| Housing allowance | 1800 | 1800 | 1800 |
| Secretary | 3600 | 3600 | 3800 |
| Social security | 316 | 869 | 890 |
| Rent | 784 | 934 | 990 |
| Office supplies | 500 | 1126 | 1200 |
| Telephone | 800 | 1183 | 1200 |
| New South | 750 | 450 | 600 |
| Miscellaneous | 1250 | 4882 | 2000 |
| Travel | 2400 | 1901 | 2200 |
| | $18,600 | $22,945* | $20,680 |

*These figures are approximations and are not completely correct.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Budget | | $20,680 | |
| SRC | | 6,000 | |
| ACHR to raise | | | $14,680 |
| On hand | | 690 | |
| 40 contributions | ($100) | 4,000 | |
| 50 " | ( 60) | 3,000 | |
| 33 " | ( 30) | 990 | |
| 1,000 Members | (* 6) | 6,000 | |
| | | | $14,680 |

*Single membership $5.00, student membership $3.00, family $8.00 - This is an average figure.

Total raised locally: $5540.83
2662.20
8203.03

Total membership: 777(dues paying)

# Arkansas Council on Human Relations

## 1964 Financial Report

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Balance brought forward December 31, 1963 | | $ 160.73 |
| INCOME | | |
| Printing Reimbursement from 1963 | | 100.00 |
| Transfer from Savings | | 1,754.67 |
| B-Fund | | 10,000.00 |
| SRC Grant-in-Aid | | 5,400.00 |
| Special Matching Fund (raised locally) | | 2,662.20 |
| Local Sources: | | |
| Business Leaders | $ 700.00 | |
| Contributions | 2,645.35 | |
| Membership Fees | 1,332.50 | |
| NEW SOUTH | 627.00 | |
| Literature | 48.00 | |
| Interest | 187.98 | $ 5,540.83 |
| TOTAL | | $ 25,618.43 |

5,540.83
2,662.20
8,203.03

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| EXPENDITURES | | |
| Salaries and Benefits | | |
| Executive Director | $ 6,800.00 | |
| Associate Director | 5,333.75 | |
| Secretary & Program Ass't | 4,100.00 | |
| Insurance Benefits | 399.73 | |
| FICA | 467.16 | $ 17,100.64 |
| Program | | |
| Printing | $ 445.02 | |
| Travel | 1,085.21 | |
| Literature | 251.68 | |
| NEW SOUTH | 675.00 | |
| Activities | 454.10 | $ 2,911.01 |
| Office | | |
| Rent | $ 840.00 | |
| Supplies | 558.50 | |
| Postage | 485.45 | |
| Telephone | 432.64 | |
| Bank Charges | 19.04 | |
| Audit (2-year) | 125.00 | |
| Equipment & Repair | 406.58 | $ 2,867.21 |
| TOTAL | | $ 22,878.86 |
| Checkbook balance December 31, 1964 | | $ 2,739.57 |

Arkansas Council on Human Relations
Report of Budget Committee
January 26, 1965

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Balance brought forward December 31, 1964 | | $ 2,739.00 |
| **INCOME** | | |
| B-Fund | 8,000.00 | |
| SRC Grant | 4,800.00 | |
| Special Matching Fund | 2,500.00 | $ 15,300.00 |
| Local Sources: | | |
| Business Leaders | 5,000.00 | |
| Contributions | 2,600.00 | |
| Membership Fees | 1,400.00 | |
| Literature | 50.00 | |
| Interest | 125.00 | $ 9,175.00 |
| TOTAL INCOME | | $ 27,214.00 |
| **EXPENDITURES** | | |
| Replacement of Reserve | | 2,500.00 |
| Salaries and Benefits: | | |
| Executive Director | 6,800.00 | |
| Associate Director | 6,800.00 | |
| Secretary and Program Ass't | 4,100.00 | |
| Benefits (Insurance) | 600.00 | |
| FICA | 467.00 | $ 18,767.00 |
| Program: | | |
| Printing | 450.00 | |
| Travel | 1,177.00 | |
| Literature | 250.00 | |
| Activities | 750.00 | $ 2,627.00 |
| Office: | | |
| Rent | 1,200.00 | |
| Supplies | 600.00 | |
| Postage | 490.00 | |
| Telephone | 450.00 | |
| Bank Charges | 20.00 | |
| Audit | 60.00 | |
| Equipment | 500.00 | $ 3,320.00 |
| TOTAL EXPENDITURES | | $ 27.214.00 |

Respectfully submitted,

Garman P. Freeman, Chairman
Charles Johnston
Booker Worthen

Arkansas Council on Human Relations
Quarterly Finance Report
January-March 1965

**Annual and Quarterly Grants**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| B-Fund | $ 8,000.00 | | |
| Quarterly grant via SRC | 1,200.00 | | |
| | | TOTAL | $ 9,200.00 |

**Bank Balances and Deposits**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Balance brought forward Dec. 31, 1964 | | | $ 2,739.57 |
| B-Fund deposit | | | 8,000.00 |
| **Income** | | | |
| Travel reimbursement (in & out) | $ 87.01 | | |
| AVP telephone reimbursement (in & out) | 44.25 | | |
| Meal tickets (in & out) | 257.00 | | |
| **Local income** | | | |
| Membership | 246.50 | | |
| Contribution | 645.00 | | |
| New South | 4.50 | | |
| Literature | 1.95 | | 1,286.21 |
| | 897.95 | TOTAL | $ 12,025.78 |

**Expenditures**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Transfer to savings | $ 4,800.00 | | |
| Salaries | 4,124.62 | | |
| FICA & WH Taxes | 675.94 | | |
| Insurance | 268.43 | | |
| Rent | 210.00 | | |
| Telephone | 138.37 | | |
| Postage | 187.00 | | |
| Office Supplies | 210.18 | | |
| Bank Charges | 7.24 | | |
| Travel | 493.21 | | |
| Meals (in & out) | 315.00 | | |
| Program | 289.84 | | |
| Literature | 37.47 | | |
| New South | 39.00 | | |
| Printing | 73.75 | | |
| | | TOTAL | $ 11,729.76 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Checkbook balance, March 31, 1965 | | | $ 296.02 |
| Savings account | | | |
| Quarterly SRC grant | $ 1,200.00 | | |
| From checking account | 4,800.00 | | |
| | | TOTAL | $ 6,000.00 |

RH

Arkansas Council on Human Relations
Quarterly Finance Report
April-15 June, 1965

Grants

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Quarterly Grant, SRC | $ 1,200.00 | |
| Special Grant, SRC | 1,000.00 | $ 2,200.00 |

Bank Balances and Deposits

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Balance brought forward March 31, 1965 | | | $ 296.02 |
| Local Income | | | |
| Membership | $ 572.10 | 572 | |
| Contributions | 1,196.00 | 1,196 | |
| Literature | 1.80 | | |
| Special contribution: swimming pool mailing | 64.00 | 180 | |
| 22 May Workshop luncheon | 52.50 | 1,948 | |
| Transfer from savings | 1,500.00 | | |
| Loan from savings | 2,500.00 | | $ 5,906.40 |
| | | TOTAL | $ 8,402.42 |

Expenditures

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Salaries | $ 3,012.65 | |
| Insurance | 133.25 | |
| Federal Tax | 318.03 | |
| Rent | 215.00 | |
| Telephon | 232.00 | |
| Travel | 679.43 | |
| Meals | 56.67 | |
| Office Supplies | 665.58 | |
| Printing | 342.99 | |
| Postage | 182.00 | |
| Literature | 86.85 | |
| Program | 436.61 | |
| Miscellaneous | 19.46 | |
| Bank service charge | 3.33 | $ 6,383.88 |
| | Check book balance 15 June 1965 | $ 2,018.54 |

Reserve fund (savings and loan) $ 2,000.00

B 18

Arkansas Council on Human Relations

## JULY FINANCE REPORT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Balance brought forward June 30, 1965 | | | $ 1,369.85 |
| INCOME | | | |
| Quarterly grant, SRC | | | 1,200.00 |
| Local income | | | |
| Membership ..... | $ 34.50 | | |
| Contributions (7) .. | 245.00 | | |
| Business contributions (13) ..... | 1,390.00 | | |
| New South ..... | 2.50 | | |
| Reimbursement ..... | 15.00 | | |
| | | TOTAL | $ 4,256.85 |
| EXPENDITURES | | | |
| Salaries ..... | $ 1,205.06 | | |
| Taxes ..... | 762.91 | | |
| Rent ..... | 75.00 | | |
| Telephone ..... | 139.83 | | |
| Travel ..... | 79.03 | | |
| Meals ..... | 9.68 | | |
| Office supplies ..... | 53.77 | | |
| Printing ..... | 83.84 | | |
| Literature ..... | 10.65 | | |
| Postage ..... | 32.96 | | |
| Misc. ..... | 16.53 | | $ 2,469.26 |
| | | BALANCE | $ 1,787.59 |

(No bank service charge)

Arkansas Council on Human Relations

## AUGUST FINANCE REPORT

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Balance brought forward July 31, 1965 | | $ 1,787.59 |
| **INCOME** | | |
| Membership ..... | $ 231.00 | |
| Contributions (11) ... | 155.00 | |
| Business contributions (15) ..... | 1,540.00 | |
| Literature ..... | 7.50 | |
| Headstart reimbursement | 429.00 | $ 2,362.50 |
| TOTAL | | $ 4,150.09 |
| **EXPENDITURES** | | |
| Salaries ..... | $ 1,205.06 | |
| Taxes (WH & FICA) .... | 254.30 | |
| Rent ..... | 75.00 | |
| Telephone ..... | 46.13 | |
| Travel ..... | 63.42 | |
| Office supplies ..... | 73.86 | |
| Printing ..... | 108.83 | |
| Literature ..... | 32.65 | |
| Postage ..... | 64.00 | |
| Headstart consultant travel ..... | 233.43 | |
| Bank service charge .. | 3.80 | $ 2,160.48 |
| BALANCE | | $ 1,989.61 |

Arkansas Council on Human Relations

## SEPTEMBER FINANCE REPORT

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Balance brought forward 31 August 1965 | | $ 1,989.61 |
| INCOME | | |
| Membership ..... | $ 106.00 | |
| Contributions (7) ..... | 260.00 | |
| Business contributions (4) ..... | 1,080.00 | |
| Headstart reimbursement | 166.00 | |
| Ministers' Conference reservations ..... | 107.25 | $ 1,719.25 |
| TOTAL | | $ 3,708.86 |
| EXPENDITURES | | |
| Salaries ..... | $ 1,246.18 | |
| Insurance ..... | 92.97 | |
| Taxes (WH & FICA) ..... | 254.30 | |
| Rent ..... | 75.00 | |
| Telephone ..... | 40.59 | |
| Travel ..... | 103.02 | |
| Meals ..... | 14.99 | |
| Office supplies ..... | 35.13 | |
| Printing ..... | 33.99 | |
| Literature ..... | 16.85 | |
| Misc. ..... | 2.00 | $ 1,915.02 |
| BALANCE | | $ 1,793.84 |

(No bank service charge)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| January - March — | $9,200.00<br>+ 897.95<br>10,097.95 | $10,097.95 |
| April — June | 2,200<br>1,948<br>$4,148 | $ 4,148.00 |
| July | | 4,256.85 |
| | | $18,501.80 |
| August | | 2,362.50 |
| | | 20,864.30 |
| Sept. | | 1,719.25 |
| | | 22,583.55 |

June 27, 1960

Mr. Nat R. Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

We are mailing you, under separate cover, the copies of material you requested.

School Desegregation: The First Six Years went to the NEW SOUTH mailing list since it is a regular issue of NEW SOUTH. Toward A Solution Of The Sit-In Controversy went to State groups, the Interagency group, SRC Board of Directors, Contacts of the Council in Category 7 and 8 on the list we mailed to you, mass media and certain government agencies and congressmen.

Mr. Dabbs wrote to me expressing pleasure concerning the layout of The Tragic Fellowship of Southerners. I appreciated the compliment but wrote and told him it was the Arkansas Council's doings.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Rec'd 6-24-60

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

June 22, 1960

Mr John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John Constable:

Will you send eighteen copies of Margeret Price's TOWARD A SOLUTION OF THE SIT-IN CONSTROVERSY , SRC-16?

Also, 24 copies of SCHOOL DE-SEGREGATION THE FIRST SIX YEARS?

Please indicate also to what groups your have mailed individual copies of each of these pieces.

Good stuff! Thanks

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

file

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

July 8, 1960

John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John Constable:

Am enclosing a copy of a speech by Ben Heller given on June 18 to some 115 Little Rockians in an all-day Conference.

It was an effective speech. It needs to be heard. But some hard questions arise: How can best use be made of it? Would it be useful in N. S.? Would an accordion folder permit wider distribution? Does local reference and color limit its use outside Arkansas? Is there a national publication which might use it?

He gave ~~the title~~ the speech no title. That is mine. So an editor can take full liberty with that. Also, I assume liberties may be taken in editing out local references and dating allusions.

The sad fact is that Dr Heller left Little Rock on June 29. He will go to Milwaukee where he will teach and head the Veterans Hospital. He and Doris (Secretary to our Executive Committee) are rare birds. Quality population leaves faster than quanity population!

Let us have some word from you on this matter.

Sincerely,

Nat

copy to Paul Rilling

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

July 12, 1960

Mr. Nat Griswold, Exec. Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat,

Thank you for your letter and the manuscript by Ben Heller. I think this would be good for NEW SOUTH providing we can edit a few words here and there of a local nature.

Do you have permission to re-print? If so, let me know right away and I may be able to include it in the next issue of NEW SOUTH.

I am always pleased to receive suggestions of this kind.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/bec

File

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

September 27, 1960

John Constable
Director of Information
Southern REgional Council
Room 201, South Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John Constable:

We are enclosing an excerpt from the valedictory of Mrs. Joe R. Brewer as retiring chairman of the Women's Emergency Committee of Little Rock. We thought you might find a spot for its use. We think it's worth repeating.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra
Enc.
cc: WEC

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

**ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

May 22, 1961

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John Constable:

The attached is a request for 50 copies of Dabbs' "The Tragic Fellowship of Southerners." If you can fill this order, will you do so directly? Except for file copies, we are out.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat Griswold by ra

NG:RA

cc: Harold Lunger

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

*A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples*

TEXAS CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY
FORT WORTH, TEXAS

BRITE COLLEGE OF THE BIBLE
DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN ETHICS
HAROLD L. LUNGER

May 19, 1961

Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Sirs:

Again this summer we are involving about 50 ministers and advanced seminary students from across the South in a summer institute on "The Church in a Multi-Racial Society."

I have had an opportunity to see James M. Dabbs' The Tragic Fellowship of Southerners published under your imprint.

Would it be possible for you to make fifty copies of this available for the use of members of our institute. We are assembling the packet of materials which we believe would be useful to them in their efforts to deal with this problem in their various home communities.

Please forward these if you have them available.

Sincerely yours,

Harold L. Lunger

Harold L. Lunger

HLL/jj

Completed
5-24-61
WJ

BY-LAWS

of the

FLORIDA DIVISION OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

ARTICLE I

Name

The name of this organization is the Florida Division of the Southern Regional Council.

ARTICLE II

Purpose

This organization shall endeavor to promote in the State of Florida the aims and purposes following, that is to say: to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and more particularly to maintain an organization for the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions in the South, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts toward regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices which will result in the greatest good for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of race tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust, to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, State, and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives.

ARTICLE III

Membership

Section 1. Members. Voting members of this organization shall consist of members of the Southern Regional Council who live in the State of Florida.

Section 2. Associates. Persons who are not members of the SRC but who wish to cooperate with this division may become associates of the division. They may attend meetings and may have the privilege of the floor, but shall be without vote.

Section 3. Dues. Annual dues of members shall be the dues required for membership in the Southern Regional Council, and shall be paid to the Treasurer of the Southern Regional Council. Annual dues of Associates shall be $1.00 a year, and shall be paid to the Treasurer of the Florida Division.

ARTICLE IV

Meetings

Section 1. Annual Meetings. The Florida Division of the Southern Regional Council shall hold annually a meeting of the members for the transaction of business at such time and place as may be designated by the Executive

Committee. Notice of the annual meeting shall be given to each member in writing not less than 30 days before the meeting.

Section 2. Special Meetings. Special meetings may be called by the Chairman or by the Executive Committee, at any time. Notice of every special meeting shall state the time and place of such meeting and the nature of the business to be transacted, and it shall be delivered to each member at least ten days before such meeting.

Section 3. Quorum. The presence of not less than twenty-five of the members shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at all meetings of members.

Section 4. Voting. Each member shall have one vote, and unless otherwise provided in these by-laws, a majority of votes cast shall be sufficient to elect or to pass any measure.

## ARTICLE V

### Executive Committee

Section 1. Election and Powers. The members shall elect an Executive Committee of not more than 12 members, in addition to the Chairman, the Vice Chairman, and the Secretary-Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Committee. The members of the first Executive Committee elected under these by-laws shall be divided by lot so that the terms of four expire in one year, four in two years, and four in three years. At each subsequent meeting, four members shall be elected to the Executive Committee to serve a term of three years. They shall be eligible for re-election except that they may not serve more than two consecutive full terms. The Chairman of the state division shall be Chairman of the Executive Committee. During the intervals between meetings of members the Executive Committee may exercise all of the powers of the members unless otherwise instructed. It shall keep a full and fair account of its transactions, and its actions shall be reported to the members at their meetings and shall be subject to revision and alteration by the members.

Section 2. Meetings. The Executive Committee shall hold regular meetings as provided by its own rules or as instructed by a resolution of the members of the Florida Division, and it may hold special meetings at the call of the Chairman or of any five members of a committee.

Section 3. Quorum. The presence of seven members, including ex-officio members, shall constitute a quorum of the Executive Committee.

Section 4. Vacancies. In case of any vacancy on the Executive Committee the remaining members of the Committee may select a successor to fill the vacancy.

## ARTICLE VI

### Officers

Section 1. The officers of this organization shall be a Chairman, two Vice Chairmen, and a Secretary-Treasurer. These officers shall be elected annually by members and shall perform duties usually performed by such

officers. Any vacancy in any of these offices may be filled for the unexpired portion of the term by the Executive Committee. The Chairman and first Vice Chairman shall serve as Chairman and Vice Chairman respectively of the Executive Committee.

## ARTICLE VII

### Finances

Section 1. Checks and Drafts. All checks, drafts, or orders for the payment of money in the name of the Division shall be signed by the Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 2. Fiscal Year. The fiscal year shall be the calendar year.

Section 3. Financial Report. The Treasurer shall submit a financial report to the members at each annual meeting and shall send a copy of the report to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Southern Regional Council.

## ARTICLE VIII

### Amendments

These by-laws may be amended at any annual meeting of members, or at any special meeting called for that stated purpose, by a majority of the members present.

/NOTE: $1.00 of the dues of each SRC member in Florida will be returned to the treasurer of the Florida Division. Likewise, any contributions earmarked by Florida members for use in Florida will be returned./

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
356 SOUTH BEACH STREET
DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA - 32014

TELEPHONE
255-5881

March 12, 1964

TO: Board of Directors

FROM: Dr. H. Franklin Williams, President

The Southern Regional Council has asked for the loan of our Executive Director, Mr. Louis L. Mitchell, Jr. for three or four months. They plan to use him to coordinate the work of over fifty national community relations organizations in preparing to meet the impact of civil rights legislation.

The Executive Committee has granted Lou Mitchell a leave of absence for this assignment. The Committee has asked The Rev. Irvin Cheney, Associate Director, to carry on the work of the Council. Lou Mitchell will be in Florida regularly during these months.

I bespeak your cooperation with Mr. Cheney. Let us all join to keep the FCHR rolling until Lou returns.

HFW/dnt

Speech Palm Beach:

Protest: Rent Strike -
Affirming legal right,
not civil disobedience -

PA
LM

DRAFT

MEMORANDUM

To: Members of the Board of Directors
Florida Council on Human Relations

From: Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

When I spoke at your annual meeting last January, I was struck by the enthusiastic desire, expressed over and over again from the floor, that the Florida Council should work hard for an effective federal civil rights law. Now we have been a means of asking you to do so, though in a way that is painful to you.

Here at Southern Regional Council we are helping organize a region-wide drive, not to pass the civil rights bill, but to obey it when passed, and obey it in good spirit. The South must not choose defiance again.

We have asked Lou Mitchell to help us because we knew of no one more able.

He will have here the primary staff responsibility for planning and coordinating community and agency work all over the South.

Florida is part of the South. You will be hearing much from Lou ~~these next few months.~~ while he is with us.

We would like for all of you to know that we are as determined as you are that the Florida Council will continue its growth. We feel that, by lending Lou to us for these next few months, you are forming a partnership with us in this immediate endeavor and for the many days beyond that.

Thank you for your cooperation.

## FLORIDA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Telephone

George Lewis II, CHAIRMAN
P.O. Box 750 — 224-2121 (Bus.)
Tallahassee 32302 — 385-1835 (Res.)

Banking. Finance Committee Chairman, Suwannee River Area Council Boy Scouts of America, and past Council treasurer. Treasurer, Tallahassee Council for International Friendship. Past chairman, (Florida Branch) United World Federalists. Member, Tallahassee and Florida Councils on Human Relations.

I. H. Burney II, VICE CHAIRMAN
Afro-American Life Insurance Company — EL 6-0441 (Bus.)
101 East Union Street — EL 4-1593 (Res.)
Jacksonville 32203

Insurance Company executive. Member, Southern Regional Council. Board member, Jacksonville Urban League. Vice president, Florida State Council on Human Relations. Chairman, Northeast Florida Council on Human Relations.

Mabel Norris Chesley, SECRETARY
Associate Editor — VA 3-2151 (Bus.)
Daytona Beach News-Journal — CL 5-4629 (Res.)
Daytona Beach

President, Florida Council on Human Relations, and Daytona Beach Open Forum. Winner, Lovejoy Award for Courage in Journalism (for work in the field of race relations).

The Reverend Caxton Doggett
504 South Lake — MI 4-2906 (Bus.)
Lakeland 33801 — NI 4-3623 (Res.)

Minister, Winter Park Methodist Church. President (two years) Florida Council on Human Relations, and Greater Miami Chapter of American Association for United Nations. Member, Committee of 100 in support of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., and of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Georgia.

Professor Hal G. Lewis
College of Education
University of Florida
Gainesville

FR 6-3261 (Bus.)
Ext. 2170
FR 6-5866 (Res.)

University professor. President, Gainesville Council for Human Relations and Florida Council for Human Relations. Member, board of directors, Southern Conference Education Fund.

The Right Reverend Henry I. Louttit
P.O. Box 597
Winter Park 32790

MI 4-6581 (Bus.)
MI 4-2439 (Res.)

Bishop of the Episcopal Church. Chairman, General Commission on Chaplains, Washington, D.C. Member, Florida Council on Human Relations, and the Division of Cultural and Racial Relations of the National Council of Churches.

Honorable Stanley Milledge
601 Flagler Building
111 Northeast First Street
Miami 32

373-2137 (Bus.)

Retired Circuit Judge (Florida) and professor of law. President, Dade County Bar Association (1941-42). States attorney 11th Judicial Circuit of Florida (1943-45). Circuit Judge (1945-58).

Reverend Louis L. Mitchell, Jr.
356 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach 32014

255-5881 (Bus.)
677-9596 (Res.)

Episcopal clergyman. Executive director, Florida Council on Human Relations. Vice president, Birmingham Council on Human Relations. Vice president, Birmingham Council on Human Relations. Former therapist, conducting group program at two Alabama State Prisons.

Telephone

Tobias Simon
223 Southeast First Street
Miami 32

(305) 373-0481 (Bus.)
FR 7 - 4627 (Bus.)
PL 4 - 9943 (Res.)

Attorney. Member, American Jewish Congress and the American Civil Liberties Union.

The Reverend E. C. Tillman
1031 22nd Street
West Palm Beach

TE 3-2915
(Res. and Bus.)

Minister, Mt. Bethel Baptist Church. Member, Fowler Commission on Civil Rights, Florida. President Interracial, Interdenominational, and Interfaith Ministerial Association (Halifax Area). Board member, State Human Relations Council and NAACP.

Mrs. Charles L. Williams
1200 Northwest 6th Avenue
Miami 36

FR 7-2536 (Bus.)
CE 5-4320 (Res.)

Assistant principal for Guidance. Board member, Florida Council on Human Relations. Life member, National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers, and the National Council of Negro Women. National chairman, Intergroup Relations Committee. Member (Florida region), National Conference of Christians and Jews. Member, board of directors, Greater Miami Urban League.

James E. Workman, Jr.
117 Federal Building
Jacksonville 32201

EL 4-7111 (Bus.)
Ext. 420
EV 7-1468 (Res.)

Postmaster for the city of Jacksonville.

Copy

March 19, 1964

Miss L. M. Langford
P. O. Box 1431
West Palm Beach, Florida

Dear Miss Langford:

This will confirm our telephone conversation of today requesting the use of the City Commission Chambers, City Hall, West Palm Beach for the meeting to be held on April 17 from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. by the Florida Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. I understand that you have reserved this date for us and I assure you of our deep appreciation of your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. R. W. Glasner, President

cc: Mr. George Lewis II, Chairman
Florida Advisory Committee

Mr. Louis L. Mitchell, Jr. Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations

Lou:
Room holds almost 100 —
is air conditioned & has
adequate parking —
County Commission Chambers
were already reserved —

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

ADDRESS REPLY TO:
Post Office Box 750
Tallahassee, Florida
March 16, 1964

To Members of Florida Advisory Committee

Dear Lou,

A copy of a letter which I received Saturday from Louise Lewischn, Editor for State Advisory Committees Division, is enclosed along with a copy of our report on Panama City.

In order that the Commission Staff may proceed with mimeographing, release and distribution, please advise Miss Lewischn direct regarding any revisions or additional recommendations you believe in order and how many copies you want. Please send me a copy of your letter, which should arrive in Washington by March 20th.

Sincerely yours,

George

Chairman
Florida Advisory Committee

GLH:mb

Enclosure

~~[illegible]~~ (business separately)

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

March 12, 1964

Mr. George Lewis II
P.O. Box 750
Tallahassee, Florida 32302

Dear Mr. Lewis:

I am enclosing a copy of the Panama City report which is based on information sent us by the Florida State Advisory Committee. We are planning to have this report mimeographed for distribution and I should appreciate it if you will let me know how many copies you would like for Florida distribution. If you have any supporting, notarized complaints or other data, we would like to have them to be referred to the appropriate Federal agency.

Thank you for your attention to this and with kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

Louise Lewisohn
Editor
for State Advisory
Committees Division

Attachment

PANAMA CITY, FLORIDA

INTRODUCTION

Panama City is a segregated city. Its racial structure can be observed in the pattern of its schools, its public accommodations, its housing, its municipal facilities--except the Municipal Auditorium on the occasion of city functions--its health services, its local government employment policies, its justice procedures. These reflect the chasm that divides its white community of 33,275 persons from its Negro community of 6,149 persons.[1]

This report contains the findings of Louis L. Mitchell, a member of the Florida State Advisory Committee, who made a survey of racial conditions in Panama City at the request of the Committee, and the results of a public meeting helf by the Committee to assess the situation as it affected Negro civilians in Panama City and Negro servicemen stationed at Tyndall Air Force Base, eight miles away. The public meeting was held in Panama City on January 20, 1964.

REPORT OF SURVEY

Mr. Mitchell's study revealed discrimination in Panama City in the following areas:

1. Public Accommodations: All sleeping accommodations are segregated. All restaurants and comparable eating establishments are segregated except those at the airport and bus terminal.

2. Education: Public schools are segregated including the Junior Colleges--Gulf Coast Junior College, a white school, and Rosenwald Junior College, a Negro school.

1. 1960 census.

Panama City is considered an "impacted area" by the Federal government. As such, it receives Federal funds in proportion to the increased requirement for school facilities made necessary by the presence of military families in the community. In the fall of 1962, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, which administers these funds, held a series of conferences designed to assist the process of desegregating schools for children of military personnel. Bay County school officials indicated they would apply the Florida Pupil Placement Law without discrimination. Subsequently, the children of two Negro servicemen were prevented from entering a white school in Bay County and the Department of Justice conferred with school officials there. When no satisfaction was received, the Department filed suit against the Bay County Board of Public Instruction.[2] However, similar suits brought by the U.S. Department of Justice in Alabama and Mississippi were dismissed by Federal district courts and these actions were affirmed by the Court of Appeals for the 5th Circuit.[3] The same results may be reached in the Government's case in Bay County. On the other hand, a pending suit before Judge Harold Carswell of the Federal District Court, may bring judgment in favor of the plaintiffs[4] due to previous rulings by Judge Carswell in Escambia[5] and Leon[6] Counties where the issues were similar.

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2. U.S. v. Bay County Board of Public Instruction, Civ. No. M569, Filed Oct. 15, 1963.
3. U.S. v. Madison County Board of Education, 219 F. Supp. 60 (N.D. Ala. 1963), U.S. v. Biloxi Municipal School District and U.S. v. Gulfport Municipal Separate School District, 219 F. Supp. 691 (S.D.Miss. 1963), aff'd, U.S. v. Madison County Board of Education, 326 F.2d 237 (5th Cir. 1964).
4. Youngblood v. Bay County Board of Public Instruction, Civ.No. Filed .
5. Augustus v. Board of Public Instruction of Escambia County, Fla., 185F. 450 (N.D. Fla., 1960).
6. Steele v. Board of Public Instruction of Leon County, Fla. Civ. No. 854, N.D. Fla., Apr. 1, 22, 1963, 8 Race Rel. L. Rep., 932 (1963).

3. Housing: There are two public housing projects in Panama City, each segregated. Both developments were built about 10 years ago using Federal funds. A city ordinance recently passed excludes Negro women with illegitimate children and all Negro women, including widows, without husbands from the Negro housing project. One private housing development for Negroes, financed by VA and FHA funds, has been built and consists of about 15 homes on small plots which sell in the $10,000 range.

4. Law Enforcement: At least one Negro leader and one white leader in the community reported that the Chief of Police had acted with consistent fairness and had even been suspended for a time because he handled the demonstrations impartially.

5. Municipal Facilities: Negroes are not permitted to use the public beaches with the exception of the one at St. Andrew's State Park which has segregated facilities. Negroes are not permitted to use the Bay County pier which is leased to private management. The Municipal Auditorium is desegregated only for city functions.

Mr. Mitchell's study indicated that there have been no reported incidents of intimidation of Negro voters, no refusal by local officials to register them, and no interference with their voting. The study also reported that there has been no reported complaint of employment practices at the International Paper Corporation, the city's major civilian industry. Discriminating signs have been removed and at least one Negro employee has been promoted in accordance with his ability.

Mr. Mitchell also investigated complaints emanating from Negro servicemen at Tyndall Air Force Base. These are considered in detail in the section of this report dealing with the Committee's public meeting.

PUBLIC MEETING OF STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

The racial climate of Panama City was apparent throughout the day of the meeting. Incited groups shouted that they wanted to know "Who invited you here?" and "Who is paying you?" They demanded identification of some of the witnesses who spoke in favor of civil rights and made note of the information. At 4 p.m., their all-day efforts to break up the meeting succeeded.

Testimony

Testimony was given on charges of discrimination against Negroes in the following areas:

A. Civilian

1. Education

All of the facts presented in Mr. Mitchell's report were verified by witnesses. C.C. Washington, principal of Rosenwald High School and president of Rosenwald Junior College, testified that there are no terminal courses at either institution so that when a Negro is graduated, he must either go elsewhere to complete his education or

become a manual laborer if he wishes to remain in Panama City. Vocational training opportunities for Negroes are described as the area's great need by the Rev. David Damon in his testimony. The biracial group in Panama City, of which he is co-chairman, is seeking to create these opportunities but, since the city government does not recognize the group as an official body, its effectiveness has been limited.

2. Administration of Justice

Testimony was heard which described the reluctance of law enforcement officers to pursue investigations of alleged intimidation of Negroes by whites. The Rev. Timothy Youngblood, integration leader in Panama City, testified that in July 1963, $650 in fines had been imposed on Negroes for demonstrating although a Negro youth was injured by a car when a white driver deliberately ran over his feet in the presence of watching, immobile policemen. A riot ensued but Rev. Youngblood interceded and took the Negroes away. The only arrests that followed this incident were those of the Negroes who had led the demonstrations.

3. Public Employment

Witnesses testified that no Negroes are employed above a menial level at the City Hall, the Courthouse, or any other public institution. Official boards of the city and of Bay County have

exclusively white memberships.

One Negro public health nurse, a county employee, testified that she handles health problems for the entire Negro community and all of its schools with a resultant case load that precludes doing an adequate job. She has responsibility for health supervision of five Negro schools although the white schools are serviced by four white nurses. She spoke of the facilities of the county health department, which are segregated, and to which Negroes may come only on specified days. There is no Negro physician in Panama City.

B. Military

Negro servicemen stationed at Tyndall Air Force Base appeared at the meeting to testify on discriminatory practices they experience in Panama City. Their charges, to which representatives of the group testified, are contained in the following Request for Investigation which was signed by 24 servicemen:

"1. We, the undersigned Negro members of the United States Air Force, Tyndall Air Force Base, Panama City, Florida, having been subjected to inequalities, injustices, and frequent denials of our civil rights as members of the Armed Forces of the United States of America, do hereby request immediate and aggressive action on the grievances listed below:

"a. There is no trailer park for at least nine (9) Negro families who own trailers, forcing these families to live in Panama City, Florida, a distance of twelve miles from the base. There are numerous trailer parks within a one mile radius of Tyndall Air Force Base. However, such

parks are available to "whites" only. The Negro servicemen who are fortunate enough to locate a "Negro" trailer park in Panama City, Florida, must live under conditions that are not conducive to good health and morale, plus the added burden of paying an exorbitant price for second-class facilities.

"b. There are no recreational outlets in the surrounding communities for Negro servicemen and their dependents. Numerous attempts have been made by Negro service personnel to gain admission to various facilities in and around Panama City, Florida. These attempts have met with failure. There are no drive-in movies that will admit Negro service personnel. The operators of the drive-in movies state that they do not have facilities to accommodate Negroes. There is only one regular movie house that is open to Negroes but only on a segregated basis.

"c. The All-State bowling lanes, located approximately one mile from the base, operated its lanes on an integrated basis for a period of two weeks then reverted to segregation. The return to segregation of this facility was a result of the following incident:

"On November 10, 1963, two Negro airmen and their wives entered the All-State bowling lanes and were allowed to bowl. Approximately five minutes prior to their departure, the Negro airmen were informed by the manager that a tire on their car was flat. Upon leaving the All-State bowling lanes, the Negro airmen and their wives proceeded to a "Hotel Service Station" to have the tire repaired. Upon arriving at the service station, the Negro airmen and their wives were accosted by approximately forty white men. The Negro airmen and their wives were advised by the spokesman of this group to 'stay away from the All-State bowling lanes because you're not wanted in there.' The white men then proceeded to attack the two Negro airmen and their wives. The police were summoned by the station attendant. However, they failed to make an arrest of the attackers despite the fact that the policemen were given the license number of one of the cars driven by the attackers. As of this date no arrests have been made.

"d. The All-State bowling lanes in question is operated by off-duty white military personnel while Negro military personnel are not allowed to avail themselves of this facility.

"e. There is no club on the base for lower grade airmen and the Negro airmen are refused admission to white facilities in and around Panama City, Florida, leaving no decent places for those airmen to go.

"f. The V.F.W. and the American Legion refuse to admit Negro military personnel to their clubs.

"g. There are no eating facilities available on an integrated basis. The few segregated establishments available to Negro military personnel are unsanitary. The operator of MacDonald's hamburger stand, one of several located throughout this area, informed Negro servicemen that the Florida Health Code prohibits Negroes and whites dining in the same establishment. The operator offered to give any Negro servicemen who were hungry a sandwich at the back door.

"h. Two Negro families (military personnel) enrolled their children at the Everett Junior High School but the children were not permitted to attend classes. They now attend inferior segregated schools in Panama City.

"i. Service stations in and around Panama City, Florida, will service automobiles. However, these stations refuse to allow Negro military personnel to use the rest room facilities. Some of these stations employ off-duty servicemen.

"j. The Jitney Jungle chain of food stores will not allow Negro military personnel to enter their stores where there are lunch counters.

"2. The foregoing injustices are intolerable and we feel that they reflect discredit upon the United States of America, our nation, which we have sworn to defend to the death.

"3. As of this date, the Negro servicemen are unable to obtain any assistance from local commanders.

"4. It is respectfully and urgently requested that immediate corrective action be taken on the foregoing injustices so that we, the undersigned Negro military personnel, may serve our country in an atmosphere of justice, dignity, and equality."

24 signatures attached

The Negro servicemen at the meeting also testified that their children are taken to segregated schools in segregated school buses and that, when they approached the Commanding General at Tyndall to request that certain recreational facilities in Panama City be declared off-limits for all personnel, their request was refused on the ground that "there are 4,800 white service men at Tyndall and only 280 Negroes."

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Florida State Advisory Committee recommends:

1. That the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights urgently request the Department of Defense to order immediate rescue of Negro airmen at Tyndall Air Force Base from racial discrimination by the Panama City business community through ruling "Off-Limits" all establishments which deny service to any base personnel.

2. That the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights also request that, if business services do not become promptly and generally available to all base personnel, the Department of Defense give early consideration to the closing of Tyndall Air Force Base.*

* Prof. Hal G. Lewis of Gainesville, a member of the Florida State Advisory Committee, has recorded an objection to these recommendations. In a letter to the Chairman of the Committee, dated February 10, 1964, he stated: ". . . I think it is a hasty judgment to say the method by which the Department of Defense should secure equal rights to Negro airmen is by declaring business houses off-limits. The full consequences of such action might be to hurt all airmen at Tyndall Field and not help the Negro airmen. I believe that we should call attention to the situation and ask the Department of Defense to inquire into the attitudes and behavior of the camp commanders and to proceed to insure the enforcement of the directives of the President towards discrimination in the armed services. Similarly, that the State Office of Education or some other agency should investigate the use of Federal funds for impacted areas in segregated schools. . . . to say flatly, if such does not happen, the government should close Tyndall Air Force Base is just too much an absolute and ultimate recommendation. . . ."

BROWN ENGINEERING COMPANY, INC.
P. O. DRAWER W
CAPE CANAVERAL, FLORIDA 32920
RESEARCH
DEVELOPMENT
MANUFACTURING

March 12, 1964

Mr. Louis L. Mitchell, Jr.
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
c/o Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Lou:

We are looking forward to having your Board of Directors meeting here on May 30, 1964. If we can be of any help with the arrangements, etc., please call on us.

In regard to your special assignment, you may have an occasion to visit Huntsville, Alabama, and I hope you will have an opportunity to visit with Mr. L. G. McMillian, Executive Director of the Association of Huntsville Area Contractors. Mr. McMillian is not only well versed on the Huntsville area problems and programs, but has also visited with us at the Cape and is somewhat familiar with Cape Kennedy's programs.

Please feel free to call on Brown Engineering Company, Inc. in Huntsville and I hope you will have an opportunity to meet Mr. Wallace Armstrong of our Personnel Department, Mr. G. J. Millet, Consultant to the Personnel Department, and Mr. Charles Granger, Special Assistant to the President of Brown Engineering Company, Inc.

I wish you every success on your special assignment.

Best regards,

Allen A. Geiger

Allen A. Geiger
Manager, Cape Operations

AAG:cpc

cc: Mr. Wallace Armstrong
Mr. L. G. McMillian

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eab
10/6/55

## 'Committee Did Me Bad Wrong'

MIAMI HERALD 2-12-58

# Witness Protests Red Quiz Tactics

Shaw said later the committee had cast a reflection on him by ordering him to appear. He said meetings of the council have been open to the public and that probers could have obtained records of the organization merely by requesting them.

The Tallahassee Council on Human Relations is a biracial group which seeks to promote better understanding between the Negro and white races, Shaw said.

After submitting the organization's bank statements to the committee, he declared, "I turn them over under protest. I don't think the committee has the authority to subpena—"

He was cut off by Committee Counsel Mark Hawes who told him it was against the committee policy to permit voluntary statements from witnesses.

"You mean a person can't say what he wants to — that he has to do it through (legal) counsel?" Shaw inquired.

"There is something bad with the law," Shaw asserted, "if the committee can cast certain aspersions. The committee did me bad wrong."

At this point Rep. W. C. Herrell of Miami Springs declared he wanted to hear Shaw speak his piece.

"We're trying to learn the facts from both sides," he told Committee Chairman Sen. Charley Johns.

The committee voted three to two to hear Shaw and recessed for 10 minutes to let Hawes and the witness confer.

After the conference Sen. Marion B. Knight, of Blountstown, moved to rescind the permission for Shaw to make a statement.

Herrell said he would resign if the committee intends to "put a blinder and a mouth gag on every witness."

## Probers Silence Merchant

### Herrell Makes Threat to Quit

*Related Story, 1A*

By JOHN L BOYLES
Chief of Our Capital Bureau

TALLAHASSEE — A Tallahassee businessman Tuesday accused the Florida Legislative Committee probing racial tension of suppressing his individual rights.

The closing session of the hearings in Tallahassee marked the first time a witness has challenged procedures of the investigation. Hearings will reopen in Miami Feb 26.

Sen. Charley E. Johns, of Starke, chairman, said the legislative committee is attempting to find out what role, if any, Communists have played in efforts to break down segregation barriers in the state.

James Shaw, owner of one of the capital's leading furniture stores and treasurer of the Tallahassee Council on Human Relations, was cut off by the committee when he sought to make a statement protesting subpena of the council's records.

James K. Shaw
...cut off

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# Dade Group Pledges Aid to Red Probe

By BERT COLLIER
Herald Staff Writer

Complete cooperation with the legislative committee looking into the possibility that Communists are stirring up racial turmoil in Florida was offered Saturday by the Dade County Council on Community Relations.

Neal P. Rutledge, Miami attorney who heads the group, said it would be happy to help in any way.

**"We are willing to cooperate with any investigation by the Legislature of Florida," Rutledge said.**

"We are willing to make any of our records available.

"As far as any connection between the council and communism, there is none whatsoever. We are strongly opposed to communism.

"Likewise, we wholeheartedly believe in and support the Constitution of the U.S., as interpreted by the U.S. Supreme Court."

Mrs. A. Waldie Holmyd, secretary of the council, has been subpoenaed to appear in the Miami phase of the investigation later this month. She has been ordered to produce council records.

**Similar subpenas have been issued for officials of community councils in Jacksonville and Tallahassee. Tallahassee hearings open Wednesday. A spokesman for the committee said it is trying to identify Communists in Florida and determine their activities and aims.**

Sen. Charley E. Johns, committee chairman, said any aim at agitating racial conflict and unrest in the South will be "thoroughly developed."

The Dade County Council, like those in Jacksonville and Tallahassee, is composed of delegates representing civic and welfare groups interested in human relations. In Dade County, the council includes official representatives of the County Commission and various municipalities.

G. E. Graves Jr., Miami attorney for the NAACP, who was subpenaed by the committee Friday, said Saturday he would make no comment.

**Graves testified at length before a similar committee hearing here last spring.**

Three more Miamians received subpenas Saturday to appear before the committee here.

They were Harry and Helen Rosenoff, 1690 SW First Ave., and Rose Wacksman Kirkpatrick, 1501 NW Seventh St.

Committee officials did not identify the Rosenoffs. But Mrs. Kirkpatrick figured in the investigation of Communist activities by former State Attorney George A. Brautigam in 1954. She was one of a group of witnesses cited for contempt for failure to answer questions before the Dade Grand Jury.

**The three subpenas served Saturday brought to 29 the number of persons due to testify in the Miami phase of the investigation.**

Three more remain to be served, Constable W. M. (Newt) Hudson's office reported.

A deputy constable said the remaining witnesses have been "hard to find."

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MIAMI NEWS FEB-'58

ACLU Statement

# Johns Quiz Raked As 'Opportunism'

By ROBERT FEIST
Reporter of The Miami News

In a blistering attack on Sen. Charley Johns, the American Civil Liberties Union of Greater Miami today was on record opposing the Florida Legislative Investigating Committee hearings opening in Miami next Wednesday.

A prepared statement, signed by Richard B. Royce, chairman of the local ACLU, called Sen. Johns "politically irresponsible" and called upon Miamians to recognize the hearings for the "cynical political opportunism that they are."

Six of the union's Miami board of directors have been subpenaed as witnesses by the legislative committee, which is headed by Mr. Johns.

### 'Smoking Out Reds'

They are Attorney Howard Dixon; Attorney Arnold M. Greenfield; Dr. G. W. Hawkins, former president of the Miami Chapter of the NAACP; G. E. Graves Jr., NAACP attorney; the Rev. Edward T. Graham and Phil Seligman.

In a statement issued prior to hearings in Tallahassee, Sen. Johns said the committee was devoting its efforts to smoking out Communists in Florida and their attempts to "agitate racial conflict and unrest."

Some 35 persons in the Miami area have been called as witnesses for the three-day hearing to be held in the Dade County Courthouse by the seven-member legislative committee.

### Defiance To Court

The ACLU statement says:

"While the expressed purpose of this investigation is to expose the assumed connection between the Communist Party and local efforts to achieve desegregation by peaceful and legal means, the real purpose of the committee is revealed by the reputation of its Chairman, Sen. Charley Johns and by the attitude of defiance to the Supreme Court which characterized the legislation that established the committee.

"This purpose is to subvert the Supreme Court decision by destroying individuals and organizations who are peacefully and legally seeking its enforcement.

"In evaluating the work of this committee it would be well for the citizens of Florida to note the use that has been made in the Tallahassee hearings of such unsavory and thoroughly discredited witnesses as J. B. Matthews, who was fired from the McCarthy Committee, and Mrs. Paul Crouch.

### Sponsored Gag Bill

"Nor is it irrelevant to note that Sen. Johns, while acting governor, sponsored the infamous 'gag' bill which would have prohibited free expression in our schools and universities.

"The issue is no longer solely that of de-segregation, important as that is. Rather, the intent of this investigation is to strike at the very heart of the people's civil liberties by striking at the right of free assembly and freedom of expression.

"Thus, the threat to civil liberties here is three-fold: First is that of officially inspired harassment of people who seek enforcement of the nation's laws. Second, but equal in importance are the rights of a free people to privacy of opinion, freedom of speech and due process under the law.

### Threat in Act

"Finally, there is the threat embodied in the broad and all-inclusive language of the enabling act itself, which allows this committee to investigate all organizations whose 'course of conduct . . . would be inimical to the well-being and orderly pursuit of the personal and business activities by the majority of the citizens of this state'."

"Such a broad and vague legislative mandate, especially when given into the hands of the politically irresponsible Sen. Johns, constitutes the gravest possible danger to the civil liberties of all of us and to the American tradition of fair play.

### Warns Public

"The ACLU therefore calls upon all the citizens of this community, regardless of racial, religious and political differences, to recognize the hearings for the cynical political opportunism that they are and to reject such an investigation as a solution to the multiple and complex social problems of de-segregation."

Louis Joughlin, of New York City, assistant director of the ACLU national office, arrived in Miami last night to "study the situation" and to "serve the local ACLU in an advisory capacity."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

MONTHLY REPORT TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE
FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - MAY, 1958

Vero Beach - Jim Armstrong convened a small group to discuss formation of a local council. Jim has since been moved out of the state.

Ft. Pierce - This group has decided to become a local chapter of the Florida Council and held an election, asking that I be present.

Jacksonville - Talking with representatives from as many points of view as possible, it appears that pressures are being exerted on any group involved with inter-racial activities. At the invitation of the Chairman, I sat in on a committee of clergymen to discuss their contemplated course of action.

I also attended the NAACP rally the Sunday after the dynamitings.

The Mayor's conference was a very strategic and productive manuever and it was hoped that he would be appointing an advisory committee for himself. This had been suggested by a variety of people and endorsed rather widely. However, to date, this has not been done. This incident obviously disturbed the residents of this community and for a time those who had been somewhat indifferent, exhibited a willingness to consider some constructive approach.

Apart from the clergymen establishing an inter-racial and inter-faith committee, I know of no constructive use of this new attitude. A conference of community leadership might have been most helpful, but so far it has not been achieved.

Miami - The Annual Dinner of the Dade County Council on Community Relations with Bishop Louttit as principal speaker. The Hon. John B. Orr was installed as Chairman for the next year. Remarks by Fred Routh.

A conference of rather powerful community leadership was called by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Gordon Lovejoy addressed this group and made some suggestions for community action.

A proposal for an official human relations agency was made and endorsed by the group. This was an extremely helpful and well conducted session. Plaudits to Max Karl, the Director of the NCCJ.

The ordinance creating such a body has since been submitted to the County Commission and is under study by them. Seymour Samet of the American Jewish Committee has worked hard on getting the ordinance into the picture.

I attended the Board meeting of the Puerto Rican Democratic Club to inform them of the study under way of Spanish speaking people in Dade County. Also conferred with the president of the Alianza Inter-Americana.

Conferred with Henry Fox, Chairman of the Permanent Platform Committee of the P.T.A. prior to his attendance at a board meeting of the American Legion where Joe Jenkins's use of Legion stationery to oppose endorsing UNESCO by the P.T.A.s was to be discussed. The P.T.A.s face another stormy session next Fall since White Citizens Council groups are continuing their effort to dominate the P.T.A.s.

(cont'd)

We have been approved for participating in the Intern program of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. We have received through the Southern Regional Council a check for $2,500. for this purpose. We are to match this amount and hire some fortunate individual to work for us for the next year. We hope to find the matching funds within the next two months so that we can employ our new person by September 1st at the latest. Any and all applications are welcome.

PLEASE NOTE!!! ----------THE SUMMER MEETING OF OUR BOARD OF DIRECTORS SCHEDULED FOR JULY 10TH IN ORLANDO MAY BE DELAYED ONE WEEK. Word has just come from Fred Routh that the SRC will gather the staff people from the state groups for a session at Fisk University July 7-11. We are still hoping that the Executive Secretary of the Governor's Advisory Committee will sit in for an informal session. You will receive an additional notice shortly.

FINANCIAL SUMMARY - May

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Income - | Memberships | $ 371.00 |
| | New South | 81.00 |
| | Refunds | 9.75 |
| | Annual Dinner (DCCCR) | 1143.75 |
| | Total ----- | $ 1605.50 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Disbursements - | Office Supplies | $ 100.87 |
| | Telephone | 87.82 |
| | Rent | 94.60 |
| | Postage | 105.00 |
| | Payroll | 600.80 |
| | Travel | 100.00 |
| | New South | 95.00 |
| | Dinner | 795.25 |
| | Books | 2.00 |
| | Audit | 125.00 |
| | Misc. | 25.00 |
| | Petty Cash | 23.07 |
| | | $ 2354.41 |

in bank - $2,659.37

Monthly Report of the Executive Director (for June, 1958)
Florida Council on Human Relations

A stay-at-home month!

Except for a sortie to Ft Lauderdale for a meeting arranged by Jack Price and devoted to exploration of future possibilities for our local council there- assisted, also, by Jane Leeds, a Miami volunteer who has really worked at helping to increase our flow of income.

Attended- Regional Board Luncheon of the ADL
NAACP Dinner
School Suit Hearing
Welfare Planning Council Annual Luncheon

Arranged two meetings to discuss the Religious Leadership Conference here- one to get the members of our local board who are involved to discuss the convening of the full 59 member committee, and the other to convene said committee. Result, a steering committee and some movement.

Conferred with County Supt. of Schools RE our study of Spanish Speaking Persons in Dade County- very helpful in getting us someone to present such information as is available about the education picture. This committee also heard from a representative of the Florida State Employment Service and one from the Juvenile Court. It is nearing the stage at which it will make its initial report.

Worked at getting some solid organization behind our new president of the Dade County Council, the Hon. John B. Orr.

Helped get a committee under way to consider public relations and fund raising- and this committee made a report to the Executive Committee which resulted in their shouldering a " $ 10,000 in 60 days " objective. Lord willing, this should ring the bell, and give us a respite from a too constant problem.

Received word that our State President, Dr. Hal Lewis, and his staunch Gainesville Council, have mailed some 1500 letters to prospective members all over the state. They're still going, too. Will probably have contacted almost 2500 before they're finished. Whoopee! (And thanks Hal and Co.)

HAPPENINGS HITHER & YON- -

Miami- The suit by the NAACP was heard by Jundge Leib, and a strange switch seems to have taken place. Now the school board attorney is arguing that there is no segregation in Dade County Public Schools on the basis of race! It just "happens" that all white children end up in school together, and likewise the the Negro children. Presentation of evidence that Negro children have applied for admission to ~~Negro~~ "white" schools and been turned down resulted in continuing the case until next August.

Ft Lauderdale- Our State Supreme Court has upheld the sale of the municipal golf course as a valid sale.

Tallahassee- Judge DeVane opened the doors of the Univ. of Fla. to all qualified

Negroes, and Gov. Collins forecast that the Board of Control would remove barriers at the FSU graduate schools also. Are we about to end that "wait" section of official policy and about to "see" something?????? Our Gainesville Council is already planning their Fall program in an effort to insure an orderly and quiet opening of the new year.

Virgil Hawkins- Called "unfit" to attend the U of F by President Reitz- the claim based on affidavits obtained by Fuller Warren during the last campaign, apparently. A rather sad thing, and most regrettable. Those who know Mr. Hawkins know better-

Miami- Two Negroes were beaten in Homestead, by the police. Being investigated by FBI and State Atty.

Tallahassee- State Supreme Court upheld the right of the John's Committee to subpena records.

Boynton Beach- A group of Negroes showed up at the public beach, resulting in closing the beach to all people temporarily. They are interested in separate facilities; much more to be said next month.

St Petersburg- The struggle over the municipal swimming facilities continues. The pool has been closed, and work on a Negro beach begun.

Tallahassee- The John's Committee began an investigation of Klan activities in this state. Out of their first hearings have come some decisions to cite for contempt those who have refused to answer some questions put by the committee. So far, however, those subpoenaed seem to be former Klansmen rather than current leaders, and there has been no public request for records as was the case when the committee called NAACP members. Members of the committee have been solicitous of the rights of these people, also, to the extent that it was suggested that the committee members themselves foot the bill for legal counsel if any Klan witness lacked such guidance.v

BOARD MEETINGS

July 17th
The Episcopal Cathedral (St Luke's)
Orlando

beginning at 4:30 PM

y'all come- - -

Wm K Williams

Financial report for June, 1958

Income:

| | |
|---|---|
| Contributions | $ 2500.00 |
| Memberships | 450.00 |
| New South | 97.50 |
| Ann. Dinner | 50.00 |
| total | $ 3097.50 |

Disbursements:

| | |
|---|---|
| Payroll | $ 600.80 |
| Annual Dinner | 36.50 |
| Telephone | 24.76 |
| G'ville Letter Shop | 42.25 |
| total | $ 703.31 |

| | |
|---|---|
| In bank- | $ 2447.56 |
| To be depostd | 1113.50 |
| | $ 3561.06 total on July 3rd |

(1958)

MONTHLY REPORT TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE
FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS -JULY

1. Staff Conference - at Fisk U., courtesy of SRC - stimulating as well as educational with a conference on merit employment emerging as one of the possibilities for future programs in Florida.

2. The Board of Directors met in Orlando at one of our best attended meetings. Reports from various localities show real gains with Cocoa setting a fast pace. It was refreshing to spend time discussing programs rather than finances.

Looking to the opening of the University of Florida in September - Hal Lewis and Rembert Patrick to have a session with President Reitz.

The local council is to do some programing adjacent to the campus.

I am to go up before the opening date. We will do some checking to make sure the police, the mayor and several strong community individuals will be ready to handle any agitators should they show.

3. We are inching ahead on
(a) fund raising - a more organized approach is slowly emerging.
(b) the Religious Leadership Conference
(c) the inter-agency sessions. We are now committed to regular monthly sessions with the Florida Council on Human Relations acting as secretary.
(d) Spanish-speaking study. A preliminary report made to the Executive Committee of the Dade County Council in August resulted in some of the best publicity we have had to date and creation of a permanent structure to pursue the results of the study.

4. Boynton Beach - Efforts to get talks going by the Negro leadership and city council have apparently been successful since there has been no further news, and an additional check-up trip will be made to see if this is true and to determine what else needs to be done. The West Palm Beach council is much ~~more~~ concerned and has supplied a list of people for me to contact.

HITHER AND YON

1. An attempt by four Negro youngsters to enroll in Palm Beach Jr. College has failed. This is apparently due to poor timing and some indecision on the part of one of those primarily involved (needless to say, Dr. Collie was not the indecisive one).

2. The Johns Committee took a short look into the KKK, but not too hard. Apparently no membership rolls were requested and only former Klansmen seemed to be called. Bill Hendricks was conspicuous in his absence from those subpoenaed. One sheriff has been sighted for contempt, but the committee seemed quite zealous in its protection of the civil rights of the witnesses called in this connection.

Income for the month of July

| | |
|---|---|
| Contributions | $ 1,087.70 |
| Memberships | 419.00 |
| New South | 64.00 |
| Refunds | 132.43 |
| | $ 1,703.13 |

(cont'd)

Disbursements for month of July

| | |
|---|---|
| Office Supplies | $ 126.62 |
| Telephone | 63.28 |
| Rent | 189.20 |
| Postage | 32.54 |
| Payroll | 524.04 |
| Travel | 13.90 |
| New South | 98.00 |
| Dinner | 4.00 |
| Books, etc. | 52.00 |
| Spanish-speaking study | 77.00 |
| Misc. | .15 |
| Internal Revenue | 287.59 |
| Petty Cash | 23.45 |
| | $1491.77 |

In bank for July - $2197.56

The Miami Herald

Friday August 8, 1958

Complete Local News

Section B

AMUSEMENTS 4-6

TV-RADIO 7

# State Must Regulate Migrant Employment, Dade Report Asserts

## Entitled To Decent Treatment

### Puerto Ricans Fate Studied at Length

By GEORGE SOUTHWORTH
Herald Latin American Editor

"The State of Florida must be convinced that legislation is needed to regulate what happens to Puerto Rican and other Latin American migrants when they get to the mainland."

This was one of six recommendations made Thursday by a special committee of the Dade County Council of Community Relations.

In its comprehensive report—aimed at getting the Latin American migrant a decent shake in Dade County—the council made these points:

**ANY MIGRANT** laborer brought here from a distance ought to be given the option to return home free if he wants to.

**PROBLEMS** of other fair employment practices should be given some thought.

**MORE SERIOUS** problems can arise than "socialized medicine" for migrant workers. Funds should be allocated for public health work among these people. Some arrangements should be made so these people can avail themselves of the services at Jackson Memorial Hospital.

**PERMANENT** migrants should be encouraged to settle their families in public housing projects, if private ones can not be given special training needed to handle educational problems of migrants' children. Perhaps more can be done to alert principals to the need for Spanish-speaking specialists to work with teachers in schools.

**The Council is expected to set up a permanent division today to handle the Pureto Rican problem in Greater Miami "before it becomes an emergency."**

The action is likely after the Council hears more of the special committee report on Latin American problems here.

Nestor Morales was chairman of the committee making the report that was compiled by William W. Stein of the University of Miami's Sociology Department.

**It is pointed out in the report that no quota is imposed on immigrants from any independent Latin American country, but that such persons are required to be literate and to show some means of financial support.**

"Those who migrate to the mainland from Puerto Rico face no legal restrictions because they are technically nationals," the committee said.

William K. Williams, executive director of the council, said the report was sought because it is the group's job to help resolve all tensions in the area "and because of recent troubles in New York City with Spanish speaking peoples."

**It was learned by the committee that right now there are some 2,800 Latin Americans drawing unemployment insurance in Dade County. This is about 35 per cent of the total claims load. The reason is that these workers have little skill and are first to be laid off.**

According to the report, health and sanitation is one of the biggest problems faced by the migrant Puerto Rican farm workers. A Grand Jury report three months ago showed that only 23 of 69 labor camps inspected during a two-week period were satisfactory.

### *Our Latin Americans*

| | |
|---|---|
| Cubans | 46,000 |
| Puerto Ricans | 30,000 |
| Colombians | 3,500 |
| Venezuelans | 2,000 |
| Central Americans | 2,000 |
| Ecuadoreans | 1,200 |
| Mexicans | 800 |
| TOTAL | 85,500 |

Nestor Morales
*. . . headed committee*

# NEWSLETTER

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
213 N E 2 AVE, MIAMI

Vol. 2 September, 1958 No. 4


## Moderates—Do You now Take Cover?

With school opening just around the corner; with Orville Faubus reinstated to the saddle; with John Kasper shangoing out of prison, and with Sumter Lowry and Joe Jenkins in the thick of the campaign for Spessard Holland—take cover, moderates, take cover.

You're liable to wind up in an early grave from having your heart strings twanged too much by the reverberations from all the hate that's going to fill the air in the next few weeks.

Flushed with the Faubus victory in Arkansas (though not admitting it's really no victory since his opponents said "me too" on segregation) the immoderates are going to try to take over.

Faubus, who never really said what his plans are in the campaign because he was so busy campaigning against a newspaper editor and a woman NAACP leader, is certain to renew and probably step up his defiance of the Supreme Court.

Kasper, the disciple of the mad poet, Ezra Pound, who admitted he used to dance the shango with Negro girls in New York, says he's now not only against Negroes, but Jews, too.

General Lowry and his gubernatorial campaign manager, Joe Jenkins, are working with the "Citizens Committee for Holland" to send out mailing pieces smearing Claude Pepper as pro-Negro and pro-communist.

And all of it is aimed at stirring turmoil for thousands of innocent bystanders who can have no voice in events that will shape their future—the southern school children.

They cannot stop the planned disruption of their school life; if they are black, they cannot contend their education is not now adequate; if they are white, they cannot say they would prefer trying to work out change under law, and so enjoy their school years without emotional upheaval and possible bloodshed.

And so it will go, with the way the atmosphere is now being charged, and the way the stage is being set for resumption of the educational year 1958, U.S.A.

As we said—it's no atmosphere for the moderates.

Or is it? Perhaps instead of taking cover, the moderates are going to have to chance the danger of heart-string plucking and accept the bruises of a fight.

Now, more than ever in its history, America needs to hear from the moderates—if the nation is to survive.

(From the MT DORA TOPIC )

The above editorial seems most timely for many reasons- one of which is the current effort to infiltrate and damage the PTAs. Most of this newsletter is devoted to outlining what has happened and what may be expected in hopes that it will help once more to alert us all to what is going on.

HOW IT BEGAN:

At a meeting in Tallahassee in 1957 the White Citizens Councils decided to merge their efforts and work cooperatively. One of the objectives adopted was "infiltration of the PTAs". Hopes were expressed that they might be able to get delegates appointed to the next PTA convention and thereby push for a reversal of the stand against segregation clauses in our state constitution having to do with public education.

The stormy sessions in Orlando later that year showed the measure of success achieved by this group in getting delegates appointed. One measure which drew a great deal of the attention of these delegates was the section of the proposed Permanent Platform endorsing the United Nations. Support of the UN (particularly UNESCO) was equated with support of "integration". However, regular PTA workers having been forewarned, control of the Convention was maintained and the extremists went home disappointed.

Since the permanent platform was to be voted on by districts after the Convention the Citizens Councils immediately began working to organize an effort to dominate the district meetings. Old people "with no children to keep them at home" were recruited for strategic PTAs in order that the Citizen Council point of view might be maintained. One of the leaders in this effort bragged publicly about joining a PTA miles from her own town and urged others to do so, pointing out that it only cost 50¢ !!!

Interested only in defeating support of the UN, these people usually left the district meetings after the vote on this item was decided- demonstrating complete lack of interest in the full program of the PTA and the educational system. Their suspicion and hatred of minority groups, not concern for the children, was obviously their motivating factor.

The American Legion became involved in the struggle, though most were probably stampeded by false claims and insinuations. Joe Jenkins (whose later racist activities aimed at supporting Senator Holland's bid for re-election were rejected by the Senator himself) abused his past Legion relations, unethically using Legion letterhead in his personal campaign against endorsement of the UN.

Thus it was that persons requested the opportunity to represent PTAs as delegates to the district meetings, but often ignored the instructions given them as they chose to represent the Citizen Council point of view. Willing to forsake all rules of fair play and democratic procedure they seemed quite unconcerned about possible damage to the PTA and its efforts toward bettering educational opportunities for our children.

These ruthless methods were successful. This time regular PTAers were caught off guard. Many were confused by the emotional charged claims so passionately made. Enough districts voted against the UN endorsement to eliminate it from the Permanent Platform. After it was accomplished and the role of the Citizens Councils exposed many people realized that they had been duped, but the knowledge came too late.

Flushed with this voctory the segregationists next aimed at doing a similar job on the PTA Short Course given at the University of Florida each summer. Announcements indicated that some attention would be given to the role of the UN. This time their various efforts met with no success what ever, those in charge maintaining complete control.

<u>The Next Objective</u>- domination of the next PTA Convention which will be held in Sarasota in November. A concerted effort to pack this convention with "Citizen Council representatives in PTA clothing" is under way.

<u>What does this mean ? ? ? ? ? ? ?</u> →

What does this mean?

1. That regular PTAers must be very alert and active in their own PTA. The fanatics are easily spotted since they are bored by all consideration of regular business, only come to life when their pet topic is mentioned. Appointment of delegates, as well as regular business, must be done with some awareness of basic individual motives.

2. That parents- and teachers- who have a genuine concern for their children but have been "too busy" etc., to participate in PTA had better join and become active.

3. No public utterance of the PTA could be labeled other than "moderate", yet the fanatics were greatly aroused. They have never exhibited any willingness to discuss any point of view other than their own. Thus there is almost no hope of orderly resolution of differences in the usual manner.

4. Those who are unwilling to work to maintain the basic role and program of the PTA, expecially when it requires opposing unpleasant and unscrupulous people, will surrender a force for good to those who will make of it an instrument in their own image to afflict our children and the schools.

NEW ASSET OF THE FCHR- Mrs. Charles Leeds.

The FCHR was fortunate in qualifying for a national program in which thirteen new persons will be brought into the field of human relations for full time employment. A grant of $2500 was received by us from the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. We are to match the grant and provide a year's intern training for the person selected.

Mrs. Leeds (Jane, that is) topped the other applicants and began her official training on September 1st. She is a long time resident of Miami, having done her college work in Wisconsin, and has worked as a volunteer in most of the related agencies of this area. She has a son, Mike, and a husband, Charlie, who flies for National Airlines.

You will be seeing her at the Annual Meeting in January, if not before, and will recognize our good fortune in obtaining her for this program. As she interns she will be making an important contribution to our effort.

WE SLOWLY FORGE AHEAD-

You may have noticed that this issue of the Newsletter is not mimeographed. This is because we have acquired an off-set machine which will be most helpful for all duplication. More versatile than mimeographing it will enable us to make use of many things and will be more legible, etc.,

This is in keeping with the general enlargement of our effort. The budget for next year is twice the size of this year's, and includes several thousand dollars for programming which we have not had before. It means more work for all concerned, but also more assurance of success for each effort. Incidently, it has been much too long between Newsletters- with the new machine we should become regular again.

Florida Council on Human Relations
213 N E 2nd Ave, Miami, Florida

NEWS

BULK RATE

Report of the Executive Director
FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
October 1, 1958
Year's end - and year's beginning --

Three fiscal year's ago we were joined "for better, for worse - for richer, for poorer". That, plus the multipage request for $4,000. from the Southern Regional Council for the next year just put together by your president and I, leads me to expand what would normally be my monthly report.

The folks in Atlanta asked for total income and expenditures for the three years, and these figures will be found on the last page. They show that we've been able to take on the increasing share of the burden of our own budget with steady gain each year. They don't show the personal sacrifice which many of you have made to make this possible. More of that in a moment, but suffice it now to say that it is evident that we have been and are moving ahead financially. The budget for '58-'59 should likewise be a source of satisfaction, in that we are finally putting money into programming and getting on a footing which promises to allow us to operate a little more competently.

We had as a major objective three years ago the creation of local councils through which we expected to make our real contributions. During September we baptised a new one - the Melbourne Council - with 46 people attending the first meeting. This was because those who have made our Cocoa Council so effective were sufficiently missionary minded to take on an extra chore. For months they sowed their seeds of suggestion, able to point with pride to their own progress in Cocoa. The Rev. Brockington has been a guiding light in this enterprise, ably assisted by Bill Pauling and others.

It seems quite evident that we have made the right choice in this major objective, for the gains reported by the various groups are of the basic stuff upon which solid human relations are built. We are passing out of the purely organizational stage slowly, and beginning to show some fruits.

We still haven't a council in Tampa - and this is a serious gap. Another year must not pass without a determined effort to change this.

WHAT ELSE WE HAVE DONE

1. Hired our intern, Mrs. Charles Leeds.
2. Handled two complaints of discrimination in Miami; one involving hotel accommodations and the other local bus transportation - both involved Negro people and the outcome of each was most positive.
3. Helped distribute copies of "The South Speaks Out".

OTHER HAPPENINGS

Jack Orr submitted a plan for turning over the process of planning for desegregation of the schools to a Youth Legislature to be appointed by the School Board. With Jack's defeat at the polls, a shadow hangs over the plan. However, its merits may shine through.

NAACP is moving and has 14 applications by Negro youngsters for transfer to white schools. These youngsters and their parents will follow through the procedures of

(more)

the pupil assignment law. The NAACP and the local Negro leadership have offered to withdraw these applications and to grant a year's stay in legal suits if the Orr plan is adopted. Thus --- the School Board is faced with a more determined effort if it chooses to side-step Jack Orr's suggested solution.

Segregationists gathered in Orlando for a banquet attracting over 500 people - a large share of them from out of the state. Roy Harris and others urged formation of a national party around the segregation issue.

Final comment - After three years I retain my initial admiration and respect for those of you who make up the Board of Directors. It is a privilege to work with you and a challenge to measure up to the standards you set. Those have not been easy times, nor does the immediate future look overly bright, but thoughtful people of the future will be grateful for your persistence in maintaining such a movement.

(more)

FINANCIAL SUMMARY REPORT

Summary of:

| Total Receipts | | and | Total Expenditures | Year |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (Florida did not get under way until September, 1955) | | | | 1954-55 |
| $ 13,824. | from SRC | | | |
| 5,300. | FCHR | | | |
| $ 19,124. | -total | | $ 18,202. | 1955-56 |
| $ 9,856. | from SRC | | | |
| 7,641. | FCHR | | | |
| $ 17,497. | -total | | $ 17,550. | 1956-57 |
| $ 4,000. | from SRC | | | |
| 9,862. | FCHR | | | |
| $ 13,862. | total | | $ 13,101. | 1957-9/1/58 |

INCOME

August, 1958

| | |
|---|---|
| Contributions | $ 92.00 |
| Memberships | 143.00 |
| New South | 22.00 |
| | $ 257.00 |

September, 1958

| | |
|---|---|
| Contributions | $ 69.00 |
| Memberships | 246.50 |
| New South | 86.00 |
| | $ 401.50 |

EXPENDITURES

August, 1958

| | |
|---|---|
| Rent | $ 94.60 |
| Postage | 41.00 |
| Payroll | 600.80 |
| New South | 44.00 |
| Books | 1.00 |
| Travel | 18.36 |
| | $ 799.76 |

September, 1958

| | |
|---|---|
| Office Supplies | $ 95.91 |
| Telephone | 25.69 |
| Rent | 189.20 |
| Postage | 33.50 |
| Payroll | 886.20 |
| New South | 30.00 |
| Travel | 4.35 |
| Equipment | 100.00 |
| | $ 1364.85 |

On Sept.30th, 1958

| | |
|---|---|
| In bank | $751.30 |
| To be deposited | 44.00 |
| | $795.30 |

Report of the Executive Director
FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
October - November 1958

File

Conference with Governor Collins arranged by Canon Robert McCloskey - We had a 1½ hour session which was most fruitful. I prefer not to put in this report some of the important but rather confidential subject matter. However, this conference and a subsequent weekend spent in Tallahassee have convinced me that our Governor, and those closest to him, are genuinely concerned with trying to provide a constructive approach to our human relations problems. The closer one gets to standing where the Governor stands, the more logical and commendable are is pronouncements and actions.

An idea which came up after this conference has been considered by our Executive Committee and approved: conference in January on "Violence - what causes it and what can be done to prevent it" - Chairman Steering Committee: Mr. Ludd Spivey, retired president of Florida Southern College (he has agreed to serve and Senator Harry P. Cain will serve with him) - suggested speaker: Mr. J. Edgar Hoover.

I have talked to a lot of people about this, and all are interested.....Mr. Ralph Odum, Mr. Don McLeod of the Sheriffs Bureau in Tallahassee, the Governor's Race Relations Committee, etc.

I was invited to preach by Reverend C. K. Steele of Tallahassee, and this gave me an opportunity to have a session with the local executive committee and to visit with local people. Spent some time with John Perry and Bill Killian, the Governor's aides, and was invited to meet with the Governor's Race Relations Committee. This was a very profitable opportunity in that it made possible a better understanding of our definite roles, and we are maintaining our contact with them.

As a result of a conference with Lewis Killian (sociologist from Florida State University who is President of the Tallahassee council) and Bill Killian (no relative), we are projecting a new idea - Project "Resource". An announcement of this is enclosed. I would be grateful for your reactions to it and will be reporting progress on it.

As a part of those travels, I met with a group to revive the Daytona Beach Council, and I had a second meeting with the new Melbourne council.

In Miami we have a fleck of projects underway. The Dade County Council on Community Relations has accepted Project "Icebreaker" (copy enclosed). The first step has already been taken, and the President of the CTA (Classroom Teachers Association) has agreed to try to establish a liason committee with the Negro teachers group.

A cooperative effort to establish a fully official human relations agency for Dade County is continuing with an ordinance to create such a body to be presented to the County Commission on Tuesday, December 2nd.

The Mayor of Miami has called two meetings of important business men to support this ordinance.

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As a result of my travels during this period, and happenings locally, I have a strong feeling that Florida is getting down off the fence. This does not preclude a frenzied effort on the part of the legislature in April, but even this, I do not believe, will deter seriously the movement. Incidentally, in keeping with this idea was the result of General Lowry's attempt to disrupt the PTA convention in Sarasota. Of the more than 1500 persons attending he could mobilize no more than 50. This is a different picture from a year ago.

(more)

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - Financial Statement - October - November 1958

Income (October)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Contributions | $ 1072.50 | |
| Memberships | 147.00 | |
| New South | 56.00 | |
| | | Total - $ 1275.50 |

(November)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Contributions | $ 115.85 | |
| Memberships | 283.50 | |
| New South | 46.00 | |
| | | Total - $ 445.35 |

Disbursements (October)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Office Supplies | $ 112.87 | |
| Rent | 94.60 | |
| Payroll | 955.90 | |
| Postage | 36.00 | |
| Books | 7.50 | |
| Telephone | 69.82 | |
| Equipment | 83.00 | |
| Int. Revenue Dept. | 309.71 | |
| Entertainment | 46.41 | |
| | | Total - $1715.81 |

(November)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Office Supplies | $ 1.81 | |
| Travel | 90.00 | |
| Payroll | 556.92 | |
| Part-time help | 4.50 | |
| | | Total - $ 653.23 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance - October 1st | $ 887.29 |
| Total Income | 1720.85 |
| | $ 2608.14 |
| Total Expenditures | 2369.04 |
| Balance -11/28/58 | $ 239.10 |

# PROJECT "ICEBREAKER"

Many people agree that it would be helpful to have better communication between the Negro and white people of our State. Unfortunately, not very many seem to know how to help initiate such communication. Thus - we stand nervously separated by an awkward circumstance.

To help break through this barrier, we are asking each of our local groups to create situations bringing together key individuals of various organizations in order that they might get to know one another. This will be known as Project "Icebreaker", and we are asking you to consider starting off with three groups:

1. Clergymen - some of you have already worked on this. Others have not.

2. Parent Teachers Associations

3. Classroom Teachers Associations

Methods will vary from place to place. We would suggest that you simply keep the basic objective in mind: the establishment of communication. Once that communication is established what they do and say is up to them. We probably will have little to do with it from then on. We hope they will establish liason committees to provide a means of ongoing exchange.

With the ~~current~~ threat to the public school system, it is obviously important that PTA and CTA groups be communicating across the racial barriers.

We would like you to:

A. Let us know if you will participate in this project.

B. Let us know what you have <u>done</u> - what you are <u>doing</u> - and what you <u>will do</u>.

C. Call on us for any assistance we can give you. We will help you with any questions you may have.

(Examples of approaches already made -

A. Invited the Negro and white CTA presidents to the home of a person working on this project.

B. Invited clergymen to a special luncheon.

C. In Tallahassee Negro and white clergymen have been asked to form a panel on "What the Church is Doing to Help" for the next program of the Tallahassee Council. This was not done as a part of "Icebreaker", but will give a natural opening for it.)

November, 1958
Florida Council on Human Relations

# PROJECT "RESOURCE"

PURPOSE: To supply information and evaluation quickly yet carefully relative to the various problems and proposals which may be anticipated during the next several months as regards racial tensions.

PROPOSED PROCEDURE:

A. To set up teams of four to five individuals which would include a sociologist, a person from the School of Education, someone with a legal background and perhaps a political scientist. If none of these persons happen to be Negro, then an appropriate individual who is a Negro should be added.....team to be established at Tallahassee, Gainesville, DeLand and Miami.

B. Inform the major cities (Mayors, etc.), the Governor's Race Relations Commission, etc. that this service is available.

C. When our assistance is requested by someone we will assign the problem to one or more of these teams. They will put together a statement indicating:

1. the results of research, case studies, etc. already done which are pertinent

2. such implications as they may visualize resulting from action or inaction suggested by either the question or the situation involved.

3. these statements will NOT endorse or oppose actions or legislation. We are not interested in making decisions for people or pressuring for decisions. We are interested in providing a means of making available the rich resources known to the people who would make up these teams.

D. Though we will have to lean on the patriotic zeal of those making up these teams, we will need to foot the bill for secretarial assistance and materials. This should not be a large item, however for we trust that the teams will be resourceful and conservative.

November, 1958
Florida Council on Human Relations

# Florida Council on HUMAN RELATIONS

DEDICATED TO THE SEARCH FOR TRUTH, AND THE FREEDOM OF MANKIND

213 N. E. 2ND AVENUE
MIAMI, FLORIDA

PHONE FR 9-4145

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Jacksonville
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M.D., Tampa
MRS. MAYME E. WILLIAMS
Teacher, Miami

December 12, 1958

QUARTERLY REPORT TO: Southern Regional Council
For: September, October & November, 1958

CLIMATE - The "climate" in Florida continues to be rather difficult to assess. The Holland-Pepper campaign saw more anti-semetic and race hate propaganda distributed throughout the state than at any other time in our history. Not only so, but this literature seemed to influence the vote. The defeat of John B. Orr, Jr. who sought to be returned to the state legislature, was also a new high in this same kind of literature with similar results. There is much talk of new legislation segregation next April when our state legislature convenes.

Contrasting decidedly with this is the admission of the first Negro to the University of Florida Law School without any sign of protest. A fair amount of preparation went into this, and the quiet was almost startling.

In Dade County, the Board of Education, for the first time, began to speak in terms of possible desegregation in terms of a pilot school. The State Superintendent made his most forthright and favorable comment as a result of the Dade County situation. This has been followed by positive statements by both the Attorney General and his assistant.

Add to this the State Convention of the PTA where General Lowry (who came in second in a field of five in the last Governor's campaign, running on the one plank of segregation) endeavored to introduce a resolution favoring the closing of public schools if ordered to desegregate. Some 1500 people attended the convention and Mr. Lowry was not allowed to present his resolution. He could not mobilize more than 40 supporters. Last year's convention was the scene of a similar kind of struggle with a very strong group backing the segregationist position.

The pressures of NAACP suits in Miami and West Palm Beach are obtaining results, and it does appear that we may be turning a corner with prospects that, though threatened by the next session of the legislature, may nonetheless be brighter for public school desegregation.

CHIEF PROGRAM EMPHASIS - We did all we could to buttress the preparation for desegregation at the University of Florida - conferences with college administration, city administration, public officials, etc.

(cont'd)

QUARTERLY REPORT (cont'd)

We have started working on a state-wide basis to help three groups establish liason committees - clergymen, PTA groups, and teachers organizations. If we are getting a shift in general, then this kind of communication, which was always needed, may now be possible. Dade County teachers groups are now taking the step, and the clergy seem ready to begin.

We have established two teams of consultants for Project "Resource" (copies enclosed). Two more are being formed. This project will help encourage the positive and minimize the negative from now to April particularly.

We have worked with other human relations agencies in an effort to establish a fully official Community Relations Board for Dade County. This seems to have been stalled by the County Commission at this point, but is worthy of pursuit any time. Some strong community leadership was united in the effort.

We have projected a conference for January involving on a state level civic and religious groups. Through this conference, we hope to persuade these groups that they have a responsibility in establishing and maintaining a positive approach to our racial and religious difficulties.

The Religious Leadership Conference for Dade County projected a year ago has finally been tied down to February 16th, and preparations are going ahead.

In Dade County discussion groups for teachers have gotten underway. We are providing informal but planned sessions to provide opportunities for teachers to freely address the segregation issue. This, they have not been allowed to do.

The Dade County Council on Community Relations is participating in a Community Audit in connection with the celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights (programs enclosed.)

KEY PERSONS - During this quarter we have had an extended conference with the Governor and spent a day and a half with the Executive of his Race Relations Commission. The Executive Director of the Florida Council on Human Relations met with the Governor's Commission. Through all this, the Florida Council on Human Relations is now in a position to regularly communicate with these people on an effective basis.

Ralph Odum, Assistant to the Attorney General, has been further cultivated - again with positive results.

Don McLeod, head of the Sheriffs Bureau, was contacted for the January conference and responded favorably.

Dr. Ludd Spivey, past President of Florida Southern College, has agreed to chair the steering committee for the January conference, and Senator Harry P. Cain will serve with him.

Individual conferences with the past chairman and the current chairman of the Dade County Board of Public Instruction were helpful in re-interpreting our role to them, and seems to leave us in a better position to work with the Board. This same thing will be done with each of the other members.

(cont'd)

INFORMATION SUPPLIED TO: 1. Wall Street Journal - relative to actions of the Dade County School Board, and the County Commission as it considered the Community Relations Board.

2. Committees investigating aspects of community life in connection with the Community Audit.

3. County Commission, the County Planning Dept., and other pertinent people - A luncheon was provided by the Dade County Council on Community Relations to give these people an opportunity to hear from and talk with Mr. Charles P. Taft from Cincinnati. Mr. Taft has been involved in an expressway situation in his town, and we are having an expressway program here in Dade County which will uproot 10,000 people. Result - recognition of need for a relocation agency.

4. We distributed copies of South Speaks Out to local press and this resulted in an article in the Miami Herald.

ORGANIZATIONAL MEETINGS: Monthly meetings of the Executive Committee of the DCCCR.
Executive Committee of the FCHR (regular quarterly session)

NEXT STEPS: 1. Follow through on fund raising activities begun this quarter.
2. A fund raising dinner has been projected.
3. In January we will have - a clergy orientation program in Dade County.
4. " " " " " - a membership meeting for DCCCR.
5. " " " " " - a membership meeting for FCHR.
6. " " " " " - a conference of civic and religious groups.
7. In February we will have a conference of religious leaders for Dade County.
8. Our project for establishing a liason committee will be continued and a determined effort to make full use of our consultant teams will be made.
9. The DCCCR will shoulder much responsibility in following through the Community Audit. (Persuading organizations to adopt projects to correct or improve situations brought to light in the reports.)
10. The implementation of the program to meet the needs of Spanish - speaking persons in South Florida will receive further attention. During this past quarter we have established the structure for such a continued program and spelled out its initial objectives, namely; an exchange program with Puerto Rico for police officers, public health nurses and teachers, intergroup emphasis in the public schools and a health and welfare program especially geared to this group.

Enclosures.

# PROJECT "RESOURCE"

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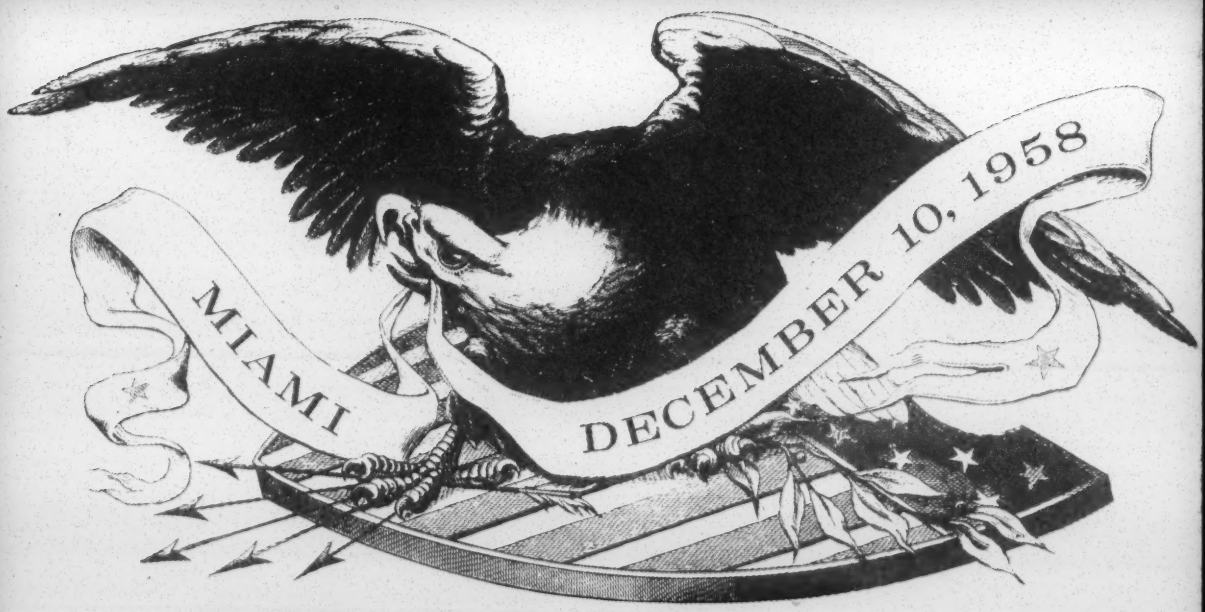
November, 1958
Florida Council on Human Relations

# TENTH ANNIVERSARY UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF




# HUMAN RIGHTS

Florida Council
213 N. E. 2nd Ave.
Miami, Florida

**MRS. H. STEWART AUSTIN,** *Presiding*

**PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE,** *Veterans of Foreign Wars, Miami Post* • **INVOCATION,** *Dr. Harold Buell, President Greater Miami Council of Churches* • **SONG, "AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL"** • **REMARKS,** *Dr. George K. Smart, President Miami Association for the United Nations* • **ADDRESS, "NOT BY DECLARATION ALONE"** *Mr. Bill Baggs, Editor The Miami News* • **SPECIAL MUSIC,** *Chorus, Booker T. Washington High School, Mrs. Lila Williams, Director* • **REPORT — COMMUNITY AUDIT OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN GREATER MIAMI—EDUCATION,** *Mrs. Bernard Stevens* • **EMPLOYMENT,** *Mrs. Bernard Supworth* • **HOUSING,** *Mr. H. Daniel Lang* • **POLITICAL RIGHTS,** *Mrs. H. Franklin Williams* • **PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS,** *Mrs. Lillian Mamlet* • **PUBLIC HEALTH,** *Dr. Ira Davis* • **RECREATION,** *Mrs. Louise B. Taylor* **BENEDICTION,** *Rabbi Joseph Narot, President Rabbinical Association of Greater Miami*

WHITE TEMPLE METHODIST CHURCH • MIAMI, FLORIDA

# ASSETS

## EDUCATION

Since the passage of the Minimum Foundation Act in 1948 the educational opportunities of all Florida children have been improved. The average expenditures in Dade County per pupil regardless of race for capital outlay maintenance, equipment, special facilities is approximately the same. The salaries of all teachers are determined by training and experiences and there are integrated opportunities for profession meetings and in-service training.

## EMPLOYMENT

It is to be noted that discrimination against Jews has decreased. In the past fifteen years, it has been evident in the field of Insurance Company Agents, Union Membership, Garment Industry, Retail Stores and employment requests to the Florida State Employment Service.

Negroes have made strides in the past five years evidenced by membership and representation on the Executive Boards of such Unions as the Carpenters, Longshoremen, Needlecraft, Hotel, Transportation, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers Union.

Spanish speaking people have more opportunities as they overcome the language barriers. At this point, employment for Spanish speaking people are predominantly in the fields of needlecraft, waiters and busboys in hotels.

## HOUSING

Housing available to minority groups has increased substantially in Dade County both in amount and in quality. Mortgage finance institutions and home builders extend their services to non whites without discrimination. FHA and VA have abandoned its earlier racial policy and declared for equality of opportunity to receive the benefits of the mortgage insurance system. Public housing has always insisted that minorities receive equitable share of housing.

## POLITICAL RIGHTS

Despite inconveniences and segregated practices, Negroes are registering to vote and voting in increasing numbers in local, state, and national primary and final elections. Negroes in slightly increasing numbers are being admitted to political party organizations, although only in minor capacities.

## PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

The survey reveals the Miami area is in a state of change. Hotels on Miami Beach accept Negroes as part of conventions. Restaurants there also serve Negroes. Hotel restaurants in Miami will accept mixed groups in private dining rooms. Buses in Greater Miami are desegregated. Taxis in Coral Gables and Miami Beach cater to Negroes and whites. Department stores and retail shops accord equal treatment to Negro and white. Ordinances in Miami Beach and Surfside bar advertising which discriminates against religion. Public libraries operate on a desegregated basis.

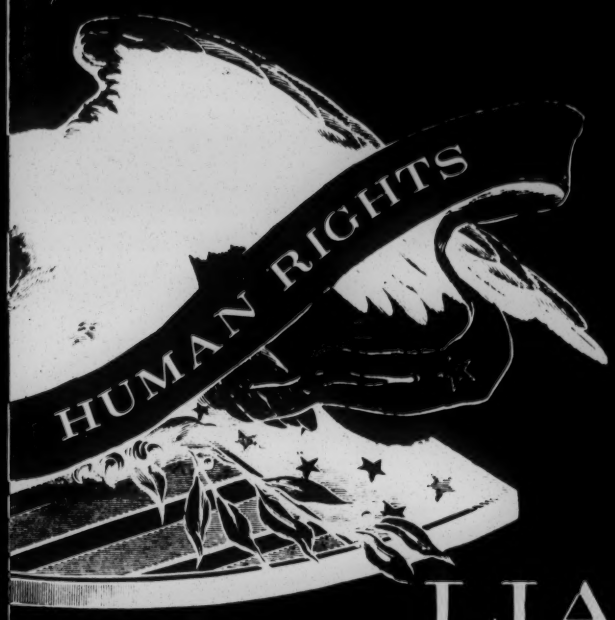
## PUBLIC HEALTH

Medical and public health facilities in Dade County are comparable to most cities of its size in the United States. There is a physician for every 671 persons in Dade County which is better than the country's average of 900 physicians per person.

## RECREATION

The wide opportunities for waterfront activities, boating and fishing especially, are excellent. The natural and developed beach areas are good for both races. The use of school facilities for recreational areas, the zoo, botanical gardens and bandstands are all community assets. Some private agencies, such as the Girl and Boy Scouts and the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. serve all young people.

The Public Library's facilities as well as a number of cultural and sporting events are available to all.




# LIABILITIES

Five years after the Supreme Court decision regarding desegregation of our school system, Dade County's schools remain segregated and there is no known official plan to implement the law of the land.

There is approximately 15% less playground space available to Negro children, and although the last few years have seen great improvements there is still less potential for vocational training.

There are almost no opportunities for employment for Negroes in private positions other than manual or laboring capacities. Unions composed of highly skilled workmen with apprenticeship system exclude Negroes.

Certain other groups, including Jews and Spanish speaking people are excluded from some commercial and clerical jobs, particularly in Banking, Insurance fields and one large public service employer.

Housing is the one commodity on the American market that Negroes and persons belonging to certain ethnic minorities cannot purchase freely.

There is a pattern of exclusion and segregation. In Greater Miami over 9,000 houses (11%) have no private bath, or, are dilapidated. Both rental and purchase housing property for non whites are above prevailing cost. Overcrowding of non whites is evidence in fact that there are 150 persons per residential acre as compared with 12 for the City.

Color segregation takes place at the time of registration, by voters pursuant to state statute. The registration process is generally made more convenient and easier for the white voter than for the Negro voter. The segregation occurring in the registration process frequently carries over into the voting process and tends to discourage Negro voters seeking to fulfill their responsibilities as citizens by voting.

The majority of hotels in Miami refuse to accommodate Negroes as guests whether or not in convention groups. Most restaurants in Miami also refuse service to Negroes. Public restroom facilities are segregated. White taxis in Miami refuse to take Negro passengers. The department stores which accord equal treatment to Negro and white shoppers, refuse to serve Negroes in their restaurants. Drinking fountains in the County Building are segregated. The State Sanitary Code requires separate washroom facilities according to race in places of public accommodation.

Dade County according to desirable standards is short 727 hospital beds. There are no training facilities for Negro nurses and physicians. There is a shortage of nurses in Dade County. The infant and maternal mortality rate is twice as great among non whites.

Playgrounds, fields and swimming pools are inadequate for Negroes in both municipal and unincorporated areas. Golf courses, tennis courts, skating rinks, camping facilities and non-commercial recreational agencies are inadequate for the total population and particularly so for Negroes. Some cultural facilities and commercial entertainment limits Negroes use.

# SPONSORS OF COMMUNITY AUDIT

*American Civil Liberties Union of Greater Miami*

*American Jewish Committee, Miami Chapter*

*American Jewish Congress, South Florida Council and Florida Women's Division*

*Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith Florida Regional Office*

*Dade County Council on Community Relations*

*Greater Miami Urban League*

*Miami Ethical Society*

*National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc. Florida Chapter*

*Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Miami Branch*

*Women's Society of Christian Service The Methodist Church, Miami District*

*United Church Women of Greater Miami*

*Young Women's Christian Association*

## ORGANIZATIONS COOPERATING IN THE OBSERVANCE

*Hadassah, Miami and Miami Beach Chapters*

*National Council of Jewish Women, Miami Section*

*United Nations Association of Greater Miami*

# Dade Council Moves To Keep Schools Open

Schools in Virginia and Little Rock have been closed. The State of Georgia has also enacted legislation to close the schools in the event of enforced desegregation. Attempts have been made in the Florida Legislature to enact similar legislation if the court orders desegregation.

These facts were driven home by Prof. Donald Sprague, of the Human Relations Center at the University of Miami, Thursday, when he addressed a discussion leaders training meeting at St. Stephens Episcopal Church.

The meeting was under the aegis of the Dade County Council on Community Relations, which has instituted a series of neighborhood discussion programs to acquaint people with the problems of keeping Dade's public schools open.

**Haskell L. Lazere, Southeast regional director of the American Jewish Congress, has been appointed to coordinate the discussion meeting project for the Dade County Council. "While the danger of closed schools does not face Florida at the moment, the occurrences in Virginia and Little Rock are proof that schools can be closed because of the desegregation issue," he told The Jewish Floridian Wednesday.**

In accepting responsibility for the Council project, Lazere pointed out "that it is time for an intelligent discussion of the issues."

He said "there is no reason why, if desegregation is ordered by the courts, that there cannot be an orderly transition in Dade county, provided that an informed public opinion exists which understands all of the issues involved. The extremists who counsel closing the schools have thus far raised their voices above the vast majority who would maintain law and order in our community.

"It is the intention of the Dade County Council to present facts to as many people as possible so that there can be an intelligent understanding of the problems which confront us as a community."

**Council leaders meanwhile Wednesday took heart at what they called "statemanlike" views of Gov. LeRoy Collins in his messages last week on keeping Florida's schools open.**

The Council Wednesday urged interested individuals "to hold coffees with their neighbors to discuss the school problem confronting Dade county. William K. Williams, Council director, said that "while discussion leaders will be provided for the coffees, no effort will be made to adopt resolutions or to proselytize for desegregation."

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
215 N. E. Second Ave.,
Miami 32, Fla.

REPORT FROM EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, WILLIAM K. WILLIAMS, FOR MONTHS OF JANUARY AND FEBRUARY 1959

Major Activities

1. Municipal Support for Dade County Council on Community Relations.

Assisted with contacting City of Miami Beach for this year's appropriation of $1,000. Began exploring the possibility in North Miami Beach, South Miami and Hialeah. Also began the process of getting new appointments from the Dade County Commission. In each of those cases we are asking for funds as well as people, and the prospects look very good in every case. This will mean a great deal in terms of status and opportunities for the DCCCR.

2. Clergy Orientation - The second annual effort toward introducing new clergymen to Dade County - attendance improved and generally well received.

3. Florida Tomorrow? - This convention in Orlando was attended by some 40 people aimed at getting a cross section of the state. We were only partially successful. It indicated several things, one of which is that we might well repeat this next year. Approval was granted at the Annual Meeting.

4. Annual Meeting of the Florida Council on Human Relations - very well attended and the best meeting to date.

5. DCCCR Membership Meeting - Fred Routh spoke, and a panel of drama students from the University of Miami demonstrated discussion group technique. This was held in the School Administration Auditorium and was attended by 220 people. This was a part of a Save Our Schools emphasis.

6. Discussion Group Program of the DCCCR - 4 sessions for teachers and some 30 sessions for parents have been held to date. This is aimed at promoting a discussion of the situation confronting the schools as regards desegregation. In charge of the parents' groups and very helpful is the Executive Director of the American Jewish Congress here in Miami, Mr. Haskell Lazere.

7. Development of a Ft. Lauderdale Council - This is a part of the Intern Program and a major responsibility for Jane Leeds. A meeting has been arranged for March 18th.

Speaking Engagements

2/6/59 - Temple Israel, Miami - served on panel on subject of Brotherhood - WKW
2/8/59 - Pasadena Community Church, St. Petersburg - served on panel - WKW
2/12/59 - Biscayne Democratic Club - WKW
2/15/59 - District Meeting Congregation - lead discussion group - WKW
2/15/59 - Resource person on Brotherhood program at Rader Methodist Church - WKW
2/17/59 - spoke to faculty of Holmes Elementary School on subject of brotherhood - WKW
2/18/59 - B'nai B'rith Lodge of Miami Beach - WKW
2/19/59 - spoke to assembly at Northwestern Highschool - WKW
2/20/59 - Booker T. Washington H.S. - spoke on Brotherhood Program - WKW
2/22/59 - Resource to Discussion Group - Conference On World Peace - WKW

(cont'd)

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

FINANCIAL STATEMENT - Jan. 1-Feb. 28, 1959

INCOME

| | Jan. | Feb. |
|---|---|---|
| Contributions | $ 1908.50 | $ 2762.00 |
| Memberships | 337.50 | 236.00 |
| New South | 50.00 | 44.00 |
| Refund | 37.35 | 12.85 |
| Totals -- | $ 2333.35 | $ 3054.85 |

DISBURSEMENTS

| | Jan. | Feb. |
|---|---|---|
| Payroll | $ 996.83 | $ 1509.55 |
| Postage | 40.00 | 36.00 |
| Rent | 186.20 | 97.60 |
| Telephone | 114.32 | 106.82 |
| Office Supplies | 123.73 | 105.89 |
| Entertainment | 54.68 | 65.45 |
| Equipment | 83.00 | 83.00 |
| Part-time sec. | 9.00 | |
| Internal Revenue | 264.32 | |
| Refunds | | 2.50 |
| Books | | 30.00 |
| Travel | | 224.90 |
| New South | | 262.00 |
| Totals --- | $ 1873.38 | $2523.71 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance Jan. 1st. | $ 48.76 |
| Income | 5388.20 |
| Total - | 5436.96 |
| Disbursements | 4396.79 |
| Balance 3/1 | $ 1040.17 |

MONTHLY REPORT OF INTERN JANE B. LEEDS
FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

February and March, 1959

RECEIVED APR 22 ...

FBR - This is human relations? Suggest we raise question with Bill Williams. HCF

I COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES AND STATE PARTICIPATION APART FROM DCCCR AND FCHR

1. Participated in an American JewishCommittee sub-committee meeting of the Community Relations Committee to further investigate the merits of a "Jewish Attitude Survey". Mr. Manheim Shapiro, Director of the National Jewish Communal Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee, was presented and described in detail the merits of such a survey.

2. Participated in AJC Executive Committee meeting. Included in the agenda was a request for approval of the Jewish Attitude Survey. The Executive Committee approved the request and this survey will be included in the coming year's programming.

3. Attended an Anti-Defamation League meeting in Orlando. I was somewhat surprised at the narrowness and bigotry that was displayed by the majority of those present.

4. Attended the National Conference of Christians and Jews annual local Brotherhood Dinner. The good company at the table made up for the lack of stimulation in the program.

5. Met and exchanged learning experiences with Miss Ivis Calvet, interned to the Catholic Interracial Council of New York and Miss Roberta D'Amico, interned to the Urban League of Greater New York. It was most interesting to discover how closely our experiences resembled each other though we are working in different parts of the country and in different agencies.

6. Attended a luncheon at the DuPont Plaza of the American Jewish Committee of the Foreign Relations Committee to hear Mr. David Danzig speak about the liberal movement in the Catholic Church. His speech was most interesting and enlightening.

7. Attended a session at Bethune-Cookman College in Daytona Beach to plan a six-week workshop held jointly by the college and the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The purpose of the workshop is for leadership guidance. I must admit to feeling honored by being asked to take part in the planning.

II GENERAL ACTIVITIES CONCERNED WITH DCCCR AND FCHR.

1. Attended a County Association of Intergroup Relations Officials meeting. The topics for thought were twofold - a...the proposed Irvin-Baily School Bill - does it have any merit in possibly forestalling a "last resort" bill, and what steps can and should the agencies take regarding this bill. - b...the restructuring of the Dade County Council on Community Relations - the plan for restructuring, that would necessitate the assistance of the intergroup professionals in the area, was approved and their help promised.

2. Met with Mr. Carlos Fernandez, Annual Dinner Chairman (DCCCR). We drew up a list of potential main speakers for the Annual Dinner and discussed the best methods of contacting them.

3. Attended the monthly DCCCR Executive Committee meeting.

4. Spoke to a group of people in Ft. Lauderdale who were convened for the purpose of starting a local Broward County Council to be affiliated with the Florida Council on Human Relations. I found the group to be sympathetic to the idea but extremely fearful of its success and consequently unwilling to make the effort required for organizing. After some discussion, those present decided that they would like to work on a specific problem; namely, the problem of maintaining the

(cont'd)

public school system which is in danger of being lost due to the possible passage of a "last resort" bill. At this meeting plans for a community-wide meeting to be held before the state legislature convened, were made, geared to a Save Our Schools theme.

5. Attended a CAIRO meeting. On the agenda was a discussion for the follow-up on the Community Audit conducted by the 10th Anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights. The full report of the Audit has yet to be finished and duplicated for public consumption. There was discussion, as well, as to programming for the various agencies regarding the findings of the Audit.

6. Attended the Annual FCHR Board Meeting, held in Orlando.

7. Attended the Annual Membership Meeting of the FCHR held in Orlando immediately after the Board meeting. This meeting was very well attended, the largest in the history of the Council. Dr. Herbert Wey was the guest speaker, commenting on his book, "Patterns in School Desegregation". To me, an interesting commentary about this meeting was the almost total absence of persons of the Jewish faith.

8. Met with the Broward County nucleus of local council members at lunch to make final plans for the county-wide meeting to be held in Ft. Lauderdale.

9. Attended an Executive Committee meeting of the DCCCR. The meeting was uneventful in every sense of the word.

10. Held a briefing session with the panelists scheduled for the meeting to be held in Ft. Lauderdale. All members of the panel were os such high calibre that there was very little briefing needed.

11. Attended CAIRO meeting. Our usual CAIRO sessions were livened by the presence of Miss Jean Fairfax of American Friends Service Committee and Dr. Herbert Seamans from the Human Relations Dept. of the University of Miami. Miss Fairfax told us of her agency's program in Merit Employment and inquired if there was work that could be done here. Dr. Seamans came with a request to the members of CAIRO to make some specific suggestions that could be incorporated in the Dept. of Human Relations of the University in the Fall. I'm afraid that rather than answer his request, we bombarded him with our complaints regarding the department.

12. My Big Day! My own meeting! The Broward County meeting held inFt. Lauderdale! The meeting started out looking to be a horrible failure but turned into quite a success with a goodly number of people indicating active and vital interest in the formation of a local council. I am most grateful to the panelists for winning over so many people.

13. Spent the day with the Executive Secretary of National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials who was doing double duty by being here, also as the Supervisor of the Intern Program. Reports on my progress as an intern were given and taken. I hope I've lived up to expectation.

14. Attended CAIRO meeting. The Executive Secretary of NAIRO being the "visiting fireman" with much to tell us of other parts of the country.

15. Attended two more CAIRO meetings, both geared to the Save Our Schools theme and both somewhat hysterical.

MONTHLY REPORT - MARCH 1959
FROM: WILLIAM K. WILLIAMS
FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

MAJOR ACTIVITIES:

1. Conferred with Anti-Defamation League on use of their resources by our local councils (staff and materials)

2. Pursued municipal and county support of the Dade County Council. (conference with Chairman of County Commission, Mayor and one Councilman from Hialeah). City of North Miami Beach took action, appropriating $500.00 and appointing a representative.

3. Intern program - One of the responsibilities of the intern is the development of a local council in Ft. Lauderdale. She has been working at this since the first of the year and had the first major meeting on March 18th. She did the planning, developed committees and program, all of which worked out very well.

John Lassoe, Executive for NAIRO, sponsor of the intern program, came to Miami on his mid-year check-up of the program. We arranged a luncheon meeting with other human relations agencies in the community. Mr. Lassoe seemed pleased with our handling of the program.

COMMITTEES, ETC.:

1. DCCCR Annual Dinner Committee
2. Program Committee
3. Teachers' Discussion Group
4. Parents Discussion Group
5. WKW is member of Migrant Commission of Welfare Planning Council. Had joint meeting with Governor's Committee on Migrants which revealed genuine concern and some thoughtful planning by them. Safety and housing improvements are being sought.

SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS:

1. Miami Shores Community Church - WKW
2. West Lab. School (Demonstration School University of Miami) PTA. WKW asked to speak on issues and experiences in public school desegregation!!!
3. Conference of Liberal Churches, Orlando -WKW on panel with Mr. Herbert Davidson and Negro attorney.
4. Southeast Conference of Friends - WKW on panel with Joan Fairfax and Dr. Gilbert Porter. At the same time I was able to have a conference with state President of PTA, Mrs. Johnson in Tampa. We discussed the relation of her group to the Negro PTA and also the relation of her group to the Florida Council. Through this conference we hope to strengthen both these relations.
5. Ft. Pierce - Membership meeting - WKW spoke
6. Jacksonville - Membership meeting of local council. Met new Executive Jewish Community Council, checked with Ed Cony, Wall St. Journal, etc.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT
FOR MARCH, 1959

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
DADE COUNTY COUNCIL ON COMMUNITY RELATIONS

**Income**

| | |
|---|---|
| Contributions | $ 183.45 |
| Memberships | 235.50 |
| New South | 42.00 |
| | $ 460.95 |

**Disbursements**

| | |
|---|---|
| Office Supplies | $ 12.98 |
| Telephone | 4.65 |
| Postage | 65.25 |
| Payroll | 843.58 |
| Travel | 112.02 |
| Books | 45.77 |
| Entertainment | 23.95 |
| Annual Dinner | 62.50 |
| Part-time sec'y | 15.00 |
| | $1183.70 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance March 1st. | $1040.17 |
| Income | 460.95 |
| | $1501.12 |
| Disbursements | 1183.70 |
| Balance ---- | $ 317.42 |

Items to be considered at the Board of Directors Meeting on June 6, 1959 at 1:00 P.M.
at Unitarian Church
1815 E. Robinson Ave.,
Orlando, Fla.

MINUTES of Executive Committee meeting have been mailed previously.

FINANCIAL REPORT (enclosed). Those of you who are unable to attend the meeting will need to read carefully the minutes which will be mailed afterward. Rev. Edward T. Graham, Chairman of the Finance Committee, will be interpreting our present circumstance and the actions under way to correct it.

REPORT ON STATE-LOCAL RELATIONS. The special committee created to study this has made its report and suggested modifications. The basic recommendations are:

A. That we charter all local groups, emphasizing the role of the Council so that we have a real understanding of what we can and what we cannot do.
B. Where we have local chartered groups, annual contributions of $4.00 per member will replace the present dues. This will allow local groups to set up their own dues.
C. Regular reports will be exchanged between state and local groups. The state office will furnish whatever assistance is possible in organization and programming.
D. The President or his representative of each local council is to be made an ex-officio member of the state Board of Directors.
E. Standing committees are to be established by each local council for program, membership and finance.

PERSONNEL

A. We need to raise the secretary's salary. She has been with us more than a year and is invaluable. The least we should consider is $6.00 per week.
B. Our Executive Assistant, Jane Leeds, is on the intern program until September 1st. If we are going to keep her after that, it will be as a regular staff member. She already has a job offer at $5,000. a year. Your Executive and Chairman of the Finance Committee recommend that we retain her at this figure.

REPORT ON CONFERENCE OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS CALLED BY THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS - WASHINGTON, D.C. - A follow through effort is underway.

NEXT ANNUAL MEETING (JANUARY)

A. Shall we combine it with the Conference of Civic and Religious State Leadership which we have said we will repeat?
B. We shall have some other emphasis such as police community relations.
C. ?

MONTHLY REPORT OF WILLIAM K. WILLIAMS FOR MAY, 1959
FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
213 N. E. Second Ave.,
Miami, Fla.

West Palm Beach - The newly created Mayor's Community Relations Committee (precipitated through action of our local council) invited me up at their expense to discuss their role and responsibilities. This group has excellent backing by the City and is starting off in a very sensible way. It is an achievement of note for our West Palm Beach group.

Jane and I also made some contacts in hopes of special contributions to the FCHR.

Miami

1. I had a session with the Mayor and one City Councilman from Coral Gables in the interest of financial support for the Dade County Council on Community Relations. Results will be apparent shortly.
2. Attended the first interracial meeting of ministers in two years. This meeting was well received, and may at last be the beginning of real communication between these groups.
3. A suit to outlaw any vestige of religion in the schools has resulted in some excitement in the white Ministerial Association and Council of Churches. Because there still is no real communication between Christian and Jewish religious leadership, this could easily degenerate into a Jewish-Christian controversy. We are taking steps to try to once more bridge the gap through the interagency conference and special meetings with some of the above leadership.
4. Jane and I went to discuss the appointment to the Executive Committee of the DCCCR by Commissioner Chuck Hall. Only 3 of the 11 have made their appointments. Mr. Hall agreed to make his appointment within the next week.
5. Conference with Commissioner Joe Boyd for the same purpose as No. 4, and with the Mayor of the City of Hialeah to see how our request for funds and a representative is faring.
6. Jane and I attended a conference with Dr. Rachael DuBois discussing the possibility of having Dr. DuBois come back to assist in the preparation for the opening of the desegregated school here next Fall.

Washington, D. C. Attended the Religious Leadership Conference called by the President's Committee on Government Contracts. On returning we have contacted local members of the delegation from Florida and, with their endorsement, are proceeding with an effort for a follow-up conference for this state. We have written Mr. Nixon requesting that his committee be the convening agent.

Special Activities of Intern, Jane Leeds

1. Chairman of Finance Committee, Rev. E. T. Graham, has asked for the major share of time of one of our staff members for his project. Jane has been selected. She has met with him to round out the committee and initiate planning.
2. Jane assisted Mr. Benjamin Muse, representing the Southern Regional Council on a special research project. He spent two days in Miami.
3. She arranged a display at a program clinic for civic and religious leadership sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews and attended the session to confer with those who attended.

(cont'd)

The State We're In ---

1. The rape of a Negro coed by four white youths in Tallahassee - As is often the case with tragedy, this served at the same time in a beneficial fashion. It apparently had some sobering effect on the legislature and it has dramatized once more the terrible fruits of racist propaganda. Hospital bills were paid by a spontaneous offering of students at Florida State University as a gesture of concern. It also demonstrates an inevitable result of the emphasis of inferior status of Negroes, especially Negro womanhood.
2. The legislature has not passed yet any of the rabid legislation thrown into its hopper. One sad episode indirectly related to the racial picture is the defeat of legislation which would have allowed the people to vote for constitutional revision enabling us to qualify for slum clearance under Urban Renewal funds. One of the leaders in its defeat was David Eldredge from Miami whose backers included slum owners. Mr. Eldredge says: A. - His backers had not discussed this with him; B. - That perhaps the bill should be reconsidered.
3. Police Chief of Nashville, Tenn. has released a statement saying that secret information has indicated that recent bombings throughout the South were a part of a planned terror program, regional in scope.
4. Figures released last month by the NEA indicate that "the Deep South is spending less for public education than any other area in the country - and its people are the least educated." Mississippi is paying the lowest wages for teachers in the nation. Alabama is spending the least per year per pupil. Mississippi leads the nation in one respect - in 1957 almost one-half of its young men who registered for the draft failed to pass the pre-induction mental examination. Mississippi's rejection rate was 49.9% followed by South Carolina 49.8%, Alabama 42.6%, Louisiana 38.9% and Georgia 37%. National average is 18.9%. Current expenditures per pupil in average daily attendance for 1958-59 is $340.00. The ten lowest states are all Southern or border states. Florida ranks 34th.

FINANCIAL SUMMARY
FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
JANUARY 1 to JUNE 1, 1959

| | Budget | Expended | Balance in Budget |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Salaries** | | | |
| Executive Director | $ 7,000. | $ 1,988.24 | $ 5,011.76 |
| " Assistant | 5,000. | 2,048.86 | 2,951.14 |
| Secretary | 3,200. | 1,109.41 | 2,090.59 |
| Part-time sec. | 1,000. | 22.00 | 978.00 |
| **Program** | | | |
| Membership Meeting | $ 1,000. | $ 456.04 | $ 543.96 |
| Printing | 1,000. | 30.56 | 969.44 |
| Entertainment | 1,500. | 144.08 | 1,355.92 |
| Travel | 2,500. | 439.38 | 2,060.62 |
| **Office Expenses:** | | | |
| Rent | $ 855. | $ 378.40 | $ 476.60 |
| Telephone | 600. | 201.63 | 398.37 |
| Supplies | 1,500. | 271.35 | 1,228.65 |
| Postage | 1,000. | 161.25 | 838.75 |
| Audit | $ 100. | $ | $ 100.00 |
| Equipment | 1,000. | 166.00 | 834.00 |
| TOTALS | $27,255. | $ 7,417.20 | $19,837.80 |
| **Non Budget Items** | | | |
| New South | | 312.00 | |
| DCCCR Awards Dinner | | 643.75 | |
| S.S. & Withholding for Oct.Nov.Dec., 1958 pd. in Jan. | | 264.32 | |
| | | $ 8,637.27 | |
| GRAND TOTAL EXPENDED | | $ 8,637.27 | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Balance as of Jan. 1, 1959 | | $ 83.76 |
| Income | | 8,597.65 |
| | Total ---- | $8,681.41 |
| Grand Total Expended | | 8,637.27 |
| | Balance as of June 1st, ----- | $ 44.14 |

**MONEY OWED**

| | |
|---|---|
| Telephone | 77.94 |
| Internal Revenue | 1.48 |
| Printing | .38 |
| Travel - WKW | 178.57 |
| JBL | 124.91 |
| New South | 74.00 |
| Off. Supplies | 124.91 |
| Rent | 189.20 |
| City of Miami | 62.00 |
| Equipment | 166.00 |
| Salaries - JBL | 85.07 |
| WKW | 1,511.76 |
| | $3,044.22 |

Florida Council On Human Relations
213 N. E. 2nd Ave.
Miami, Florida

Daytona Beach Evening News

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## The Editorial . . .

*Monday, June 15, 1959*

# We'd Better Be Financing Love

**IT DOES NOT** seem possible that in this comparatively enlightened era hate can be financed easier than can efforts at spreading love and understanding.

But this is a sad truth here in Florida.

It is truth that the mails are clogged with much more hate propaganda than they are with facts which would establish understanding of that which now is feared, and hated.

It is truth that men and women will turn out more readily to a meeting which aims at curbing civil rights for a minority than will turn out to a meeting wherein there is a free discussion of the court decisions which would grant those rights.

It would seem, at this stage of civilization, it is safer to champion hate and destructiveness than it is to champion love and creativeness.

* * *

**TWO MEETINGS** we have attended in recent weeks jarred us into the realization of these truths.

One of the meetings was that of the Florida Council on Human Relations.

The other meeting was that of a White Citizens Council.

At the FCHR meeting, the discussion centered about the woeful lack of financing to meet expenses of the organization's educational efforts. Faces of those attending the meeting were grim as the budget was examined—it was indeed a discouraging report on how fares one of the lonely efforts in Florida on smoothing the transition from denied or limited equality to full equality.

There was only one face in the group to the rafters. And he paused at just the right crescendo for another interruption —the taking up of the collection.

Money—the nonclinking kind—poured into collection plates passed by men wearing white armbands. Green, it was, and in various denominations. It stacked high on the plates as they were carried proudly to the chairman.

It would finance a lot more hate literature; a lot more appearances of politicians who are practiced at stimulating hate; a lot more inflammation of a festering wound in the body of America, the beautiful.

* * *

**THIS** is a sad commentary on the kind of state Florida has allowed itself to become.

Surely, it indicates it is time that the state wakened to the need to change this picture; time for it to realize that it had better start financing brotherhood if its integrity, its economic life, its freedom for Whites too are not to become bankrupt.

Hate is so destructive. It can destroy not only the soul of those who are infected by it, but it can spread its devastation to those who consider themselves unemotional on the racial issue, and, insidiously, it can wreak havoc with their economic wellbeing, their comfort, their "good life." Shaking off apathy then may be too late.

* * *

**FOR INSTANCE,** Florida will face its first integration of a public school next Fall. The Council on Human Relations quietly is working to make sure that the

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There was only one face in the group which maintained a smile—a game, confident, understanding smile. It was on the face of the man serving as the director of the efforts. He is devoting his life and his energy to it, and he could smile thus though the fnancial report showed that his salary is in arrears $1,500, and that it had been six weeks since he had received a farthing.

But FCHR is so small. It is small because it stands foursquare behind the 1954 Supreme Court decision. It stands adamantly for justice, honesty, integrity, and the brotherhood of man. It stands for a meeting of the minds on racial and religious matters, so understanding can replace suspicion and hatred.

In the climate noisy politicians have fostered in Florida, that is a lonely place to stand these days. It has been proved that it is a place which can invite economic ruin for those who stand there, or even the devastation caused by a bomb.

* * *

**THE ATMOSPHERE** at the other meeting, in contrast, was all "hail fellow, well met!"

The hall was crowded, and it was extremely noisy from the babble of voices filled with confidence, and the lights in the place virtually were dimmed by the fierce light of determination in the eyes of the participants.

On every chair there was hate literature—hate the Supreme Court, hate the moderates, hate the "enemy" (though it never was clear who the enemy really is) and hate, of course, the Negro who dares seek equality.

On the stage, the Confederate flag had a much more prominent position than the flag representing the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and America, the beautiful. And when the meeting opened, marching feet of the "platform guests" beat out their rhythm to the blaring music of "Dixie" as they paraded grandly to the stage.

The speaker exuded great confidence as he paused on each innuendo for applause—and sure enough, it filled the hall right crescendo for another interruption —the taking up of the collection.

Money—the nonclinking kind—poured into collection plates passed by men wearing white armbands. Green, it was, and in various denominations. It stacked high on the plates as they were carried proudly to the chairman.

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* * *

**FOR INSTANCE,** Florida will face its first integration of a public school next Fall. The Council on Human Relations quietly is working to make sure that the transition will be free of violence. To do so will take weeks of spreading understanding, of encouraging courage, of being on the lookout for brooding resentment awaiting the moment to explode.

If this transition is not painless; if the forces of resistance and violence triumph and cause the Governor to have to close the school, then Florida could go the way of Virginia and Arkansas.

That way is well known. Industry seeking new sites for expansion avoided these states in 1958. They avoided them because the personnel of industry demands public schools free of discord for their children. Industry itself demands a climate where it is assured of a labor supply devoid of emotional conflict. It knows, as the Perrow Commission in Virginia stated: "The culture and the economy of our state are directly geared to the educational attainments of our people."

This is as true of Florida as of Virginia; its culture, its economy, its very future are geared to the preservation of the enlightenment that can be assured only in education for all its children.

If the forces of hate triumph—if "Dixie" drowns out "America, the Beautiful" in Florida—that education for all would receive the death knell.

* * *

**BUSINESSMEN**—bankers, merchants, hotel and motel operators—should get behind the Florida Council on Human Relations. They should pitch in and wipe out its deficit, and then subscribe regularly to its financial upkeep. They should join one of the chapters—they're in Florida's major cities and many outstanding citizens now belong—and add their moral support to the financial support.

The financial help will be the best investment for the future they could make, and the moral support would erase the fear of standing in that place which hate scorns.

Surely, that place appeals to the majority of Florida's citizens. When they stand up courageously to be counted, hate will be overwhelmed by the numbers, and it will lose its unholy confidence.

# *Florida Council on* HUMAN RELATIONS

DEDICATED TO THE SEARCH FOR TRUTH, AND THE FREEDOM OF MANKIND

213 N. E. 2ND AVENUE
MIAMI, FLORIDA

PHONE FR 9-4145

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Teacher, Miami

Dear Friend:

If Florida is to retain its reputation as a progressive state, devoted to the principles of democratic government, then the people who subscribe to this philosophy must go to work.

I hope you read the enclosed editorial reprint which is a clear warning of how forces which are destructive of this philosophy are at work, and of the dangerous times just ahead. If you subscribe to the belief that we'd better start financing "love," I hope you will investigate further the work of the Florida Council on Human Relations, and decide to give the organization a helping hand.

We are in great need of help to meet our present operating deficit. Actually, we need now at least 100 people who will contribute $100 each, or 200 people who will contribute $50 each to clear the deficit. And then, of course, we need people who will subscribe regularly to our efforts to ease Florida through the tense period ahead so it may be kept free of ugly discord other states have suffered.

Contributions in any amount will be welcomed at the headquarters listed abcve.

Cordially yours,

Dr. Hal G. Lewis,
President.

# REPORT FOR JUNE, 1959

Florida Council on Human Relations

Dade County Council on Community Relations

DADE COUNTY

Stalled Executive Committee:

The County Commission has continued to drag its feet in completing their appointments to the Executive Committee. They committed themselves to such action many weeks ago, but only three of the eleven appointments have been made to date.

Two Notes on Housing:

a. Slum Clearance. The State legislature once more killed hopes for federal assistance under the Urban Renewal program, but Metro began discussing a "do-it-yourself" program, asking the new director of planning to draw up a minimum housing standard ordinance "with teeth in it". However, until we are able to tap federal funds, any approach to this tough problem will be severely limited.

b. Changing Neighborhoods. Mr. Lonnie Perry, a Negro, moved into a previously all-white neighborhood, and shortly thereafter a cross was burned in his yard. A few days later his home was stoned. The Perrys bought their home with the understanding that this was to be a colored neighborhood (a new apartment house two doors away is supposed to be for Negro tenants.) Nothing further has occurred, so perhaps the transition is proceeding quietly. Your Executive Director visited the Perry home and found Mrs. Perry to be a very unassuming, mature individual and the mother of five children. The Perrys had disposed of accummulated trash, making a hit with their white neighbors and improving the appearance of their home. It seemed obvious that the Perrys' primary interest was that of improving housing for the family.

More Threats of Violence:

Several synagogues received telephone threats of bombing and two Coral Gables teenagers were taken into custody after throwing a "cherry bomb" at a synagogue in the Gables. The authorities commendably regarded this as a very serious matter. So long as such threats continue we cannot afford the luxury of a complacent attitude.

Miami Springs Golf Course:

"Since Negroes have been permitted to play daily our revenue has increased almost $30,000. a year. There have been no incidents since the integration". This statement was made by the manager recently, and indicates the current status of this situation.

Religious Practices in the Schools:

Because this issue has become a Jewish-Christian controversy in other communities and because suit has been brought contesting religious practice in Dade County schools, we took the initiative in bringing together some Christian leadership for a session with Mr. Leo Pfeffer who is something of an authority on the subject, employed in the national office of the American Jewish Congress. An additional session with the new executive of the Council of Churches, Mr. Don Swanson, was arranged to further interpret the role of the DCCCR; namely, that of helping to maintain communication between those who differ in order that there may be no break-down in the relations between Christians and Jews. Mr. Swanson will be of infinite help, demonstrating a welcome degree of maturity.

DADE COUNTY

Religious Practices in the Schools: (cont'd)

We have purchased for local distribution one dozen copies of a booklet recently published by the Fund for the Republic. It contains four treatments which throw a good deal of light both pro and con.

KKK:

For the first time in years Bill Hendrix came to Miami for some kind of meeting.

STATE OF FLORIDA

Board of Directors Meeting:

Two major items on the agenda were the relation of local councils to the state body, and finances. A committee submitted recommendations for strengthening the state-local tie and these were accepted by the Board.

A discussion of finances resulted in an additional two-fold effort. An editorial from the Daytona News-Journal is to be mailed to a new list of prospects with an appeal for funds. In the Fall a series of meetings around the state will be held to generate further support.

Workshop - University of Florida:

This workshop was jointly sponsored by the College of Education, the Anti-Defamation League and the Florida Council on Human Relations. It was devoted to problems confronting teachers and community leaders in the field of human relations in Florida. We are quite pleased with the outcome.

Speaking Engagements:

1. Riverside Methodist Church - Miami
2. Attended Police Community Relations Conference worked up by the National Conference of Christians and Jews and the University of Miami.

University of Florida:

Five more Negroes have qualified for admission to the Graduate School.

Wm K Williams

WILLIAM K. WILLIAMS,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

FINANCIAL REPORT FOR JUNE, 1959

| | |
|---|---|
| **Income** | |
| Contributions | $ 283.00 |
| Memberships | 189.00 |
| New South | 46.00 |
| | $ 518.00 |
| **Disbursements** | |
| Off. supplies | $ 3.34 |
| Rent | $ 20.00 |
| Postage | $ 11.78 |
| Payroll | $ 556.05 |
| Travel | 6.70 |
| Entertainment | 10.80 |
| Memb. Program | 62.00 |
| Printing | 11.88 |
| | $ 681.55 |
| Bal in the bank as of 6/1 | $ 44.14 |
| Income | $ 518.00 |
| | $ 562.14 |
| Disbursements | 681.55 |
| | $-119.41 - (covered by temporary loan) |

**Bills Due**

| | |
|---|---|
| Int. Revenue | $ 441.48 |
| Telephone | 63.83 |
| New South | 180.91 |
| Rent | 189.20 |
| Off. Suppl. | 88.68 |
| Equipment | 166.00 |
| Salaries | 602.27 |
| Travel | 326.59 |
| | $2058.85 |

NEED WE SAY MORE?

We have more copies of the enclosed editorial. If you can send some to prospects known to you, please let us know immediately how many you can use ---

# REPORT FOR JULY, 1959

Florida Council on Human Relations
Dade County Council on Community Relations

INTERRELIGIOUS WORKSHOP - sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League, Florida Council on Human Relations, the Student Religious Association of the University of Florida and the various religious groups on the campus - This workshop, like the one held in June, was the result of the initiative of Arthur Spiegel of the ADL. Since there has been difficulty in scheduling interreligious conferences in recent years, this effort seems especially worthwhile. One of the high points was an explanation of some of the articles associated with the Jewish faith by a student who also demonstrated their use. This was done with such competence that it really registered. This same kind of workshop is to be repeated next year, and it is hoped that we can do something elsewhere as well (perhaps Dade County).

NEW HATE CAMPAIGN - The Dade County Property Owners Association has launched an anti-Metro move. Obviously fishing for an issue to keep his organization alive, David Hawthorne is seeking support for a recall of all eleven Metro Commissioners. In addition to this, he hopes to get the State Legislature to give the people of Dade County an opportunity to vote Metro out. In spite of the distribution of 7,000 (according to Mr. H.) copies of anti-Metro materials produced elsewhere, response has been so limited that he feels the main push will have to wait until October 15th when new tax bills will be mailed. So far this does not appear to be a really serious threat, but will need to be watched.

ORCHARD VILLA - Apparently this school will be desegregated when it opens on September 8th. Thus far there is not the slightest murmur of resistance. It has not even been mentioned at the last three meetings of the Hawthorne group. Dr. Joe Hall, County Superintendent of Schools, will be meeting with the DCCCR Executive Committee in August to help us determine the role of the DCCCR. We have already convened some youth workers to discuss the picture relative to youngsters, and several other possible actions will be analyzed.

CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP being planned by the Methodist Students Movement in Florida. Your Executive Director is on the Planning Committee and is one of the resource persons for the conference.

NOTE ON FINANCES - The mail campaign outlined at the last Board Meeting has been carried forth with some results. In addition to this, Jane Leeds, who attended the Fisk Institute on Race Relations the first half of July and vacationed the second half, is responsible for bringing in an anonymous contribution from a Dade County individual in the amount of $2,000. This sum of money was obviously a life saver, but it will be necessary to continue the campaign in order to become solvent ------financial statement attached. (PLEASE NOTE- the anon. gift will appear on August statement.)

JULY 26TH - Rumors of possible violence between Castro and Batista sympathizers caused some concern. However, they were refuted by the statements and actions of our Cuban residents. Not a single incident occurred. Nevertheless, the police department took precautions and your Executive Director spent part of Saturday and Sunday at police headquarters.

REPORT ON INTIMIDATION, REPRISAL AND VIOLENCE recently published by the Southeastern Office of the American Friends Service Committee, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America, and the Southern Regional Council, was distributed to a list of state legislators. This was a joint project of the ADL, The American Jewish Committee and the FCHR.

(cont'd)

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR JULY, 1959 (FCHR - DCCCR)

Income

| | |
|---|---|
| Southern Regional Council | $ 875.00 |
| Contributions | 287.50 |
| Memberships | 56.00 |
| New South | 24.00 |
| | $1242.50 |

Disbursements

| | |
|---|---|
| Office Supplies | $ 28.42 |
| Telephone | 125.30 |
| Rent | 119.90 |
| Postage | 33.54 |
| Payroll | 255.91 |
| Travel | 8.24 |
| Entertainment | 3.30 |
| | $ 574.61 |

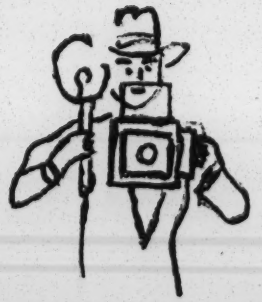
| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Balance as of July 1st | MINUS | $ 119.41 |
| Income | | 1242.50 |
| | | $1123.09 |
| Disbursements | | 574.61 |
| | | $ 548.48 |

Bills due (as of August 13th)

| | |
|---|---|
| Office Supplies | $ 103.32 |
| Books | 7.34 |
| Equipment | 166.00 |
| New South | 184.00 |
| Travel - WKW | 319.64 |
| - JBL | 124.91 |
| Salaries - WKW * | 1660.00 |
| JBL | 775.35 |
| | $ 3340.56 |

* error in computing this figure last month

William K. Williams, Exec. Dir.



HOLD IT !

Stay just as you are - a paid member of the FCHR ---

Your past investment in the Council has paid off handsomely, so surely you'll want to send more good money after good.

Your membership expires _____ Your dues are $_____

Send to: Florida Council on Human Relations
213 N. E. Second Ave.,
Miami 32, Fla.

_____
(please sign here)

# I WOULD LIKE TO HELP -

Please accept the enclosed check:

- as a contribution

- as a membership
  ($5.00 single membership)
  ($7.50 joint membership)

- as an anonymous gift

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

_____

MAIL TO: FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
213 N. E. Second Ave.,
Miami 32, Fla.

I WOULD ESPECIALLY LIKE TO SUPPORT

- further preparation of communities in Florida for facing eventual desegregation of the schools.

- continued exploration of problems of Spanish speaking persons.

- special conferences of key leadership - religious and civic, around current needs and prospects.

- the circulation of educational materials and information.

*the courts here. The Council is taking steps to keep this issue from becoming divisive and destructive.*

**RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP**

*An annual "Introduction to Dade County" for new clergymen has been established to help acquaint them with the community's resources and to assist them in more quickly becoming a part of the community's functions.*

**IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO FURTHER THIS EFFORT**

*Membership in the Council is open to both individuals and organizations.*

*Since a large share of our program depends on this kind of support for its very existence it is vital that every concerned person and group participate.*

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____

INDIVIDUAL $5.00 ☐ JOINT $10.00 ☐

ORGANIZATIONAL $25.00 ☐

Check enclosed ☐ Bill me ☐

Send to: Dade County Council on Community Relations
213 N. E. 2nd Avenue
Miami 32, Florida

*OFFICERS*

*Chairman.....Senator Harry P. Cain*
*Vice-Chairman .....Samuel Cohen*
*Neal Rutledge*
*Secretary.....Mrs. Charles Mitchell*
*Treasurer.....Miss Eulalie Ginn*

*Executive Director.....Wm. K. Williams*
*Executive Asst.....Jane B. Leeds*

# PROGRESS REPORT

The Miami Herald

**Collins Urges: Save The Public Schools**

**Explosion Is Heard Over City**

Temple Beth El Loss Is $30,000

**Dynamite**

**Miamian Seeks Firm Halt To Religion in Dade Schools**

THE MIAMI NEWS

**Dade Council Moves To Keep Schools Open**

**Bomb**

**Fight School Suit**

**Cuban Says Prayer**

**Blasts**

**Miami Not Safe Place**

**Council To Study Ways To Prevent Bombings**

DADE COUNTY COUNCIL ON COMMUNITY RELATIONS

213 N.E. 2ND AVENUE

MIAMI, FLORIDA

*The Council is a quasi-official body, created to coordinate and make full use of the potentials of community organizations in matters affecting the relations of the people in this county. It only undertakes itself those projects for which there is no already existing resource. Thus most of its achievements are likewise the achievements of community groups and departments of local government.*

## CONVENTIONS

★ *When the National Education Association held its annual convention, a non-segregated affair, on Miami Beach, the Council was asked to help in an advisory capacity.*

★ *In September, 1953, the National Baptist Convention, with 15,000 Negro delegates, was held in Miami. Faced with inadequate housing and poor facilities for such a large group, the Baptists turned to the Council for help; and through their efforts more than enough housing was obtained. Because of the foresighted precautions taken by the Council, there were no negative incidents during the five day period, and the Miami Herald editorialized "... The Dade County Council on Community Relations played a praiseworthy and notable role in getting the convention off on the right and frictionless foot."*

## SCHOOL PROBLEMS

*When some problems related to migrant children threatened to disrupt the Redlands area the Council studied the situation and came up with a plan which was accepted by the Board of Education, and met the needs.*

## COMMUNITY AUDIT

*With some 13 other community organizatiins a check-up survey on the status of human rights in Dade County was undertaken. This was part of the international observance of the Tenth Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The report, summarizing "Assets" and "Liabilities" drew attention to gains constructively made and to problems remaining in need of attention.*

## OUR SPANISH SPEAKING RESIDENTS

*Perhaps the fastest growing segment of Dade County's population is that which is made up of people who come from Spanish speaking backgrounds. Nearly 100,000 such persons are now living here. The Council has begun an examination of possible problems facing these citizens in the interest of once more assisting in the harmonious assimilation of a group whose talents and backgrounds will enrich the life of this community.*

## MORE SCHOOL PROBLEMS

*Realizing that some day our schools might be desegregated the Council has endeavored to prepare the community in the following ways:*

- *Conferences with parents, teachers, youth-serving agencies, PTA workers, businessmen, police officials, and others to quietly raise pertinent questions and share important information.*
- *Public programs using guest speakers, films, panels, dramatizations, and other methods to share the experiences of other communities where this process has already begun.*
- *Helped establish a monthly meeting of the staff persons of human relations agencies to pool professional insights and information and to make the best use of these valuable resources.*
- *Conducted neighborhood meetings to give residents an opportunity to face up to current problems together.*
- *Helped to disseminate the varied and valuable printed materials which have been produced as a result of the experience of other communities.*
- *Worked to maintain solid communication between the various groups of the community.*

## RELIGION

*Religious differences have traditionally been exploited by those who profit from an atmosphere of suspicion and hostility A suit contesting religious practices in the public schools is currently before*

# A FACT SHEET — of helpful information on "Schools in Transition"

DADE

COUNTY

COUNCIL ON

COMMUNITY

RELATIONS

The Supreme Court Decision -

The Supreme Court of the USA handed down a decision on May 17th, 1954, which is one of the most important rulings in its long history. The Supreme Court ruled that segregated public educational facilities are "inherently unequal". This ruling was a reaffirmation of a moral principle that has led to a new law in our land. The moral principle is the same one that justified the abolition of slavery. The Supreme Court reasoned that segregated "educational facilities" are "inherently unequal" not because of the actual differences in facilities, great as they are, but because they are inherently cruel, unjust and degrading to the group discriminated against. Even if the Negro schools were better than those set aside for whites, segregation is still degrading for the same reason that a well fed slave still remains a slave.

The Supreme Court has on several occasions subsequent to the 1954 ruling reiterated its ruling urging compliance "with all deliberate speed".

We have seen since the 1954 decision over 1000 school districts and more than two thirds of the tax supported colleges and universities in the South desegregated. School administrators universally have attested to the success of their programs. The following southern states have as yet taken no steps toward compliance with the law; South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama.

Balance Sheet

THE POSITIVE SIDE -

Louisville, Kentucky - a growing city of over 400,000, very strongly southern in tradition and culture. A completely system wide change in the schools proved most effective and today we see operating an integrated system most successfully.

St. Louis, Missouri - Rapid desegregation shortened the period of anxiety and stress and gained general community acceptance in a short period of time.

Baltimore, Maryland - Pride of successful accomplishment is so very apparent that it has proved to be a stimulating and positive experience to the community.

Washington, D.C. - Plan so well received that it has been termed by the Washington Supt. of Schools as a "Miracle of Social Adjustment".

In hundreds of other communities throughout the south we have also seen the desegregation process a most simple one, minus the fanfare of violence and intimidation.

In many communities the role of community groups in preparation for the transition has been cited as an important one.

"I believe ministers and lay church leaders made the greatest contribution in getting the general public to accept desegregation", stated one Kentucky Supt.

"No community should overlook involving labor unions, for this is a way of reaching a most important population segment", a recent survey of an education fraternity advised.

Mrs. Herbert Zimmerman, President of the Louisville Council of P.T.A.s, put it this way, "Our job in P.T.A. is to work for harmony among parents toward desegregation. We should emphasize to them that all races can work cooperatively and effectively. Our aims are the same - better schools, adequate pay for teachers, and the welfare of all our children."

In St. Louis the League of Women Voters, Nat'l Conference of Christians and Jews, Mayor's Commission on Human Relations, Urban League, the City-Wide Parents and Patrons Organizations and Alliances, etc., carried on a variety of educational programs. "With community leaders, agencies, and opinion-forming organizations working in the community, school officials were left free to work with pupils, teachers and parents."

THE NEGATIVE SIDE -

Little Rock, Arkansas - four schools closed for a period duration of the school year.

Virginia - thirteen schools closed for a full semester.

A loss of almost two million school days.

A complete breakdown of educational processes, loss of many qualified experienced teachers, migration of students to other locations to secure the education that they couldn't possibly receive in their own communities. Students dropping out of schools, never to return!!! Serious curtailment of local business expansion - Loss of industry and commercial establishments in both Virginia and Little Rock. Fine buildings with fully equipped laboratories standing empty while students used makeshift quarters.

Violence - Reprisal and Intimidation!!!

Growth of forces advocating lawlessness - and violence - Bombings of homes, schools and synagogues - Tremendous growth of membership in "hate" organizations- distribution of quantities of racist propaganda.

## HOW CAN WE INSURE THAT SCHOOL OPENINGS IN TRANSITION AREAS WILL BE PEACEFUL ONES???

### Combat Rumors -

Rumor plays a role in creating disturbances. We may combat rumors by the following means:

Acquaint yourself fully with the problem so that you may correct distortions immediately.

Attempt to lead the group towards a comprehensive discussion of the concerns which may have been expressed in the "rumor" situation.

### Encourage Programming Which Frankly Faces The Issue -

Utilize the resources of community relations groups as much as possible in programming with your group. Sometimes a film will be very timely - book reviews, panels, etc. (See bibliography at end of this statement.)

Arrange your programs in such a matter as to encourage normal activities which may perhaps be conducted on an inter-racial basis. These exchanges may be through debates on current issues, discussion groups, exchange visits, sports, etc. etc.

DO NOT attempt to create artificial situations for purposes of discussing integration, or attempt to force the issue on an unwilling audience.

### Help Disseminate Informational Materials -

The bibliography on the next page is but a sampling of many good publications. They can be useful, both to groups and to individuals.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

(All materials may be secured from the Dade County Council on Community Relations
213 N. E. Second Avenue
Miami, Fla. (FR 9-4145)

| | |
|---|---|
| A Study on Teacher Integration (Louisville Defender series) | .10 |
| St. Louis Story - by Bonita Valien | .35 |
| Miracle of Social Adjustment - by Dr. Carl Hansen | .35 |
| Action Patterns in School Desegregation by Dr. Herbert Wey | $1.00 |
| The Truth About Desegregation in Washington's Schools | .05 |
| The Louisville Story - by Omer Carmichael | .50 |
| Prejudiced: How Do People Get that Way? (with discussion guide) | .25 |
| What We Know About Race, by Ashley Montague (with discussion guide) | .25 |
| Violence - Intimidation and Reprisal | .35 |
| New South - periodical of Southern Regional Council | - no chge for single copies |
| A Background on School Desegregation for 1959-60 | 1.00 |
| Desegregation in the Baltimore City Schools | - no chge for single copies |
| Education in a Transition Community, by J. Grambs | .25 |
| The "Rumor Clinic" - 35 mm. filmstrip - audience participation program with discussion guide | - on loan - no chge |
| High Wall - 16mm. sound film with discussion guide | - on loan - 1.00 |

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Additional materials are available through:

Anti Defamation League
330 Seybold Building
Miami

American Jewish Congress
Congress Building
Miami

The American Jewish Committee
Congress Building
Miami

National Conference of Christians & Jews
Calumet Bldg.
Miami

Lea Smith
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

MONTHLY REPORT TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
OF THE FLORIDA COUNCIL - MARCH

Miami - Meetings attended: WSCS Kendall Methodist Church regarding possible membership of their organization in our Dade County Council.

Conference relative to Committee for presentation of a picture of what it means to be a Spanish-speaking resident in Dade County. Chief Headley (City of Miami Police) and Dr. William Stein (University of Miami Sociology Dept.) both will serve.

Arranged luncheon for the NAIRO man (John Lassoe), and Stanley Leibner, the interne working with us this year. Several local executive committee members attended.

Conferred with: Sheriff Kelly and Dr. Cato (Dade County Health Dept.), for support of our investigating Spanish-speaking residents; Chief Headley, relative to the dynamiting of Temple Beth-El; Mr. Henry Fox, Principal of an elementary school and Chairman of the Permanent Program Committee of the State PTA.

An attack on the plank of our permanent platform endorsing the UN has been successful, the American Legion and White Citizens Council struggling for its elimination.

Two conferences with fund raisers were held to discuss possible programs for raising money.

Spoke to: Wesley Foundation of the University of Miami; panel at Plymouth Congregational Church; the Ethical Society.

Hollywood - Attended the district meeting of the PTAs to observe the attack on the UN plank. This particular battle was decided in our favor but more will be heard from the segregationist forces.

Ft. Pierce- A new council is under way, thanks to the energies of Dr. James Howard.

Leesburg - Attended the Methodist Student Movement Conference as a resource person.

Gainesville - Attended the Institute on Human Relations held by our Gainesville Council.

HAPPENINGS AROUND THE STATE

The dynamiting of Temple Beth-El in Miami does not seem to be related to experiences elsewhere though the evidence is not conclusive by any means. This congregation has no rabbi and has not participated in any controversial community activities. This, of course, creates a number of questions which, to date, must go unanswered.

Sheriff Willis McCall has come under criticism from the State Auditing Dept. Seems as though some are wondering - "Does crime pay?"

The effort of the State Legislature Committee to convict persons of contempt has been stalled. Judge Ray Pearson has delayed further hearings pending a decision of the State Supreme Court in the case which questions the legitimacy of the Investigating Committee itself.

(cont'd)

HAPPENINGS AROUND THE STATE (CONT'D)

In West Palm Beach a long discussed dream has finally begun to materialize as a $350,000,000. expansion program has gotten underway. This will increase the size of West Palm Beach by half and substanially increase the housing opportunities available to Negroes.

Governor Collins banned Klan parades. Correspondence with an editor on the west coast assesses such parades as the final twitchings of the dragon's tail.

FINANCIAL SUMMARY - MARCH 1ST TO APRIL 1ST.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Income - | Memberships | $ 150.00 | Expenditures - | Office Supplies | $ 1.42 |
| | Contributions | 1100.00 | | Rent | 186.20 |
| | New South | 22.00 | | Printing | 76.22 |
| | Marion Wright (speech) | 100.00 | | Payroll | 283.08 |
| | Refunds | 38.19 | | Books | 7.50 |
| | Benefit | 191.00 | | Travel | 172.03 |
| | Sale of Literature | 3.00 | | Benefit | 205.00 |
| | | $1604.19 | | | $931.45 |

As of April 7, 1958 - balance in bank - $993.99

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Bills due: - | Office Supplies | $ 17.54 |
| | Advertising | 4.90 |
| | Audit | 125.00 |
| | Telephone | 40.01 |
| | Wm. K. Williams (Travel) | 167.65 |
| | | $ 355.10 |

SRC Florida

# Newsletter

Vol. 1 FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS No. 1
324 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida

February, 1956

BRAND NEW !!

This is the beginning of an effort to keep in closer touch with you. For the present we expect to send it out every other month. Your comments will be welcomed.

ANNUAL MEETING NOTES

Held in Daytona Beach, Feb. 4, 1956
Morning session- News-Journal Bldg
Lunch and afternoon session at Bethune Cookman College.

Attendance- a surprise- over 50.
Spirit- couldn't have been improved !

Miss Irene Osborne, American Friends Service Committee, who worked on de-segregation in Washington D.C. for 4 years-

"Desegregation of public schools is giving America's children, both white and Negro, greater stature, dignity, and values."

"The frightening thing in the South is not integration but resistance to integration." Urged Council members not to expend their energies in debate with people violently opposed but rather to begin with people already "near by" in thought and attitude.

"In how many counties in Florida do the School Boards think <u>everybody</u> is against integration?"

"Segregation may injure the hearts and minds of children in a way which may may never be undone- - - integration is giving the child a more democratic experience."

TREASURER'S REPORT & FINANCIAL OUTLOOK

(which we can report only very generally, in well rounded numbers )

Since August 15, 1956- Income:

| | |
|---|---|
| From Southern Regional Council | $6,500 |
| From own efforts | 1,000 |
| Total | $7,500 |

Expenditures include office furnishings, travel, rent, printing, deposits, salaries ($5416) and total - - - $7,000

Leaves $2500 minimum to be raised to meet the requirements of aid given by the SRC, by October 1st, 1956.

*Plans* One month (probably April) to be set aside for emphasizing Membership in the FCHR

Each locality to devise its own approach to enlarged memberships.

Aim - 2500 members by October 1, 1956.
5000 members by the following October 1st.

(You will be hearing more about this)

*The Directors Report*

Mr. Roberts - Reviewing the Past.

1. Historical Background of Council.

2. Policy, purpose, method, and general objectives.

3. Structural relationship to other similar agencies in Florida -- Urban League, NAACP and ADL.

4. Criteria for evaluating Council's Progress.

The substance of parts 1 and 2 will be forthcoming in the Council's revised brochure.

Mr. Williams --

Florida segregation laws now declared invalid -- only a question of "when", not "whether" --- unless Florida slides backward, which could happen. Segregation is edging into the political arena -- our contribution of a "calm, studied approach" will be increasingly important, and must be shared by more and more people.

Counties where the advisory committee has been established by the School Board are encouraged by the results -- others are likely to follow suit, and need to be encouraged.

In St. Petersburg the municipal beach and pool have been ordered opened to Negroes -- the case has been appealed.

The Directors have traveled over 8000 miles.
3 new affiliates: Bradenton
Orlando
Jacksonville

others in formative stages.

OBJECTIVES ADOPTED FOR THIS YEAR

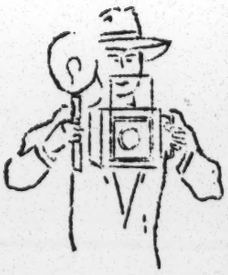
TO TAKE STEPS regarding the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court about segregation with particular emphasis on education and counseling on a local level.

TO MAKE SURVEYS and set up a program to improve opportunities for all people in the areas of education, employment, health, housing, law enforcement, public services and recreation.

TO PROTECT INDIVIDUAL rights and liberties.

OUR BOARD FOR 1956 - 57

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:



Dr. Paul F. Finner, Tallahassee — President Emeritus
Rev. Caxton Doggett, Miami — President
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Prof. A. L. Kidd, Fla. A & M Univ., Tallahassee
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Rev. Edw. T. Graham, Miami
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Rt.Rev.H.I.Louttit, Winter Park
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Mrs. Warren Zeuch, Vero Beach

PUT IN READING FILE

Newsletter
March, 1956

Vol. 1 FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS No. 2
324 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida

## -- THE MEMBERSHIP EMPHASIS --

White Citizen's Councils are growing.

St. Petersburg President says, "Parent Council (in St. Petersburg), has nearly 3,000 members." "The aim is to have 250,000 members in Florida - long before the election!"

Duval County --- "5,000 members by May 1st."

OUR GOAL: 2,500 members this year.

Daytona Beach has set a goal of 200 - already has 38

Your staff is going all out to reach this goal as the first step in making the Florida Council truly representative and effective.

HATS OFF TO MRS. REESE!!!!

Mrs. Mabel Reese, Editor of the Mount Dora Topic, and member of our Board, continues to stand firm in her convictions and continues to suffer for it. Two explosions in her front yard and additional presentations of garbage on the lawn are the most recent gestures of the unseen and unsigned. A distinct challenge to those who let fear replace law and conscience. For $3.00 a year you can get a weekly boost to your morale -- that is the subscription rate!

## -- CAUTION --

Dr. George Mitchell, of the Southern Regional Council, warns that there is evidence that the Communist Party would like to worm its way into the current civil rights issue, and is apt to try to gain a foothold in our organization. Let us be on our guard -- only those genuinely interested in protection of American freedoms will make good members of the F.C.H.R. We will have no part of the Communist program or people!

How far are you willing to go in the struggle for your ideals? One of our members, a teacher, almost lost her job because she defended the Supreme Court decision -- and she refused to "recant" in the face of such a prospect. These are not easy times.

**********

The Duval Study Group on School Problems, new Jacksonville affiliate of F.C.H.R., heard Prof. Ehrmann of the Univ. of Fla. speak on "The Sociology of Integration", last month.

Bill Greenleaf, acting Chairman, also reminded his members of the importance of letter writing during this campaign period. We underscore his emphasis -- our politicos are showing themselves very sensitive to the expressions of the public these days.

As an organization, the Florida Council cannot engage in political endeavors or endorsements. We can, and have, however, expressed disappointment through personal letters to our Senators and Representatives who signed the Southern "Manifesto" recently. We also praised D. B. Fascell, Hollywood, our only Representative with enough courage to refuse his endorsement.

We shall continue to write letters, and we earnestly suggest that you never minimize the importance of your own expression. We cannot engage in an organized letter-writing emphasis -- each person must be alert, therefore, to any occasion which demands attention.

(OTHER GROUPS -- please share news of what you are doing -- we're all interested!)

DID YOU KNOW ----

that once Florida had a Negro State Superintendent of Public Instruction? (J. C. Gibbs, 1873)

that the percentage of Negro teachers having a minimum of four years training exceeds the percentage of the same group of white teachers? More white teachers have MA or better - over 96% of both groups have four or more years. It speaks well for our state system, and our teachers. It is reassuring for the future, too.

that, (despite rumors to the contrary), the value of Negro school property in our state still lags considerably behind that of whites. The last 10 years shows a closing of the gap from a difference of $224 to $145 per pupil enrolled. (All this from last bi-ennial report of State Sup't)

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Anyone NOT receiving "New South" within a month and a half after paying dues, PLEASE COMPLAIN to us -- 324 So. Beach St.

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## --- TWO HISTORICAL SUPREME COURT DECISIONS ---

SEGREGATION: The doctrine of "separate but equal" made its first appearance in the U.S. Supreme Court in 1896 in the case of Pesssy v. Ferguson. Contrary to popular opinion, the case involved transportation and not education, and the Court's opinion regarding education was a supplemental one, illustrating opinions and practices at that time.

Origin of case: Homer Plessy, who was one-eighth Negro and seven-eighths white, had entered a railway coach to travel from New Orleans to Covington, Louisiana. Since Louisiana laws required segregation, the conductor ordered Plessy from the white coach to one for Negroes only. Plessy refused, was arrested and charged with violating the state's segregation statute. Plessy petitioned the La. Supreme Court to prohibit Ferguson, the district court judge, from having the trial on the ground that the law was unconstitutional. However the Louisiana courts upheld the statute, and Plessy appealed to the United States Supreme Court.

The Court (considering schools and transportation to be "social"), with Mr. Justice Harlan potently dissenting, stated:

> "Laws permitting, and even requiring (separation of the races) in places where they are liable to be brought into contact do not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race to the other, and have been generally, if not universally, recognized as within the competency of the state legislatures in the exercise of their police power. The most common instance of this is connected with the establishment of separate schools for white and colored children, which has been held a valid exercise of the legislative power even by courts of states where the political rights of the colored race have been longest and most earnestly enforced."

Mr. Justice Harlan's dissent challenges the assumptions of the majority:

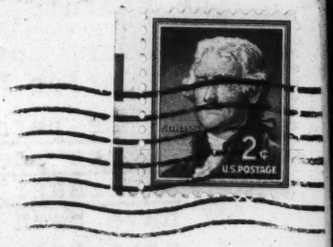
> "But in view of the Constitution, in the eye of the law, there is in this country no superior, dominant, ruling class of citizens. There is no caste here. Our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens.... It is, therefore, to be regretted that this high tribunal, the final expositor of the fundamental law of the land, has reached the conclusion that it is competent for a State to regulate the enjoyment by citizens of their civil rights solely upon the basis of race."

INTEGRATION: The unanimous School Decision by the U.S. Supreme Court on May 17, 1954, totally rejecting the "separate but equal" interpretation of 1896, stated:

> "To separate children from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race, generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely to be undone."... "We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherantly unequal. Therefore we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. This disposition makes unnecessary any discussion whether such segregation also violated the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment."

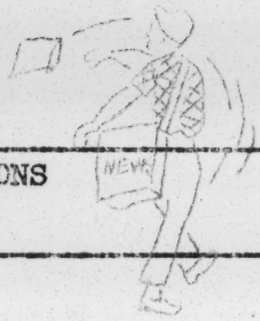
FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
324 S. Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida

DAYTONA BEACH FLA.




Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Rm 432, 63 Auburn Ave, N.E
Atlanta 3, Ga.

NEWSLETTER
What humans are doing
in Florida




Vol. 1 FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS No. 3
324 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida

WE'RE LATE!!!

Shd've had this out in June, and here it is July already....

---

WHAT TO DO ABOUT IT - From a statement by George Mitchell, Dir. SRC.

One blessed thing is that the corn pone curtain has turned to cellophane.... Now the United States as a whole worries about how things are in the South. That's healthy.

As to what to do, one of the first things is to aim our efforts aright. In situations of what is called racial tension, nearly every vague well-wisher says to himself, "My, aren't the white people excited! I'd better go and fan them down." Whereas the real excitement is among the Negro people, and the right thing to do is to help local communities answer the needs and hopes of the people climbing up. Where that is done peace returns; where it is refused, excitement grows.

Negroes have had a long dusty march. And they are still trudging along in the dust. They have heard that the Constitution of the U.S. promises them "equal protection of the laws", and they would like to get that. They collected a lot of two dollarses, and paid them in to the NAACP to get some brilliant Negro lawyers to stand up in front of the nine judges of the US Supreme Court and ask for that equal protection of the laws, And the judges said they were entitled to it. Whereupon some Governors and law officers and politicians mostly in the South said, "Shucks. That don't mean a thing. You boys keep on like you were."

The point is that people are not going to keep on like they were. They wish and can pay for standing as regular Americans.

Paradoxically the present situation has a built-in feature of improvement. In the past, the Negro people have hot been organized and when some were offered employment on the old disrespectful terms, enough would take it so that all had to knuckle under. On this go 'round unanimity of purpose reaches a stage quite like organization.

The thing to do is for white and Negro community leaders, being from each race respected and truly representative people, to sit down together and find the local facts, and agree on a course of action to meet the changes of the times. And wherever that is honorably done the town will be surprised and pleased to find how reasonable, how careful and how workable will be the proposals that will result. If there is what is called "trouble" it will end with some people around a table. Far better if the people gather around the table before, and do what can be agreed upon.

The innermost demand of the Negro people is recognition of equal human dignity. Any community which will contrive to recognize that, publicly and privately, will be notably rewarded. The Negroes will put their shoulders to the wheel. Which is a thing that three centuries of slavery and scorn taught them magnificantly to avoid! And

the towns where the Negro population becomes a participating factor will get ahead; in industry, business, and culture. I expect that a few years from now emissaries will come to some of these better towns, from the ones that stuck with southern tradition, and will ask, "What in the world did you do?" The answer: "We just treated everybody human. And it worked."

---

GOOD NEWS - - - We are reaching goal number one - the establishing of Local Councils on Human Relations. Ten months ago we had 0. As of this moment we have 12, and they cover the state of Florida.

| | |
|---|---|
| Jacksonville (2 actually - a general one for the community at large, and one dealing specifically with school problems.) | |
| Gainesville | Miami |
| Daytona Beach | Orlando |
| West Palm Beach | Bradenton |
| Fort Lauderdale | Tallahassee |
| Tampa and Pensacola ) have taken first steps) | St. Petersburg group considering affiliation. |

To achieve this, Bill and Howard have traveled 16,413 miles and attended countless meetings of every conceivable sort. Three cheers for progress,(and please make them loud, so our wives can hear!)

NOW --- WHAT???

1. Implement and expand these groups to make them a real stabilizing influence for our state.
2. Enlarge FCHR membership so that it can survive!

1. LOCAL GROUPS -- WHAT THEY ARE DOING....

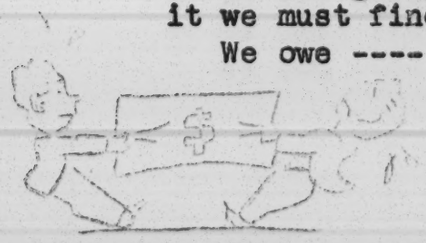
Studying and surveying community attitudes and facilities.
Demonstrating the manner in which Negro and white citizens can meet and "work it out like grownups."
Discovering community "sore spots" and making thoughtful recommendations to the appropriate agencies.
Presenting facts about "race", "prejudice", etc. to their own community.

Each must meet the needs of its own community -- we wont all be doing the same thing, but will be unifying the folks of Florida for continued progress.

2. FCHR -- AT CROSSROADS....

All over the state "old" members are voicing pleasure in the above developments. We all feel that the dreams of these and the folks of the SRC are being fulfilled.

But --- it takes money, and that we ain't had much of! If we are going to keep what we have and make full use of it we must find a lot more folks.



| We owe ---- | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Bill, for travel | $776.37 |
| | Howard, for travel | 180.54 |
| | Dr. Finner, loan | 100.00 |
| | Rent & Bills,(approx) | 150.00 |
| | | $1,206.91 |

At a recent board meeting in Lakeland, a state-wide finance committee was appointed - you'll be hearing from them. Meanwhile you can do vital service by inviting your friends to "join up".

---

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL PROVIDES WORKSHOP FOR OUR BOARD.

Four people - John Hope, II, from Fisk University, Nashville; Fred B. Routh, Ass't Dir. of state organizations, SRC; Lee Coleman, University of Kentucky, Lexington; and Harry Walker, Howard University, Washington D. C. were sent to Lakeland by SRC to consult with us in evaluating our program, Florida Southern College opened its doors to us, and a very helpful time was shared. Shows that SRC is doing all it can to help us, and that there are many concerned and cooperative people in Florida. Also that things can be done when we try.

NINE SOUTHERN CITIES OUST JIM CROW FROM BUSSES...

When the press shared its mistaken impression recently that segregation in intrastate travel was outlawed, strange things happened. Immediate "compliance" was ordered in several bus companies, and even after the mistaken interpretation was corrected, some felt the handwriting was still apparent on the wall. In Richmond, Norfolk and Portsmouth, Virginia; in Knoxville, Chattanooga and Nashville, Tennessee; in Hot Springs and Little Rock, Arkansas; restrictions were dropped -- and the process went smoothly. While Montgomery lay in travail; Florence, Alabama dropped segregation and discovered that it actually improved things! Some are hiring Negro bus drivers -- something which the Daytona Beach Company has done for years. Meanwhile, a bus company in Tallahassee has been forced out of business by its failure to recognize the trend of the times.

---

Did you read Dr. Lewis Killian's lead article in this month's New South? One of our own, (on faculty, FSU), gives penetrating analysis of our current situation -- don't miss it.

---

AN IMPORTANT CONTRAST:

In 1896 (Plessy vs Ferguson) the Supreme Court said, "We consider the underlying fallacy of the plaintiff's argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority."

A little more than fifty years later - during which time a world revolution in communication and travel occurred, and man's understanding of himself and his universe took equally dramatic surges in new directions, the Supreme Court said, "To separate them (Negroes) from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority... that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."

We would be shocked if a physician proposed to treat us after the fashion of 1896, ignoring all subsequent developments in the field of medicine -- we should be equally shocked at current suggestions that our highest authority, the Supreme Court, limit itself to understandings of a previous century!

# NEWSLETTER

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
324 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida

Vol. 2 No. 1

## ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING CALLED EARLY !!!

(See Page 6)

THE TRUTH ABOUT SEGREGATION

From a sermon by John C. Fuller, Minister,
Unitarian Church of Orlando - Also on our Board!

About 20 years ago there was built in New York City a very tall skyscraper. It was discovered after the building had been finished that it extended on one side a foot onto the ground belonging to its neighbor, an immigrant cobbler. Word of this soon got around and the city was divided pro and con

What could be done? Could the skyscraper be moved? The owners refused. Could someone buy off the cobbler? He was insistent upon his rights. Neither party to the case would budge, and the cobbler sought long his legal rights in court after court. Soon his followers organized the National Association for the Advancement of the Cobbler. This Association helped him appeal the case to the Supreme Court of the United States.

After hearing both sides and deliberating for three years, the Supreme Court finally spoke. All it said, however, in its great decision, was that the very tall skyscraper and the cobbler presented a great problem, but that the skyscraper was in the wrong. The Court did not say what was to be done. Thereupon both sides launched again into controversy, the politicians and newspapers chiding the Nine Old Men; and the National Association for the advancement of the Cobbler was labelled subversive. "Why is it going so fast?" People asked.

A year later the Court finally said what was to be done; that the skyscraper was to be moved "with all deliberate speed," taking into account the enormity of the job. An early start was ordered. "Good Faith Compliance" was required of the owners. In the end it took 15 years before the thing was cleared up." (Footnote - Page 2)

**********

Atlanta, Georgia
August 16, 1956

Dear Mr. Doggett:

Nothing heartens us more than progress in program and sound administration in a State Organization. We get them both from your Florida Council on Human Relations.

George Mitchell, Exec. Director, SRC.

WHAT DID WE ACCOMPLISH LAST YEAR ??????????
(Oct. 1, 1955 - Oct. 1, 1956)

1. Established our state headquarters in Daytona Beach.

2. Created ten new local Interracial Councils on Human Relations and affiliated two already in existence. We are now represented in Bradenton, Cocoa, Daytona Beach, Ft. Lauderdale, Jacksonville, Miami, Orlando, Pensacola, Tallahassee, Tampa, and West Palm Beach. (St. Petersburg will probably affiliate.)

These groups have -

Surveyed attitudes toward segregation in one community to provide a factual basis for working and planning.

presented a plan for de-segregating our public supported schools and universities.

brought to Miami and Daytona Beach for consultation experts and experienced people from already de-segregated communitie

interested a contractor in housing for Negro citizens in Bradenton.

provided a meeting ground for those who would meet the issues of the day on a rational, rather than emotional basis.

demonstrated that white and Negro Floridans can work together harmoniously, discovering the answers to their own community needs.

3. Worked at easing tensions in Delray Beach, Jacksonville, and Tallahassee. In none of these communities have we been as effective as we can be - each continues to challenge us.

4. Been a resource for other groups -- our people and materials have been used all over the state, and the staff has participated in meetings of various sorts with religious and civic groups on more than 100 occasions, giving a <u>better than twice a week</u> opportunity to bring the influence of the council to bear on local situations.

5. We sponsored a conference which brought together representatives of groups concerned with human relations from around the state. The need for a closer working relation was recognized and provision made for continued effort in that direction. Working together, each agency can do a more effective job.

Footnote from Page One --

("Modest John" requested that we acknowledge his debt to the NEW REPUBLIC for the idea he expanded in his sermon reproduced in part on page one. What John does with an idea, tho, is amazing!)

## FINANCIAL STATEMENT

### INCOME:

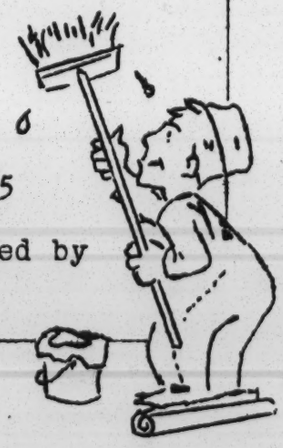
| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Loan | | $ 200.00 | |
| Grant - Fund for the Republic | | 12,500.00 | |
| Memberships & contributions - Dade County area | | 2,336.32 | |
| Contributions: | | | |
| Southern Regional Council | $1,324.25 | | |
| Organizations | 209.00 | | |
| Individuals | 734.96 | | |
| | | 2,268.21 | |
| Memberships | | 1,162.00 | |
| Subscriptions to New South | | 646.00 | |
| Miscellaneous | | 12.03 | |
| TOTAL RECEIPTS | | | $19,124.56 |

### DISBURSEMENTS:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Accounts payable Oct. 1, 1955 | | $ 383.97 | |
| Sala ries | | 12,500.00 | |
| Expenses, Dade County | | 2,336.32 | |
| Travel | | 489.01 | |
| Subscrip tions to New South | | 595.50 | |
| Office Expenses | | 1,195.60 | |
| Printing, Subscriptions, etc. | | 464.92 | |
| Miscellaneous | | 237.43 | |
| TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS | | | $18,202.75 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Accounts Payable Oct. 1, 1956 | | | |
| Travel | $1,181.89 | | |
| Rent | 45.00 | | |
| New South | 50.50 | | |
| Lights, Telephone, etc. | 51.13 | | |
| John B. Orr | 40.00 | | |
| Ditto Machine | 80.00 | | |
| Loan | 100.00 | | |
| Total | $1,548.52 | | |
| Balance in bank Oct. 1, 1956 | | $1,152.45 | |

(The above figures are taken from the audit performed by Derby and Greene, Certified Public Accountants, Daytona Beach)



PLEASE READ THE NEXT PAGE CAREFULLY

*This page is the key to the future!*

**WHAT DO WE NEED FOR THIS YEAR? (Oct. 1, 1956 - Oct. 1, 1957)**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Salaries: | | |
| Executive Director | $5,000.00 | |
| Associate Director | 5,000.00 | |
| Secretary | 2,500.00 | |
| Total | | $12,500.00 |
| Travel | | 2,500.00 |
| Indebtedness | | 1,548.52 |
| Office Expenses: | | |
| Rent | $ 540.00 | |
| Postage | 400.00 | |
| Supplies | 400.00 | |
| Lights | 77.00 | |
| Telephone | 300.00 | |
| Total | | 1,717.00 |
| Equipment . . . . . | | 300.00 |
| Printing . . . . . | | 350.00 |
| Literature, Newspapers, etc. . . . . | | 150.00 |
| Audit . . . . . | | 175.00 |
| Miscellaneous . . . . . | | 285.00 |
| Grand Total | | $19,525.52 |
| Carry over to start next year | | 474.48 |
| | | $20,000.00 |

**WHERE MUST THE MONEY COME FROM?**

The financial assistance from the SRC is on a diminishing basis and we are in the last phase of that assistance.

This means:

(a) We will receive less this year than last, and have already become responsible for the salary of our secretary. Consequently, whereas the total budget has been increased very slightly, our share has increased decidedly.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Last year - | SRC | $12,500 |
| | FCHR | 4,088 |
| | Debts | 1,548 |
| This year | SRC | 10,000 |
| | FCHR | 10,000 |

(b) On October 1st, 1957, we will become entirely selfsupporting. Thus we must raise $500 more than we will spend this year in order that some funds will be available for the beginning of the next year.

On the next page the Mayor of Clinton, Tennessee, says that what the FCHR does is the thing needed most, according to their experience

**Clinton Tells South How to Avoid It**

# *Voice of Experience Speaks on Racial Strife*

CLINTON, Tenn.—(AP)—Why did it happen to Clinton?

Townspeople and their leaders are able now to look back on the nightmare of violence over racial integration that filled their tree-shaded streets first with mobs and then with militia and tanks. The Clinton people have thought of some answers.

These add up to Clinton's advice to other communities facing the Supreme Court's mandate to end racial segregation in public schools:

1—Don't waste any time or any opportunity for educating people—all the people you can reach—about the coming change.

**Mayor W. E. Lewallen said, "We thought we had done enough when we set up a sort of committee and talked the situation over with some of the civic clubs and leaders. We were wrong." Events, he observed, have scuttled the old Southern maxim that the less said about race relations, the better.**

2—If you can help it, don't give troublemakers too convenient a target.

D. J. Brittain Jr., principal of Clinton High School, said he thinks integration might have come peacefully to East Tennessee if it had been started simultaneously throughout, say five counties. But his school, under Federal Court order, took the plunge alone—the first state-supported white high school in Tennessee to admit Negroes. "We were right up there to be shot at," Brittain said. "All the violent opponents of integration, not only in the area and even the state, but all over, could concentrate their fire on us."

3—If outside agitators arrive on the scene, stop them before they get started.

**Lewallen, Brittain, Sheriff Glad Woodward and every private citizen of Clinton who was interviewed assigned major blame for the crowd violence to outsiders—especially cavernous-eyed John Kasper of Washington, D.C., executive secretary of the Seaboard White Citizens Council.**

The sheriff granted that it isn't easy to stop agitation without infringing on guarantees of free speech. Authorities tried to stop Kasper's literature distributing and emotional haranguing by charging him with trying to incite a riot. The case failed for lack of evidence. Kasper later went to jail for contempt of Federal Court by violating a restraining order, but the fuse by then was burning short and the explosion came in Clinton almost at once.

Kasper is out on $10,000 bond, pending appeal.

4—Be prepared.

Clinton, a peaceful town of 4,000 where whites and the Negro minority of less than 10 per cent always had kept on good terms, had only nine men in its city police force. The county sheriff's office mustered eight. The crowds that gathered ran into the thousands. Clinton now is organizing a volunteer auxiliary force, to be trained and equipped for crowd handling. The police and sheriff's forces are to be strengthened by six more full-time men each.

**Clinton residents discussed almost unbelievingly what has happened in their town and in nearby Oliver Springs—the breathless night before the guard was called in when a mob rushed volunteer peace keepers on the courthouse lawn; the fights, stonings, telephoned threats and deep abiding animosities. Over and over, they said they never thought integration would fire such passion here, of all places.**

East Tennessee is, of course, in the South. Its metropolis is Knoxville, 20 miles southeast of here. But, as one resident put it, "this isn't Dixie."

This is territory that has consistently sent Republicans to Congress, that was a Civil War stronghold of Union sentiment in Tennessee, that has relatively few Negroes and, thanks to Tennessee Valley Authority and the atomic installations at Oak Ridge, has acquired much recent population from all parts of the country.

And, now, with its backward look filled with no little shame, Clinton is returning to normal. Its 800 students (including a dozen Negroes) are returning to school, and the National Guard has thinned its control force to a token detachment of 50.

## Kentucky Adds Troops

**STURGIS, Ky. —(UP)— National Guard troops and state police deployed reinforcements in western Kentucky Sunday, expecting new outbursts of race trouble at two small mining communities with the reopening of school Monday.**

**Another tank battalion of the Kentucky National Guard, equipped with one light tank, was moved into the trouble area — Sturgis and nearby Clay — Sunday night.**

**At least five Negroes say they will attempt to return to Sturgis High School Monday under the protection of the guardsmen. Two Negroes are due to try it again at Clay.**

* * *


# The Miami Herald

Monday, September 10, 1956 No. 283 *Florida's Most Complete Newspaper* 46th Year 68 Pages 5 Cents

A Latin American Edition is Published Daily



***Read the Advice of***
**THE MAYOR,**
**Clinton, Tennessee**
***Then Ask Yourself,***
"What Can We Do In Florida??"

THE ANSWER—

The Florida Council on Human Relations
Central Office—324 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida

WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT—
The Southern Regional Council

"An able and worthwhile organization working in the field of racial relations. It has no racial tinge, but is, nevertheless, an aggressively energetic coordinating agency."

Ralph McGill

"A spokesman for the area's best traditions of tolerance, humanity, dignity and freedom."

Asheville Citizen

The FCHR (SRC Florida Affiliate)
"Its success and usefulness can be unlimited"

Daytona Beach News Journal

"Best vehicle for solving interracial problems."

I. H. Burney, Jacksonville

WILL YOU INVEST IN FLORIDA'S FUTURE?

Without financial assistance our effort cannot progress. With it, many things become possible.

We Need $10,000.

*Send Contributions to:*

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
324 SOUTH BEACH STREET
DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

# Annual Membership Meeting

**January 15th, 1957**

Bethune-Cookman College

Daytona Beach, Florida

Beginning at 10 AM

Reviewing our efforts: Exec. & Assoc. Directors
Treasurer's Report

Looking ahead: (Mr. Killian and Mr. Routh have been asked to do the following - they haven't had time to reply)

Role of Local Councils:
Lewis Killian, FSU

How it looks from SRC:
Fred Routh

Adjourn for lunch 1:00 PM

Beginning at 2 PM:

Objectives to be adopted:
Miami delegation
Executive Director

Financial Outlook: Chairman, Finance Committee

Dues and Local Councils: Committee report

Recognition of retiring Board Members

Election

Adjournment -- 5:30 PM

**********

Some very important decisions will be made at this meeting -- and <u>you</u> should help make them. The future of the Council depends on how well we plan for it. We can make an historic contribution to our state if we will.

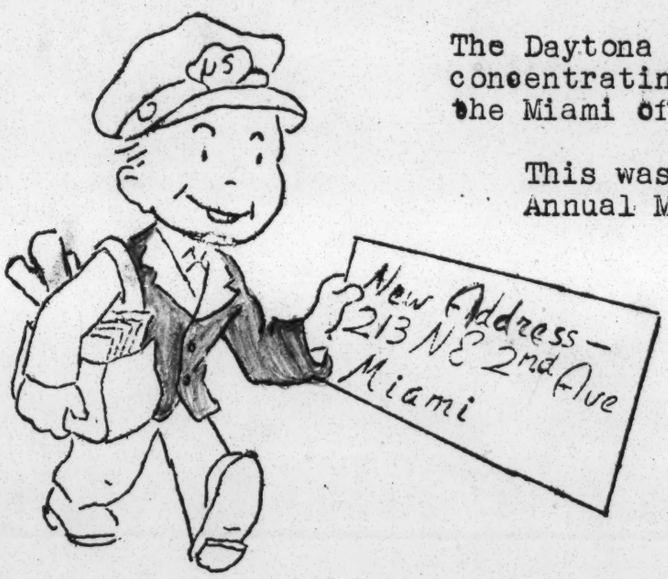
(Do you plan to come? A note will be appreciated)

FILE COPY

# NEWSLETTER

Florida Council on Human Relations

Vol 2 March 1957 No. 2




The Daytona Beach Office has been closed, concentrating our efforts and equipment in the Miami office.

This was decided by the Members at the Annual Meeting, January 15th.

Reasons: 1. More efficient and econom ical operation.

2. Dade County apt to be most logical place for us to concentrate our efforts for the next year. Our Miami affiliate, the Dade County Council on Community Relations, asked that we do this, and events since our meeting demonstrate the wisdom of the choice made. This does not mean that we are to be any less a state organization. It simply means that we have moved our center of operations.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

"The Rev. Caxton Doggett, President, announces that he has received the resignation of Howard Roberts as Associate Director, the resignation taking effect April 1. Mr. Doggett, in receiving the resignation, states that he wishes publicly to thank Howard for his services to the Florida Council. He has made and will continue to make a contribution in the struggle against segregation. We wish him well in whatever work he undertakes."

- - - - - - - - - - - -

The ENCLOSED FOLDER about the Encampment for Citizenship may introduce some young person to the experience of a lifetime. Please look it over carefully and then ask anyone you think might be eligible to get in touch with us- some scholarships are being made available through the SRC again this year. This represents one of the finest opportunities we know of for thinking young people.

TIME'S AWASTIN' * * DON'T PUT THIS OFF!!!!

Next page- - activities of two of our Councils set good example- - - >

THE ORLANDO STORY-

The Inter-Faith Council of Orange County decided that our role of fact finding could serve their own community well, and spent some eight months working at a project which has been well received.

Realizing that we have so few reliable statements of what Negroes are thinking these days that most of our ideas are based on mere conjecture, the Council conducted a survey of Negro opinion guided all the way by professional consultants and carefully maintaining the high standards of the SRC.

This survey revealed a general dissatisfaction on the part of a majority of the Negro population with various general and specific conditions in each of the areas studied. (Economic Opportunity, Housing, Health, Recreation, and Schools.) It also put on record for the first time locally "the fact that the majority of Negroes in this community disapprove of our present segregated situation."

Copies of the survey were personally presented to civic and religious leaders in the interest of making the results available to those whose use of them might best benefit the community. Then the results were released for publication through the FCHR.

Response in Orlando has been most rewarding. The mayor has asked the Council to suggest names for an interracial committee which might serve the city, and it may well be that Orlando will stand out as an area where troublemakers cannot gain a foothold due to diligent and harmonious working together of local people!

Well done, Orlando!

(Full results can be had through our office, of course.)

---

In Jacksonville- "Counsel for the Council"

Feeling the need of a self-inventory and an evaluation of the local situation the Northeast Florida Council on Human Relations conducted a workshop for its members. Friday evening thru Saturday afternoon a careful examination of the Council's role in the community was made under the guidance of consultants from the SRC and Irene Osborne from the American Friends Service Committee. This is a new use of the SRC consultant program, and we are grateful for it!

Out of this workshop has come the basis for planning the next year's program- - we hope other local Councils will want to do a similar thing, and will be most pleased to help in the planning.

A lot of time and energy was given this project by Jax folks- and every bit of it seemed quite worthwhile!!!

A word about $$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$$-

Two urgent needs- FLORIDA NEEDS THE FCHR!!
The most casual look at our situation reveals confusion, anxiety, and outright fear playing havoc with the raw nerves of communities.

THE FCHR NEEDS $$$$$$!!
Our very modest budget must be transformed from a statement on our letterhead to a statement in a bankbook- or else. We have been operating in the red to the extent that almost 20% of your Executive Director's personal income last year was (& still is) tied up in travel expenses.

Come next October 1st we shall be entirely on our own, remember, as SRC assistance ends. That will be "Sink or Swim" Day- hereinafter "SOS" Day!)

Thus the urgency of becoming solvent should be rather obvious.

What we are doing:

1. Economizing in every possible way. After Oct. 1st, for instance, it is planned that the secretary will be jointly employed by the FCHR & DCCCR.

2. Looking for money under every stone! Both individuals and organizations are being contacted. If you know any we may have missed, please send us a note.

What you can do - The most stable support can be found in increased membership. We have grown significantly, but we must find 4 new members for each one of you who presently belong. This can best be achieved thru you. Can you find four more who feel as you do BEFORE SOS DAY ? ? ? ? ?

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

A footnote- Some of you may have seen publicity over charges recently made against our Board member, the Rev. Edward T. Graham. These charges were so unbelievable that his Church, and the Ministerial Alliance he heads, gave an immediate vote of confidence. Your president refused a resignation, exercising very good judgement in the opinion of your Exec. Director. One charge has already been dropped, and it is inconceivable that the one remaining (Drunkenness) could stand in the face of a long personal history of total abstinance. Thus the whole incident will doubtless evaporate, demonstrating that it was without substance from the beginnin g.

Another footnote - In the last Newsletter our Gainesville Council on Human Relations was left out when we listed the rest. I am still blushing, for it has shown a lot of enthusiasm already and has enlisted the support of some very fine people. Dr. Hal G. Lewis, University of Florida, is the President, Rev. A.H. Howell, Mrs. A.G. Ivey, and Dr. E.A. Cosby are Vice Presidents, Bob Potter, Secretary, and L.V. Davis is the go-getting Treasurer!

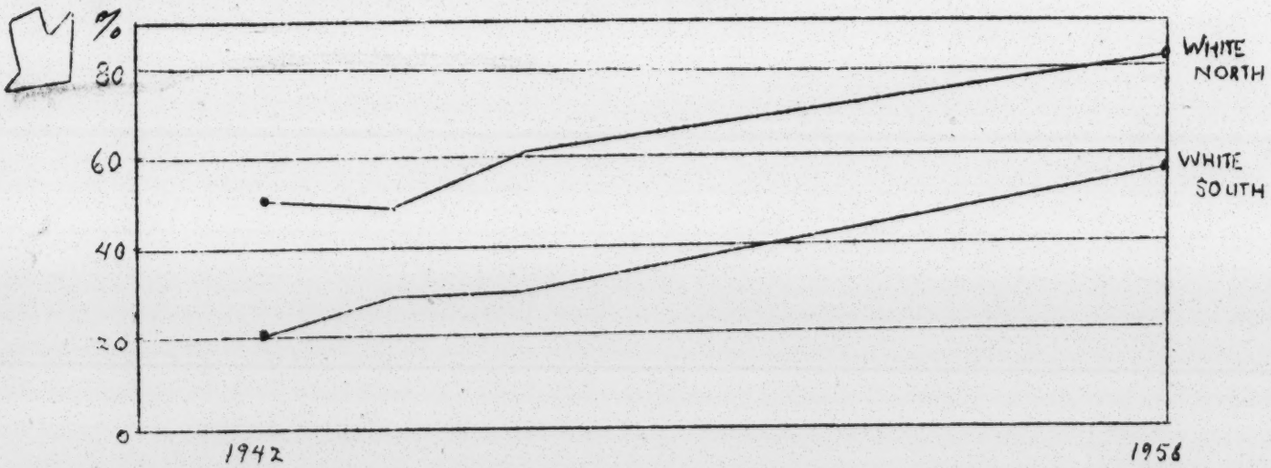
NEWSLETTER

Florida Council on Human Relations
Vol. 2 213 N E 2 Ave, Miami No. 3

## Our Spots Are Changing----
## We Must Be People After All !!!

The National Opinion Research Center has been sampling opinions throughout the nation for the last 14 years. A recent summary presented some most significant findings.

"In general, do you thing Negroes are as intelligent as white people- that is, can they learn things just as well if they are given the same education and training?"




This dramatic shift is fundamental, for the system of segregation has been promoted as a means of protecting the "intelligent" from the "unintelligent"- indeed, even as a means of providing protection for those who were mentally incapable of caring for themselves. Once this basis of the segregated system is recognized as false, the whole pattern is challenged.

Among those who believe that Negroes are as educable as whites, for instance, 58% favor integration of schools. Among those who do not believe this, only 19% favor it. However, in the South the change is slower- some three quarters of those believing the Negroes equally intelligent still lean toward a segregated pattern. Having achieved the first hurdle, they have not yet made the second.

The overall perspective is inspiring to those who experience concern over regional and racial differences.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| In 1942- | less than 1/3 favored school integration | In 1956- | almost half endorse the idea |
| | 2/3 objected to living in the same block with a Negro | | a majority would not object |
| | a majority were for segregated transportation | | 60% reject the idea |
| | only 1 white person in 50 in the South was for school integration | | 1 out of seven |
| In 1942- | 4% of Southern whites favored equal facilities bus | In 1956- | 27% favored this |

Are these real changes, or accidents of the sampling process????? Three separate surveys in 1956 produced almost identical results concerning school integration. All evidence points to a slow, but solid, shift which is neither accelerated nor reversed with any ease.

EDUCATION makes for tolerance- some 61% of the college-educated white population favors school integration; only 35% of those with a grammar school experience do so.

AGE is an important factor- while 53% in the 21 to 24 age group favored integration; 41% in the 65 and above category.

The most striking changes have occured in the South. For every two Northern whites favoring school integration in 1942 there are now three such persons. For every 2 Southern whites favoring it in 1942 there are now <u>fourteen</u>.

For every 6 persons in the North favoring integration of transportation in 1942 there are now 7. In the South, for every 4 such persons in 1942 there are now 27.

Those who did not object residential proximity in the North rose from 42 out of each 100 to 58. In the South the rise was from 12 to 38 out of each hundred.

These shifts in the South encompass a decided minority, but nonetheless indicate that the changes apparent in the rest of the nation are reaching into the South also. Seen in the light of the total picture they are highly significant.

(Summary of above findings presented in Scientific American, Dec. 1956)

BOARD OF DIRECTORS, meeting in Daytona Beach on June 28th-

Applied to SRC for $6,000 grant in aid for the next year.

OKd a general revision of by-laws and charter

Discussed dues and New South, deciding to keep both as they are.

Recommended that all local councils become simply local associations of members of the FCHR, rather than affiliated groups.

Discussed the general program, providing helpful reactions and ideas for yours truly.

DID YOU KNOW ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ?

THAT Desegregated schools are paying a tidy bonus to West Virginia school systems. Each of the 55 county school superintendents reported that eliminating separate school facilities for Negro and white children has saved sums ranging from a few hundred dollars in Lewis County to $250,000 annually in Kanawha County.

(from LET'S BE HUMAN, Natl Labor Service)

THAT On October 19, 1955, the Supreme Court of Florida, by a five to two vote, voided all state statutes and constitutional provisions which prohibited the mingling of the races in the schools supported by tax-raised fund.

THAT A member of the committ ee which drew up our present school assignment law, explaining it to the County Superintendents, stated that the court decision outlawing segregation on a racial basis is "the law of the land. We may not like it, but we have to live by it." He also predicted that the flood of integration could be restrained to a trickle under the new law.

THAT The US Supreme Court recently held for the 22nd time in the last three years that segregation in the schools must go.

THAT The number of school districts desegregating has constantly grown, reaching out toward a thousand at the end of this year.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Segregationists in Florida talk in terms of "when" the inevitable is coming, not "whether" (Sat. Eve Post take note!) Our concern in the FCHR is with the "how" - - - - Will we waste all our energies on delaying tactics, leaving nothing for the actual process when it arrives?

Will we, by the struggle to delay, create an atmosphere in which there is so much hostility that peaceful solutions are to be more and more difficult??

GAINESVILLE REPORTS----- (& look at 'em go!!!

During the last year-

Submitted a proposal for alleviating present tension and promoting rational development of partial de-segregation of schools and colleges to the governor, cabinet, leading officials, and individuals.

Suggested Christmas radio program series and essay contest in schools.

Held a two day Institute on Human Relations, with help from the Southern Region YMCA, involving over 130 people.

Banquet and speaking engagement for Hon. John B. Orr, jointly sponsored with Student Religious Association, with more than 300 attending the banquet!

Started a Newsletter.

Invited a representative of the Citizen's Housing Assoc. of Gainesville to present a report to the membership of the Council.

Submitted a statement regarding publication of Negro news in the Gainesville Sun.

Promoted cooperation between white and Negro PTAs.

Research and Materials committee secured permission to deposit materials for public use in the Gainesville Public Library. (New South particularly)

Distributed FCHR brochures and a letter to some 500 organizations and individuals to promote memberships.

HATS OFF DEPT-

SOLD SOME 500 copies INTEGRATION NORTH AND SOUTH!!! And sold them at a profit, at that, forwarding $50 to us to help pay our bills. Thus they not only promoted a wide distribution of a worthwhile publication, but demonstrated a real enterprising spirit in doing so. (Their price- 50¢ a copy.)

KEEP THOSE HATS OFF-

Jacksonville is not to be left behind- the Northeast Fla. Council responded to our emergency and cut their bank account right in half, sending us $ 172.56! They also have poured on the coal in renewing memberships, and finding new members.

They, too, have a Newsletter going, and a new set of Officers. They are off to a good start for the next year, based on the Workshop reported in our last issue.

HCF
JC
EFV
file

Newsletter

DADE COUNTY COUNCIL ON COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Editor: Gus Jacobson

213 N.E. Second Avenue

Vol. V No. 5
November, 1957

Miami, Florida

FR 3-3443

FLORIDA WITH THAT FORWARD LOOK ********** !! *****

Despite headline scares and legislative actions our state keeps "Looking up on the Human Relations Front". We say let's accentuate the positive.

Do you know:

United Church Women, for the third successive year, met interracially to explore ways of improving group relations. Each of these sessions has been well attended and has resulted in tangible gains.

Other church groups continue to make gains. Methodists met in Daytona Beach recently reaching across racial barriers to bring both clergy and laymen together for the first time in Florida Methodist history. (College students of this denomination have been meeting on an integrated basis for ten years.)

* → Presbyterians(USA) have quietly opened the doors of their Miami churches to all persons. Most churches have adopted a policy of seating worshippers as they come, regardless of color, and many have found it to be the natural way to adjust to the changing times. Episcopalians, of course, look upon this sort of thing as old hat, having desegregated their youth camp two years ago.

In at least two Florida counties the teachers are meeting on an integrated basis for their professional gatherings, orientation programs, etc.

Our president, Neal Rutledge appeared before the School Board and was well received by the community. Newspaper and TV coverage was excellent, helping to convey the central purpose of this action--that the pupil assignment law can be used in a planned program of desegreagtion. Our concern has constantly been that we must face this issue with a sound plan; that only thus can we avoid dirsuption of the community. The absence of any planning by our School Board is a metter of much concern to sound thinking people of our community.

Important Announcement on last page

Governor Collins, who has achieved national status by his continued utterances on how best to achieve good human relations, has expressed similar feelings. He shares Mr. Rutledge's views, as expressed before the School Board, that the pupil assignment law can be used to expedite integration.

We quote from the Southern School News, November 1957:

> 'Governor Collins, in a press conference, said the pupil assignment law, passed to maintain segregation, could also be used to expedite integration.
>
> "It offers a broad field of flexible decision on thepart of local authorities in dealing with the matter of admitting students," Collins said.'

**********

ITEMS OF NOTE--

Several very important meetings took place in our state last week. We think that they are of such significance that we have asked two of the participants to pass their observations on to you...

From the State PTA Convention in Orlando:

Progress made another move foreward at the Florida State PTA Convention at Orlando last week. Inspite of well organized skillfully planned opposition from people in several northern counties, a so called "controversial" plank in the action plank was passed by a margin of about 50 votes.

The original plank of the proposed platform as presented to PTA representatives several weeks in advance of the conference for their study and recommendations called for "intelligent co-operation with schools...toward a just solution to the complex problem of segregation in public schools." On the basis of recommendations from various PTA units the submitted plank was changed to read, "Continued improvement of our public school system by co-operation, when requested, with school and other local officials working toward intelligent solutions of the problems which face the schools.

This was not satisfactory to the ardent segregationists who presented their very strong substitute amendment. However in the final vote respect of law and order and the democratic ideals, rather than those groups whose comments were full of ugliness and hate, won.

The final dicision to many may not appear to be in support of integration but when one considers the climate in which such discussions take place today, one cannot help but feel that the PTA's of our state showed a determination to maintain the public school system and to

(Don't miss that last page!!)

take their stand with those who believe that the best heritage we can give our children is a respect for the "Laws of our Land" and the courts that interpret these laws.

And the Dade County Board of Public Instruction:
Many requests have been made to the School Board by both individuals and groups for opportunities to present their views relative to compliance with the decision of the Supreme Court on segregation. On November 6, three persons appeared before the Board on behalf of complying with the decision:

Mrs. Bernice Ullrich(WILPF)- "By failing to prepare for the orderly transition of integrated schools the board has allowed certain elements to profit from undesirable publicity and do irreparable damage."

Mrs. Clarence Rainwater(Individual)- "An early announcement from the board seems essential. By ignoring the question you are not setting a good example for our children."

Mr. Irving Solomon- "Our schools are public, tax-supported institutions intended for use without regard to race, color or creed."

At this point a delegation from the White Citizens Council demanded an opportunity to speak, and the chairman of the Board agreed that they should be heard even though they had not asked to be on the agenda.

Mr. Hector Fuentes- "What is morally wrong, cannot be politically right."

Mr. David Hawthorne- "We have the names of people advocating integration and these people are going to be taken care of at the proper time...they will be prosecuted for violating state law. Advocating racial integration is the same as breaking into the First National Bank."

Attorney Tom Anderson- "Our children should be our first consideration. Integration will be a disruptive influence bringing violence and bloodshed."

The tone of these statements was reflected in leaflets passed out by the WCC delegation. One of these concluded:

"Ike claims the battle--
For the time bein'--
But God help the niggahs
When the troops start leavin'!"

As an observer we feel it unfortunate that the meetings of the School Board take on such a tone. We feel it is possible to discuss these things in an atmosphere of

honest defference of opinion.

At the conclusion of the above presentations Mr. P., member of the Board, attempted to read a resolution he had prepared on this subject. However, because he had failed to submit it to the members of the board in advance of the meeting, all six voted to talbe it without a public reading.

And a few Announcements--

Glenn Smiley, National Field Secretary of the F llowship of Reconcilliation, who is recognized for his contribution to the successful use of non-violence in Montgomery, Alabama, will be the speaker at the Mt.Zion Baptist Church, N.W. 3rd Ave. and 9th St. at 8:00, Wednesday, November 13.

At the Greater Bethel AME, 243 N.W. 8th St., on November 17 at 4:00, Dr. Rupert J. Picott of Richmond, Va., Executive Secretary of the Virginia Teachers Association, will speak. The program will be sponsored by the Sigma Alpha Chapter of Omega Psi Phi.

********

The bottom half of this page has been left

undisturbed for one important reason---

To attract your

ATTENTION !!!!!!!

AND LEAD YOU SLOWLY BUT FINALLY AND SURELY TO THAT

L'IL 'OLE BACK PAGE.....

etc. etc. etc.

Time for a

Membership Meeting

Beth David Congregation
2625 SW 3rd Ave

November 21 (Thursday)

8 P M

A Documentary film, "A City Decides", telling the success story of St. Louis in its handling of the school issue will be featured.

DISCUSSION WILL FOLLOW

All groups affiliated with the DCCCR plus many who are not have been invited to share this opportunity with us. YOU can help- invite your friends, talk it up among other DCCCR members, etc.

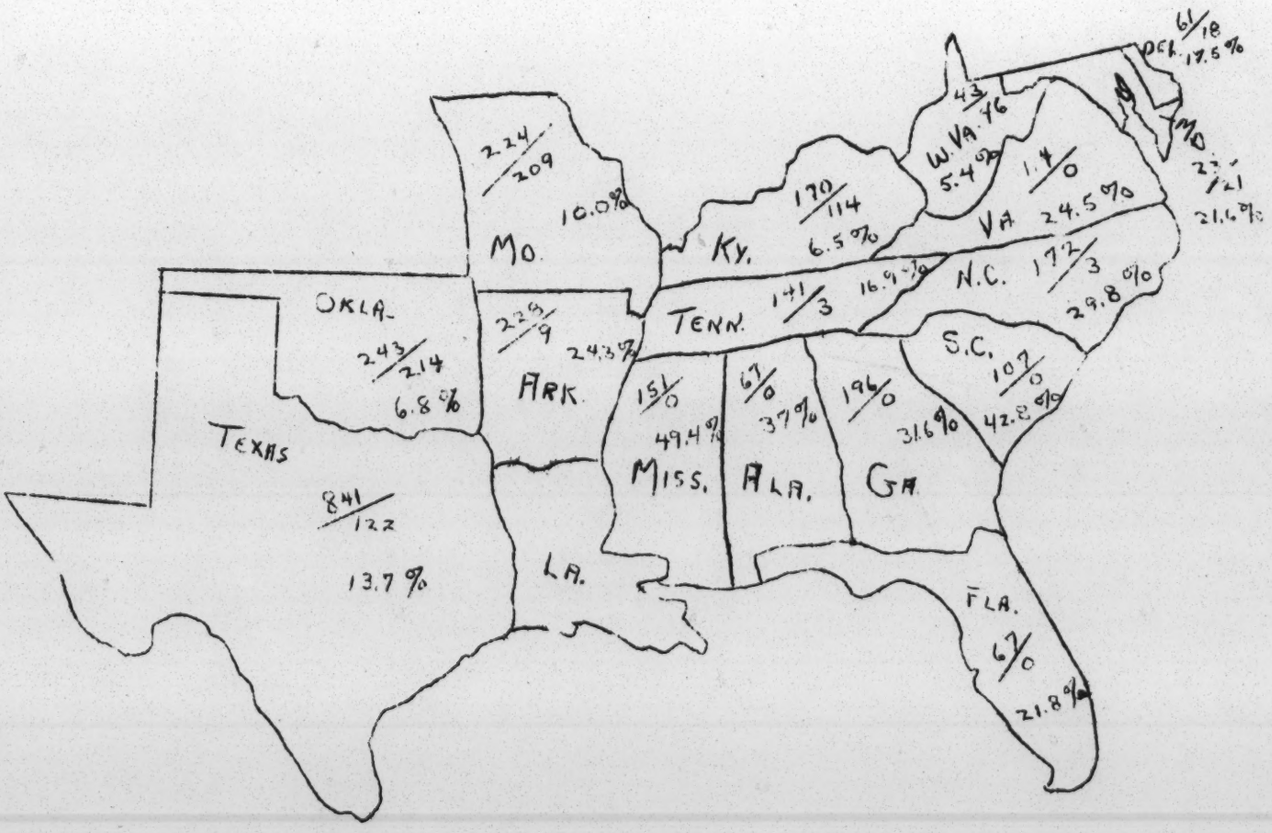
See You There ???

Newsletter

Florida Council on
Human Relations
213 NE 2 Ave, Miami, Fla.

Vol. 2 December, 1957 No. 3

THE STATUS OF SEGREGATION AND DESEGREGATION:




The above map is drawn from the SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS for November, 1957. It summarizes the status in the states which had laws requiring school segregation prior to 1954.

The number above the diagonal line represents the number of school districts having both races; the number below the diagonal the number of districts which have desegregated in policy or practice; and the percentage figure designates the proportion of Negroes enrolled to the total school population of the state.

NEGRO PUPIL PERCENTAGES OFF IN 10 AREAS, UP IN 8-

A special study of school population done by the Southern School News (Dec.,1957) shows that the Negro proportion of enrollment in Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia, (states having no desegregation) and Texas, North Carolina, Oklahoma, and West Virginia.

Decreases ranged from .4% (Okla.) to 2.5% (Ga.)

Increases were noted in Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Tennessee, and the District of Columbia, and ranged from .3% to 15.6% (DC)

The period covered by the study was from 1951 to 1957. Factors involved in the shifts were suggested- out-migration, and booming white enrollment. Demographic experts say that the Negro school age population in the region is increasing at a greater rate than the white population, yet the decreases appear.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

From your Exec.'s corner-

Once each year we have an opportunity to enjoy the kind of society we work to achieve. When we assemble for our Annual Meeting we leave all the fears, anxieties, and restrictions of our hometowns to participate in a free exchange of ideas, a time of informal sharing of hopes and accomplishments, and a time for refreshing our spirits. It is an opportunity to see in action the temporary establishment of our goals.

Thus it behooves us to carefully consider the invitation on the next page. What it costs us to attend will be amply repaid in personal dividends.

What is the current situation???
What should the FCHR do for the next year???
What can we do as individuals??
What can we expect of the near future??

These, and other questions, will be posed at the meeting. I hope you'll be on hand to help evaluate some answers.

I believe that we live in an exciting time, and have a privileged opportunity to participate in its developments. I would like to talk with you about that - - - see you at the Annual Meeting!

Bill Williams

ANNUAL MEETING NEWS

# Annual Membership Meeting

All Wise Men

Will Be

In Daytona Beach

January 17th

Bethune Cookman College

KEY SPEAKER - Marion Wright, past president of the Southern Regional Council, and one of the South's most valuable people!

The Meeting will begin at 10 AM, adjourning by 4 PM.

President Moore has generously offered us his facilities- please let us hear from you poste haste.

AND DO COME.!!!!!

We know it's short notice, but it couldn't be helped- 'twill be well worth the effort to juggle your schedule if need be.

PLEASE NOTE- -- The Meeting is not limited to members only- we'd be happy for you to bring a friend!

# THE CORRELATOR

THE FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
THE DADE COUNTY COUNCIL ON COMMUNITY RELATIONS

213 N E 2 AVE, MIAMI

FR 3-3443
FR 9-4145

January, 1959


## SOS -- SAVE OUR SCHOOLS!!

Dade County's January 29th Membership Meeting (8:00 P.M., School Board Administration Building Auditorium, 275 NW 2nd St.) will launch a county-wide SAVE OUR SCHOOLS campaign.

The idea of the campaign is to promote hundreds of small discussion groups. Apparently one of the factors in Little Rock and Norfolk was John Doe's feeling that the schools wouldn't really close -- and when they did he found himself committed in haste to unenlightened leadership. (Analytic theory, courtesy Freud) That schools would close in Dade County is a real possibility -- enough of one to call for a state of genuine alarm.

An alert and well-informed public will forestall school closings, but how well informed are any of us? Do we know who can close a school? Do we know what legislation is being drafted? What is the status of the pupil assignment law? What is the status of the individual cases now in the Courts? Do we know how integration might best be accomplished? Do we know the various plans that have been proposed? These are some of the discussion topics.

Frederick B. Routh of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta will fly down for the meeting. Fred is a former Human Relations prof. from the University of Miami, and was a board member of the Dade County Council. He's especially well known for his silver-tongued oratory. Also, Dr. Charles Philhour, U of M drama prof., will present "Philhours Phancies" -- a sample discussion -- at the meeting. After preparation (Philhour) and persuasion (Routh) it is anticipated that the audience will rise and, to a man, volunteer to captain an area or host a discussion group.

Preparation for the campaign has been long and painstaking. Initially proposed by Phylis Tannen's Program Committee, the great mass of detail had to be worked out before the kick-off. Experienced discussion leaders have been lined up and are now working with Prof. Donald Sprague to gather the latest information. (Prospective discussion leaders were invited to the Tannen's for a "sociable evening" and recruited on the spot.) Barbara Gordon (who just left for 8 weeks in Ethiopia) and Shirley Zoloth also gathered a sizeable group at the Venetian Isle Motel -- they recruited captains, hosts and discussion leaders at a comfortable and enjoyable get-together chaired by Gus Jacobson. And tying up the loose ends has been Haskell Lazere, who is "on loan" to the project by the American Jewish Congress.

To keep this from being "all blow and no go" -- please remember THURSDAY, JAN. 29TH, 8:00 P.M. !

## ADVISORS FOR WEST PALM

Efforts of the Florida Council have borne fruit in West Palm Beach .....forward looking city fathers have established an interracial Advisory Committee on Human Relations. Among those asked to serve is Dr. W. H. Collie, a Fla. Council Board Member and a consistent worker for better understanding and cooperation among all segments of the community.

## I'VE GOT A SECRET

Highlight of the Florida Council's Annual Membership meeting will be the Masked Marvel -- the mystery guest. An all-day (10 AM to 4PM) affair, the meeting will be held at St. Luke's Cathedral in Orlando where the Right Reverend Henry I. Louttit, Episcopal Bishop of S. Florida will be host to the gathering.

State Chairman Hal G. Lewis, U of F College of Education, will call for reports from all eleven chapters, and the nominating committee (Mrs. Henrine Banks, Daytona; Mrs. W. C. White, Oklawaha; Tom Dreier, St. Petersburg) will present a slate of officers. Finance will come in for its share of attention in the budget discussion, and Bill Williams will expound on general trends in Florida.

Responsible for planning the meeting is Canon McCloskey of St. John's Cathedral in Jacksonville and Mr. L.V. Davis of Gainesville. It is urged that every member of every council attend. Guests are welcome also.

## NO PLACE TO PARK

"Florida Tomorrow?" will be the theme of a state-wide conference sponsored by the Florida Council in Orlando on Friday, January 30th. Beginning with dinner at 6:30 PM, about seventy-five of the state's outstanding public officials, civic and church leaders will gather for what Bill Williams terms "a frank and flatfooted appraisal" of our future.

Dr. Ludd Spivey, Senator Harry P. Cain, Mr. Hays B. Wood, Jr. and Dr. Gilbert L. Porter are the planning committee, with Dr. Spivey acting as chairman. Law enforcement, education, politics, church, legal, population and economic changes will be discussed in brief presentations by specialists in these fields.

(There is still one obstacle to the meeting, but this is written with every confidence that a meeting place can be found for this outstanding, interracial group.)

## O.K. GUYS - CHANNELIZE!

'Twas nice of Edward R. Murrow to schedule a pertinent production to coincide with Dade County's SAVE OUR SCHOOLS campaign. On Wednesday, Jan. 21st, from 8 to 9PM Murrow and C.B.S. will present "The Lost Class of '59" -- a documentary on the effects of school closings in Norfolk. The program will be seen over Miami's WTVJ(Channel 4) and Lee Ruwich of that station was kind enough to invite a number of Council members to a closed circuit preview. Please make a point to watch it -- any insight you have into the problem will be helpful in our own campaign.

## LAPSES IN THE APSES

The Annual Dade County Clergy Orientation, sponsored by the Council and spear-headed by Father Titus, was held at Holy Cross Episcopal Church on January 8.

In addition to the all-star cast billed for the occasion in last month's Newsletter, Father Walsh outlined the work of Catholic Charities; Pastor Gyson spoke of the work of the Ministerial Association; and the Rev. Hendricks told of his work in the hospitals as chaplain for the Council of Churches. Father Gibson expressed great enthusiasm for the latter -- he hadn't known the Council of Churches had a program in hospitals, and felt it would be a great help to him. The representative of the Council of Churches, which only recently accepted its first Negro church member when the Greater Bethel A.M.E. church joined, admitted that the ministry to the hospitals had not heretofore included a follow-up of Negro patients. However, as a result of the meeting, it was agreed that this would be expanded to minister to any hospitalized patient without discrimination.

Have you given us all you've got?
Have you paid your dues??????????

NAME-CALLING

Orchids and a free lunch to John Bordon and George Savitt. John suggested the name "The Relator"; George suggested the "Co-Relat-Or" (ie Community Relations Organization) Hence -- "The Correlator". George , incidentally, while calling to suggest the name, mentioned that he was not at present doing anything for the Councils. Voila! Savitt is now doing the public relations for SAVE OUR SCHOOLS.

"CAME WITH THE WIND"

Whee! Again, and for a brief period of time, the Florida Council has funds. In a move reminiscent of TV's "The Millionaire", the Southern Regional Council (after last month trimming $500. from our expected $4,000. grant) passed on $2,500. from an anonymous benefactor. The Dade County Council has also had a windfall -- the City of Miami Beach, thanks to the prodding of Rabbi Irving Lehrman, has voted a grant of $1,000.

TENNIS ANYONE?

When Arthur Ashe Jr., 15, of Richmond, Virginia, and Horace Cunningham, 18, of Lynchburg, Va., played in the Orange Bowl Tennis Meet this month it marke the first time that Negroes participated in a U.S.L.T.A.--sanctioned tournament in the South. Both were proteges of Dr. R. Walter Johnson of Lynchburg, who also introduced Althea Gibson to professional tennis.

INTEGRATION: "Sign of the times."

AUTOANALYSIS

There've been some changes made in the status of human rights in Dade County according to the conclusions of the community audit conducted to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In general it was reported there had been some breakdown in the former rigid racial discrimination in the fields of public accommodations, employment and political rights. On the debit side was the lack of any step to comply with the five year old Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the public schools. Housing, recreation, public health remain fields in which there has been little progress.

Bill Baggs, Editor of the Miami Daily News, and scheduled keynoter, was unable to appear because of illness, but William Crawford, Chief Editorial Writer of that paper, came to the rescue.

Due to the California weather, attendance was smaller than had been hoped for. Since considerable effort went into this study it is hoped that the more detailed audit will be thoroughly studied by the participating groups and others who have a concern for these problems.

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PFFFFT

The proposed Community Relations Ordinance to establish an official Dade County human relations agency, (reported last month) has fizzled. Miami's Mayor High, after making every att attempt to line up support, found it necessary to be in Boston when it was put on the Metro Agenda. After some ingenious evasions the Metro Commissioners managed to choke the ordinance (by then an anemic resolution to study the need for a kind hearted group with no budget)without ever having taken a stand. While the issue's not dead yet (High plans to try again.) its' passage is not what we are on the verge of.

## CLASSIFIED

Dade County's Chairman, Jack Orr was cited for "distinguished and outstanding service" in the field of human rights by the U.N. Association of Greater Miami. Characterizing Jack as "A native son who has received national acclaim for his attempts to secure, protect, and defend civil rights in his own state", Bayard Strell made the award on Dec. 13th at the Roney Plaza.

Co-editor, Pam Johnson, in a brief respite from her newsgathering duties, hatched Andrew Johnson, 8 lbs, 6 ounces. And Priscilla Rosenfeld Perry of the ADL, produced 6 pound Pamela Irene Perry on Christmas Day!

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To our 622 "dead soldiers": All is forgiven --come home. Simply remit dues to the office for reinstatement.

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URGENT! Could we have a few volunteers to collate, staple, fold and stamp "The Correlator" each month? A team of two could do it in a day. (Small drawback: it's always a rush-rush order and can't generally be scheduled.)

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Dade County Discussion Leaders: Don't forget the meeting with Don Sprague at St. Stephen's Church, Coconut Grove, on Thursday, Jan. 22nd 8 PM.

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The League of Women Voters will sponsor a meeting, open to the public, on Thursday, Jan. 22nd from 10 to 12 at Miami's Everglades Hotel. Guest speaker will be Sen. Joe Eaton who will speak on "Education Legislation in Florida."

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The Dade County Citizens Housing and Planning Council, who presented such an interesting program for our Oct. Membership Meeting, has received its charter as a non-profit organization and is involved in the big push for a County-wide relocation plan for persons displaced by public works.

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**He'll Show 'Em**

—St. Louis Post-Dispatch

## HOSTILITY

While Washington, D.C. schools were still segregated, Mrs. Page Wilson started sending her six children to a private integrated school. Her eight year old daughter, the youngest, now attends the same school as her five brothers.

The other day an Indian journalist visiting Mrs. Wilson asked her how her children reacted to going to an integrated school. "Why don't you ask one?" asked Mrs. Wilson.

The journalist asked the eight-year old, "How do you feel about the Negroes in your class?"

"I hate them."

Mrs. Wilson gulped inwardly. Then the Indian visitor prodded further.

"Why do you hate them?"

"Because they're boys, and I hate boys."

## UPLIFT

U. S. Congressman Rogers says he will introduce legislation aimed at improving living conditions for migrant workers. Latin-American Committee Chairman, Nestor Morales, has contacted Fla. Senator George Smathers and Congressman, Dante Fascell reminding them of the DCCCR survey report on Dade's migrants. He hopes they'll take the cue and support remedial legislation.

---

Carlos Fernandez, Dade County Annual Dinner Chairman, promises a "humdinger" of an affair. The emphasis, speaker and entertainment both, will be Latin-American. Cucaracha!! The exact date has not quite been set ---just yet, that is, ---but it will be in March.

THE CORRELATOR

Florida Council on Human Relations
Dade County Council on Community Relations
213 N. E. Second Ave.,
Miami 32, Fla.

February, 1959

THE MIAMI NEWS,
Wednesday, Feb. 4, 1959

## BILL BAGGS

# Not A Kidding Matter

*TALLAHASSEE — The parent option tuition plan drew powerful support today when Atty. Gen. Richard W. Ervin and State School Supt. Thomas Bailey joined in endorsing it as the best course of action for Florida in the school integration dilemma.*

*The plan in brief authorizes parents of children faced with forced integration to withdraw them from the public schools.*

*It authorizes payment of tuition grants amounting to the child's share of state and county school operating funds to allow the parents to send their child to non-sectarian private schools.*

●

This is the gist of a report by The Associated Press on Tuesday.

At the moment, you can hear the applause across Florida. Quite a few people appear to think that this is The Way Out for us.

BAGGS

Now, you put aside all questions of law. Say this marriage of ideas of the attorney general and the state school superintendent is altogether legal.

All right.

But to what private schools are you going to send the 708,138 White children who now attend public schools in Florida?

There are 127 private schools in the state and 53 of them are church schools. 72 of these schools are operated for profit. Many of these are for kindergarten only.

So, we will build these private schools? All right. Where do you get the money? We will need 1,071 public schools for White children only if all the parents of all the white children want their children in segregated schools for sure.

### Teachers

A 20-classroom school, not a very large one, is now under construction at Naranja. It is going to cost $394,412. This gives you an idea of how much money we are going to need. Multiply that by 1,071.

Now.

What about the teachers? Where are you going to get the teachers? From the public schools? How many teachers are going to risk their professional standing and teach in these "private" schools?

Who establishes the standards for these "private" schools? Will the child in Miami in the third grade have the same opportunities as a child in Jacksonville in the third grade?

### What Of College

Where do the graduates of these "private" schools go to college? Will the various universities accept the graduates of these "private" schools?

Who is going to assign the thousands of students to the various "private" schools?

How are the students going to get to these schools? Not by busses. They belong to the public educational system.

How much is lunch going to cost?

Where is it going to be served?

What about playgrounds? Gymnasiums?

### Legality

Who is going to buy the books? How much for a history book? Which history book? Who buys the erasers, the chalk, the soap?

A private school system for 708,138 children?

Who do you think you are kidding, Mr. Ervin and Mr. Bailey?

Even if the entire works were legal?

WISH I HADN'T SAID THAT DEPARTMENT:

Mr. Thomas D. Bailey, cited above, is State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Not so long ago, Mr. Thomas D. Bailey gave an address to pre-school conferences in Ft. Lauderdale and Pensacola. He said:

'The American public schools have an obligation to perpetuate, maintain, and improve our democratic way of life. The public schools have a unique opportunity for service because they have under their care all the children of all the people without regard to social status, political background, race, creed or religion.

"Can you conceive the potentialities of these great public schools if we can keep them free and belonging to all the people and not to any segment of the people alone? If we can keep them serving the interests of all children and all the people and not allow them to be manipulated and controlled for selfish and partisan ends that concern the interests of some aristocratic or otherwise determined minority in our society, can you con-

# S.O.S.

At the risk of breaking an arm patting our backs, we must admit to being a huge success. Close to three hundred people packed the School Board Auditorium to help launch Dade County's "Save Our Schools" campaign. Since then phones have rung, volunteers have materialized, and financial support for the campaign has rolled in.

The meeting was chaired by Sam Gyson, pinch-hitting for Jack Orr, and Sam's strong appeal for responsible action was followed by Dr. Charles Philhour and several of his students in a sample discussion group. Speaker for the evening was Fred Routh, Southern Regional Council, who outlined the status of race relations throughout the South in light of recent developments. Fred's speech unveiled the fast pitch: if we throw our all behind the discussion groups, doing them pyramid-club fashion, there's a good chance of molding public opinion into a force for reason in the school situation.

Among the groups who took this to heart, and are already involved in parlour meetings, are the Unitarians, American Jewish Congress, some of the Episcopalians, Florida Congress of PTA's, Dade County Committee for Better Schools, Florida Education Assn., and the League of Women Voters.

A similar campaign has been underway for several months in Atlanta. Called HOPE (Help Our Public Education), it began with two concerned women who started a telephone tree. Each called ten, asked each to call ten, and at this point they have an organization of several thousand. That they have had an impact on their local opinion is reflected by Atlanta Mayor Hartsfield's statement that he wishes to keep the schools open "no matter what".

# WHO'S ON FIRST?

Mayme (Mrs. Charles) Williams, Vice-Chairman of the Dade County Council on Community Relations, was chosen for listing in the first edition of "Who's Who of American Women". The volume was published by Marquis-Who's Who Incorporated, the firm which annually publishes "Who's Who in America." More than 50,000 women were considered for inclusion on the basis of a preliminary list drawn up by the Women's Archives of Radcliffe College and an advisory committee of professional and social organizations, church and welfare groups. 19,000 were chosen for the 1,438 page volume.

Mayme, who has her finger in a number of pies, (She is a member of the FCHR Board too) was particularly honored for her work with the parent-teacher associations on a national level.

# MEANWHILE, BACK AT ST LUKE'S

The Statewide leadership conference in Orlando came off as scheduled and was declared to be a successful venture. The difficulty of finding a place for the distinguished gentlemen to meet was resolved, and the group was royally entertained at St. Luke's Episcopal Cathedral in Orlando. (Which was just as well, since the meeting was fairly solid with Methodists.) There is strong feeling among those who attended that these briefing sessions for state leadership should be held on an annual basis.

# KEEP FLORIDA GREEN—SEND MONEY

The Florida Council's $27,000. budget will be made up, in part, of a grant from the Field Foundation. $10,000. over a 3 year period, will be given the Council provided the group can raise $2[illegible],000. each year. MORE ABOUT THIS LATER!

Project "Icebreaker" (see December Correlator) has really broken through. First meetings have been held with Dade County teachers who came together to discuss the challenge and problems facing them in integrated schools. Each teacher has submitted four or five names of other teachers to be included in future meetings. Several teachers wanted their school principals involved, some said they've reported back to their schools and started discussions in faculty meetings. At the next meeting the group will divide in two, each teacher bringing a friend to start two new groups. Much activity!

Dot Mitchell, member of the Education Committee that's sparking this, says "The teachers admit there is a problem. More than that, they are willing to sit down and discuss it. For the first time in years I feel hopeful."

BULLETIN #2 It's Later Than You Think

If you don't believe us, read the following statements that followed the announcement of the School Board decision to admit four Negro children to the Orchard Villa School next September:

> "Key segregation leaders predicted the Legislature will revive and pass next April the so-called, 'last resort' bill to close Florida's public schools rather than integrate them." -- Miami Herald - February 19, 1959.
>
> "It is an outrage, I will vote for it (to close the schools) this time if no other solution presents itself." -- House Speaker Designate, Thomas D. Beasley, of Walton, Fla.
>
> "This lends urgency to the need for a parent option plan." -- State Assistant Attorney General, Ralph Odum.

Referring to the Pupil Assignment Law and the action of the Dade County Board of Public Instruction, Senator Johnson said that the Pupil Assignment Law was,

> "Just a stop-gap Law and we need something much stronger. This Law served as a delay for a while, but we can see now that it has served its purpose."
>
> "The decision is a step toward bringing about social equality of White and Black races, the ultimate goal of the NAACP."-- Rep. David Eldredge, Miami -- from the Miami News - February 19, 1959.

There seems to be no doubt from the above, we can anticipate quick action on the part of the State Legislature when it convenes to take all possible steps at whatever cost to prevent any integration of the public schools. The danger of school closing in Florida is now closer judging from the statements of these key legislators. Governor Collins favors keeping the schools open. However, the last Legislature failed only by a vote of two to pass a bill which would have resulted in closing the schools in the event of enforced desegregation over the Governor's veto. One of those votes was cast by John B. Orr, Jr., who is no longer in the Legislature.

One more comment on the action of the Board of Public Instruction of Dade County -- The Orchard Villa School is in a transitional neighborhood which could very well be all Negro by September, 1959. If the Legislature does not enact "last resort" legislation, the population change in the area may preclude any integration in September.

What do we do now? There have been about twenty-five discussion groups in the last few weeks and more requests are coming in daily, but there still aren't enough to alert all of the people of Dade County to the danger we face. We are still anxious to talk with your neighbors about the problem with your help. Will you arrange a "coffee-discussion group" in your neighborhood within the next week? Will you get five of your friends to arrange a "coffee - discussion group" within the next week? If you do this, thousands of Miamians will be involved in an effort to keep our schools open. Your contribution toward keeping the schools open is as close as your telephone. Call FRanklin 9-6195 or MOhawk 6-6322 to request a discussion leader for your "coffee-discussion groups".

There are other needs - volunteers to make phone calls - discussion leaders - materials and money to buy materials. We are enclosing for your convenience a card on which you can check what you want to do. As the "Save Our Schools" movement grows the expense becomes greater and the need for volunteers also increases. Won't you help?

> The "Save Our Schools" movement was created by the Dade County Council on Community Relations, a non-sectarian, quasi-official human relations agency, with representatives from all walks of life and all races and religions in our community. The organization is non-political, but is vitally concerned with those issues which threaten the safety, security and welfare of our community. In this instance we are, therefore, deeply concerned about the threat to our public schools and the concomitant threat to the progress and economy of our community.

'That's What Happens When You Rely On Ordinary People To Defy Law And Order'

## VIRRICK'S VARIETIES

There are 160 million United States citizens-and over a third of us live in slums. Miami is not exempt. Not only does Miami have slums,...but this is CHPA's (Citizens Housing and Planning Association) story. They'll tell it in a four-meeting seminar offered to all who're interested in understanding the major issues and theories of housing.

CHPA is a less-than-one-year-old scrappy infant. Chaired by Architect Irving Korach, the group is concerned with better standards of housing and planning in Dade County.

Elizabeth Virrick, known nationally as First Lady of Housing (and, incidentally a founder of the Dade County Council), teaches the free seminar at Koubek Center or anywhere 20 interested people congregate. It covers planning, zoning, legislation, analysis of local conditions, and a baptism by fire on the problems of relocating 10,000 people displaced by the North-South Expressway. Call Elizabeth at MO 1-2136 if you're interested.

## PERSONALS

DON'T BE A YOKEL, BE VOCAL!
How do you feel about
... civil rights
... integrated schools
... the Pupil Assignment law
... "last resort" bills
Have you made yourself known to
... your legislators
... your school board
... your school principal

* * * *

SEMPER PARATIS!! That's you if you take advantage of resource material available at the Council office. Don't guess at facts and statistics ---- know them!

* * * *

NEEDED: $208.00 for printing 5,000 DCCCR brochures. Our others are six years old and we have 16 left.

* * * *

AS LONG AS WE'RE DREAMING, we need an electric typewriter for the office to make letters and "The Correlator" look impressive. Donation anyone??

* * * *

PARLOUR MEETING LEADERS:
Special resource material is available at the American Jewish Congress office.

* * * *

HELP WANTED:
Pasters to come to DCCCR office abt. once a month to paste up and file newspaper clippings. Won't you please volunteer for this!

* * * *

AVAILABLE :
Copies of the Community Audit results at 2½ cents a copy. May be ordered through American Jewish Committee.

* * * *

NEEDED:

$208.00 for printing 5,000 DCCCR brochures. Our others are six years old and we have 16 left.

* * * *

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$208.00 for printing 5,000 DCCCR brochures. Our others are six years old and we have 16 left.

HCF SM

# Florida Council on HUMAN RELATIONS

4241 S. W. 109TH COURT
MIAMI 55, FLORIDA
PHONE CA 1-8521

March, 1960 Chief correspondent- George Savitt

## Pres. Lewis and Chairman Lewis

At the Annual Meeting Dr. Hal Lewis ended his two year term as President of the FCHR, the maximum allowed by our By Laws. It has been a tumultuous two, and he has done well by us.

The same should be said of Mr. Herbert Davidson, ending his two years as Chairman of the Board.

Election results were as follows:

PRESIDENT- Dr. Gordon Lewis. No relation to Hal, but the same high caliber human being. A sociologist at Rollins College, he has been a faithful and hardworking member of the FCHR for years.

He served as professional resource for the study of Negro attitudes made by the Orlando Council in 1957; as president of that Council this fall he did an outstanding job of rallying much needed support; etc.

VICE PRESIDENT- Mrs. Mabel Reese, well known to us all.

SECRETARY- Mrs. Frances Miles, returned for her second year.

TREASURER- Dr. W.H. Collie, West Palm Beach dentist and member of the Executive Committee for two years.

CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD- Dr. Hal Lewis !

NEW DIRECTORS- Mrs. Lilburn Moseley, past Nat'l Chairman of Christian Social Relations for United Church Women and wife of the minister of Tourist Church, Daytona Beach.

Dr. H. Franklin Williams, Vice President of the University of Miami and member of the Board of the Southern Regional Council.

## New Center

The Fund for the Republic has established in Santa Barbara, Calif., at the U of California, a "Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions". The Fund, created in 1952 with a grant of $ 15,000,000, has appropriated $ 11,000,000 seeking to maintain the vitality of the traditional rights and liberties of the American people as expressed in the Bill of Rights.

Major grants went to support urgent and immediate efforts in the area of civil liberties and rights. Among them were:

- The problem of school integration in the South
- The influence of Communism in the US
- The question of integration in housing
- The security system of the gov't
- Academic freedom in colleges and universities

The purpose of the grants was to get the problems considered and understood. By 1957 it was clear

(cont'd on page 2 )

## On Sight and Vision

When the spiritually blind lead the blind, the results are disastrous. When the physically blind lead the spiritually blind, the results are favorable, as indicated by Leah Russell, blind 12 year old of Miami.

Leah wrote Pres. Eisenhower, giving this solution to the school problem: "If I were President, I would have all the children blindfolded and send them to school. I would also blindfold the Colored children and send them to school, I think they would have a lot of fun together, and there wouldn't be any fights."

Leah, you have given us insight into the difference between sight and vision.

## Fund - Cont'd

despite the impact that the studies were making general understanding was thwarted by confusion about the underlying issues. Presentation of "the Facts" did not always produce useful public discussion because there was no clear, common study for judging the facts. It was in this realization that the Fund embarked on its Basic Issues Program.

The aim of the Center- and the Basic Issue Program- is to clarify the issues of free society so that a reasonable debate can take place.

The Center is an educational organization, not an action group.

Heading the staff is Robert M. Hutchins, former President of the Univ. of Chicago. Among the consultants are George N. Shuster, Pres. of Hunter College; Harry Ashmore, former editor of the Arkansas Gazette; Henry R. Luce; and Aldous Huxley, noted scientist.

## Lost and Found

When "local boy makes good" it is often a loss to the local folks, because he moves away. This happened in Miami when Mr. Charles ("Univac") Mitchell was promoted to the New York headquarters of Remington Rand. Charles was that quiet but clever and faithful fellow who was always to be found making the rounds with his wife as she served the community in many capacities- even campaigning for the school board last year. Dorothy and Charles will be missed.

Meanwhile- "Is the FCHR still operating?? " was asked by Katherine Schneider of Dallas, Texas. Mrs. S., a former Floridan, wrote in to renew her membership which had lapsed during her absence from the States.

Incidently, have you renewed YOUR membership??? Your dues will do much to keep the Council in operation.

## Negroes "sitting in"

Response to the current wave of demonstrations has been greeted by a wide range of responses. Those who have not been conscious of the emergence of a "new Negro" are now bewildered, shocked, amazed, or upset.

It needs to be pointed out that:

these are largely spontaneous, purely local demonstrations. It is true that the movement is being encouraged by various organizations, but these have generally come into the picture after a local group has decided to move.

the demonstrations cannot be separated from the total segregation struggle. This particular means of registering convictions has simply caught the imaginations of Negro people everywhere, and through it they are trying to tell us something - - -

violent responses by white citizens no longer serves to intimidate Negro citizens, so that all who will can see that this is an issue which will neither go away nor lessen. There is increasingly no alternitive to facing it.

The conference table must replace the lunch counter as the place for Negro and white citizens to meet the issue and each other.

This would be welcomed by Negro leadership- those who have long sought just that, and now may have turned to "demonstrations" because the conference room door largely remains closed.

---

The FCHR is a non profit, non political organization devoted to building bridges of understanding and communication between the people of Florida.

It merits, & needs, your support.

# The Florida Climate

June, 1960

## NEW YORK CLAIMS OUR PRESIDENT

The talents of Dr. Gordon Lewis, whose many contributions to the FCHR won him the presidency, have been recognized by others, too. Elmira College, of Elmira, N.Y., has claimed him.

When such a person leaves the South he leaves vacancies most difficult to fill. Not only are his professional talents hard to match, but his participation in the affairs of the community and assistance to such organizations as the FCHR are rarely equaled by his replacement.

Though much has been done to improve the economic lot of our section of the nation it is still largely true that gifted people remain in the South at a sacrifice, out of devotion to it.

However, there are limits to such devotion. They were breached recently at Vanderbuilt through dramatic circumstances which have resulted in mass resignations. The limits are tried daily by the pressures and frustrations brought to bear on those whose outlook and ability would earn them acclaim outside the South.

Gordon was under no pressure at Rollins, and was courted by other Florida administrations. We simply could not match the opportunity open to him.

## MRS. REESE TAKES THE HELM

The Executive Committee, looking over the choices for a successor to Dr. Lewis, unanimously agreed that the selection had to be Mrs. Mabel Norris Reese.

Dr. Hal Lewis, Chairman of the Board, agreed to "propose" for us, and did so with success. Thus we greet with real enthusiasm our new head, confident that we are in good hands.

Mrs. Reese measures up in every way to the rather high standard set by her predecessors in this office.

A newspaperwoman from Akron, Ohio, she has been editor of the Mt Dora Topic for thirteen years. Recently she became associate editor of the Daytona Beach News Journal.

As editor of the Topic she won several awards and national acclaim. (First to receive the Lovejoy Award for Courageous Journalism, for instance.)

As editor of the daily News Journal she has walked off with first place in editorial writing in Florida, besting the talented writers of the other dailies of our state.

We are indeed fortunate to have one of her stature ready and willing to accept the top job in the FCHR.

The Florida Council on Human Relations, 4241 SW 109 Ct, Miami 55, Florida

SIT INS - - what next????

One of the most dramatic developments in the segregation picture in recent years, the "sit ins" have left an imprint which has changed and will change that picture in many ways.

Fragmented, unorganized, and timid Negro Southerners first found unity in common cause in the Montgomery boycott. It was inevitable that this demonstration should have far reaching implications as it gave heart and backbone to Negro citizens throughout the region.

Frustrated by the pace of things and inspired by such an example it is not surprising, really, that the youth of the South rose up in protest. Spread by contagion their "sit ins" have stirred the nation, attacking discrimination on the basis of conscience and self interest instead of law.

Desegregation of lunch counters and formation of new committees in at least 30 southern cities (12 in Florida) may well be the least significant result of these demonstrations.

It seems logical that Negro Southerners will:

1. become more and more outspoken and vigorous in pursuit of their goals

2. become better organized as leaders in local movements communicate with each other and join forces.

3. find new and increasingly effective leadership. Rev. King is an example of the well educated and dedicated "new Negro" emerging in the South.

Those communities which are able to foresee such developments can begin now to prepare for them, and can save themselves much anguish. Governor Collins has done much to establish a helpful climate and a positive approach to the future, whatever it may hold.

---

WHAT SAID THE VOTER?????

Floridans have moved toward the middle of the road. A thumping majority which chose a "moderate" four years ago has disappeared as a modest majority chose the candidate most likely to stay put this time.

Run-off candidates this time were very similar in contrast to fast differences between Leroy Collins and runnerup Lowry .

Extremists have been left in the dust- The Tampa Tribune drew attention to votes collected by KKK candidate Bill Hendrix as a barometer of this fact.

"In 8 years the number of votes cast - - has increased 27% and the number marked for the Ku Klux Klan candidate has dropped 24%."

"The result is a pretty fair appraisal of what the people of Florida think of the Klan: less than ONE PER CENT voted for its noisest champion."

If this means that the general population of our state is in a more conservative mood at a time when Negro citizens may on the verge of more vigorous thrusts it may indicate that race relations are apt to be turbulent in the days ahead.

SCHOOL REPORT--

The Southern School News, in its end of the year survey, reports a total of 749 districts deseggregated. This represents one fourth of the bi-racial districts of 17 southern and border states, plus the District of Columbia.

Only 2 districts have desegregated since January- one voluntarily in Texas, and one under court order in Virginia.

Florida is the only state to desegregate during the school year for the first time.

Alabama, Georgiz, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina still have "0" in the "School Districts Deseg." column.

Of the regions 205 colleges and universities 123 are desegregated in "practice or principle". They are located in 13 states.

An estimated 200 court cases have been filed to date in the school issue, with 46 of these currently active.

250 laws and resolutions have been adopted by the legislatures of 15 states to prevent, restrict, or control school desegregation, mostly since 1954.

Only Oklahoma has taken legislative action to encourage deseggregation.

In Dade County the NAACP has reportedly delayed further action in anticipation of more Negro children being assigned to formerly all white schools next Fall.

SUMMER READING, ANYONE ? ? ?

The following may be borrowed by mail from the FCHR library:

Books-

THE FEARS MEN LIVE BY
a summary of what science has learned about prejudice in America and what can be done about it. Selma Hirsh (Harpers)

THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF PREJUDICE
Gerhar Saenger (Harpers)

THE NEGRO POTENTIAL
a study of manpower-
Eli Ginzberg (Columbia U. Press)

THEY LEARN WHAT THEY LIVE
a study of prejudice in young children
Trager & Yarrow (Harpers)

CROSS CURRENTS
Anti-Semitism used as a political weapon
Forster & Epstein (Doubleday)

Free pamphlets-

THE TRUTH ABOUT DESEGREGATION IN WASHINGTON'S SCHOOLS
(reprints from Washington Post)

CAN WE AFFORD TO CLOSE OUR SCHOOLS?
(statement by southern educators)

SOULS DON'T HAVE COLOR
(reprint from UAW monthly about churches and segregation)

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The Florida Council on Human Relations is a non-profit, non-political organization devoted to building bridges of understanding and cooperation between the people of Florida.

It merits, and needs, your support.

4241 SW 109 Ct, Miami 55, Fla.

# The Florida Climate

September, 1960

## "TERROR IN OUR STREETS" (Jacksonville)

The above was the title of an editorial in the Jacksonville Times Union after the worst racial incident Florida has witnessed in many years.

To report this whole tragic story would take many pages- in fact, is taking many pages. We are reproducing a full report which runs 20 pages, and sells for 20¢ each.

Impossible to even summarize this event, we can only make a few observations.

-This remains a very disturbing picture, and one which underscores many things which have been a source of concern to thoughtful people of that city for some tome. The causes of the outbreak of violence remain, as do some of the results.

These include many things, among them poor housing, recreation, and welfare services in relation to Negro residents.

-More than 3000 youngsters (Negroes) are highly organized in gangs which have been held in check- by Negro leaders- but could easily break loose if discouraged with prospects of peaceful negotiation. (These groups are not to be confused with the Youth Council of the NAACP.)

-Leadership of our own local Council was deeply involved in this picture. It was, and is, the only group where Negroes and whites have opportunity to regularly discuss issues and get

(cont'd on p 2)

## FCHR MOVES AHEAD

The following are excerpts from a letter to the Board from the Chairman, Dr. Hal Lewis:

"- - the June meeting of the Board of Directors was the best we have ever had. This opinion is based on two characteristics of the meeting."

"First, we were able to spend a significant amount of time talking and planning about things other than finances."

"The second characteristic that made the meeting successful was the spirit of the members present. There was warmth, friendliness, and enthusiasm."

"We seem to be 'coming of age' and getting our operational lines clear."

"Also- important- WE ARE OUT OF DEBT."

This is an historic achievement for the FCHR and a most pleasant one. Hear the full story at the Annual Meeting in January- meanwhile, a salute to all who made it possible.

## NEGRO BUYING POWER

by George Savitt

In 1958, Negroes had an income after taxes of approximately $15,250,000,000 almost the total value of all United States exports, and more than the national income of Canada, the United States' best customer.

While Negro buying power is less than that of white persons, (personal income of Negro men is 63% less than that of white men,) the gap is gradually narrowing, and the economic leverage of Negroes has already been applied against discrimination in the lunch counter situation. The Rounsaville Radio Stations, with stations in five southern cities and in Cincinnati have recently compiled data on Negro purchasing from number of sources. The evidence seems clearly to support this conclusion:

(cont'd on p 2)

"RACE" cont'd-

to know one another. It was, and is, the only means of communication across racial barriers in that city.

-Rumors were directly responsible for much of the violence which followed the riot. An attempt to establish a rumor "control center" was only partially successful- due to familiar reasons, such as using borrowed facilities, the lack of money, the tremendous pressures, etc.

-Lessons were learned here which can be shared- through the written report, film clips taken on the scene, and an oral report by Bill Williams who was in Jax shortly after the riot and stayed through the tense period following it.

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NEGRO BUYING POWER cont'd-

In the individual markets where there are significantly large Negro populations the importance of the Negro as a consumer of all manner of merchandise is so great in the aggregate that it could well be the difference between profit and loss for the advertiser.

Here are some of the report statistics:

| Marketing Area | Negro Pop. | Negro Income |
|---|---|---|
| Miami | 368,130 | $187,220,940 |
| Louisville | 174,251 | 129,405,400 |
| New Orleans | 401,716 | 218,483,800 |

The report also shows white and Negro median incomes in 24 Southern cities. Here are a few representative examples:

| | Negro (male) | White |
|---|---|---|
| Miami | $1,643 | 2,776 |
| Jacksonville | 1,480 | 2,771 |
| Tampa-St.Pete | 1,376 | 2,137 |
| Birmingham | 1,676 | 2,883 |
| New Orleans | 1,469 | 2,261 |

It is interesting to note that the median income of Negro men in Detroit is $ 2,717, which is higher than white incomes in 9 of the 24 Southern cities cited in the Rounsaville report.


Want a voice in the people's choice?

Don't pass the buck-

VOTE!

DIG DOWN! Contribute

DIG IN! Work for your Party

and VOTE!





Daytona Beach Sunday News-Journal


**The Editorial . . .**

# Why Of Biracial Committees

**OVER IN LEOPOLDVILLE,** The Congo, Dr. Ralph Bunche, the eminent peace negotiator of the U.N., has left his assignment there, and returned, defeated, to the U. S. A fresh recruit, Rajeshwar Dayal of India, has been assigned to tackle the mountainous problem of turning chaos into order in the sad country that is the newly independent African state.

On his departure, Dr. Bunche said of the land: "I don't think I ever have been anywhere where misunderstanding was so deep."

In Tallahassee, Florida, the other day Gov. Collins looked with troubled eyes across his state at its gateway city of Jacksonville, and he said: "Basically the matter of preserving law and order and promoting good human relations is a local responsibility, and when a breakdown occurs there are local failures which cause it."

In both of these areas of the World this Summer, there were flareups in the family of man which chilled the hearts of those who genuinely are concerned over the preservation of human freedoms; in preventing mankind from stumbling blindly into that Armageddon of biblical fact or fancy. In Congo, the violence was sickening. Men committed atrocities in the spirit of revenge. Seething passions spilled forth as hot lava from a volcano, and encased helpless people in the devastation of crime.

In Jacksonville, a lesser volcano erupted last month. But it was a volcano. Its lava was the awful passion of hate, and Jacksonville became an echo of Leopoldville as men committed crimes of revenge.

In both places it was race war.

In both, the initial effort to get results was the use of a means which never has succeeded in reaching the cause. Violence was used, and it worked no better in Jacksonville than it can work in Leopoldville.

Violence is impotent in subduing the passion of hate. It is incapable of reaching its roots. It can smash the one imbued with the passion, even put him to death, but the seeds of the hate will take root in his brother or his son. And hate will live on, nurtured by intensified passions of resentment and desire for revenge.

* * *

**IN BOTH** Leopoldville and Jacksonville, the efforts to bring lasting peace were too late to prevent the eruption. Failures preceded the efforts in Leopoldville, just as Gov. Collins said failures caused the breakdown of law and order in Jacksonville.

In both places, human relations had been neglected. The Belgians lost touch with the black man who for decades had toiled in the mines without knowledge that life might hold something better for him. In Jacksonville city officials lost touch with the Negro population, so long content with second class citizenship, as the phrase "civil rights" began staring them in the face at every turn.

The failure to establish good human relations—to keep open the line of communication that would hear and come to understand the response to the phrase "civil (and heard oftimes as "human") rights"—this failure made the task of Dr. Bunche impossible, and it made the use of force impotent in Jacksonville.

* * *

**WHAT WAS NEEDED** in both places was a biracial committee. In Leopoldville and in Jacksonville, the plea of Gov. Collins last February to approach the race problem through the establishment of such committees should have been heard.

Floridans, of course, are powerless to correct the lack of foresight of the Belgians in Leopoldville, but they can work toward that end in Jacksonville. They can do so in every Florida city which as yet has not heeded the wisdom of Gov. Collins. They can do so with letters to Jacksonville officials which set forth their concern as citizens of a state which can be affected adversely by one city's racial violence.

The idea of such a committee must not be brushed off as it was by Mayor Burns of the Gateway City. He said the history assuming dictatorial powers in saying that he prefers Jacksonville to endure violence rather than use reason to keep peace because he fears results might be contrary to his philosophical views.

* * *

**WHAT CAN** a biracial committee really do?

The Florida Council on Human Relations, a statewide organization which seeks to keep open the lines of communications between groups in the human family, has prepared a concise answer to this question which should be studied by Mayor Burns and every other official in that city, and in all Florida cities.

Let's examine the major answers to the question:

**1—A biracial committee** can bring reasoning processes to bear on problems which tend to evoke mostly emotional responses. Most individuals and public officials have neither the time nor the opportunity to make the deliberate inquiry which these situations demand. This, itself, tends to increase the feelings of anxiety on the part of those who must nonetheless deal with them. Thus a vicious circle is created with increased hostility day by day until something happens to break the cycle (In Jacksonville it happened in Hemming Park Aug. 27).

**2—It can gather information.** One of the common factors operating in almost every situation of racial unrest is the great variety of interpretation and opinions which washes back and forth over a community. A very real service can be rendered through simply gathering together the basic facts about each such instance, and placing these in the hands of responsible key people.

**3—It can help combat rumors.** The more tense a community becomes, the more exaggerated and numerous the rumors become. Tragedies can result from such myths if they remain unchecked.

**4—It can bring together** those who differ. Often those who constitute opposing factions never really have met each other. Their contact is in only what each hears or reads of each other's charges and countercharges. The gulf widens; bitterness increases. The only hope of achieving understanding and eliminating bitterness is a face to face meeting with those with genuine concern for community good. Dignity can be restored as the better elements in people begin to emerge in that atmosphere of concern.

**5—It can advise** those who must make decisions affecting the community. Any wise administrator surrounds himself with people to whom he can turn for evaluations of specific situations. In matters involving race relations there are few experts, but there are people whose involvement in community affairs can furnish background for a broader evaluation of each specific problem. As a committee gaining experience in dealing with basic human relations problems, it is a valuable recourse during times of pressure and turmoil.

**6—It can map out** educational programs for increased understanding and cooperation. Preventive medicine is the best kind in human relations too. In every community there are resources for building bridges between people. The churches and civic groups will be glad to cooperate with a thoughtful, positive approach to these things which tend to divide us, thus enlarging the circle of good human relations.

* * *

**THE FLORIDA COUNCIL** on Human Relations has been working quietly toward this way of achieving racial harmony in these times of change. It is not an "integrationist outfit," just as it is not a believer in maintaining the status quo. It seeks the middle ground on which men of good will can stand and reach a peaceable solution of a vexing problem.

Certainly its answers to the why of a biracial committee have a clear and inescapable purpose. It is to prevent such places as Leopoldville and Jacksonville from carving a dark niche on history's pages. It is to prove that the biblical

The Florida Council on
HUMAN RELATIONS
4241 SW 109 Court
Miami 55, Florida

Non-profit Organization

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Mr Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave N E
Atlanta 3, Ga.

For
E.W

The Florida Climate

November 1960

# EXTRA! DADE COUNTY SPECIAL EDITION!

## HEAR YE! HEAR YE! THERE'S A MEETIN' IN OUR TOWN TUESDAY NITE!

Gordon D. Hall

Tuesday, December 6

Main Library
(Bayfront Park)

8 P M

Sponsored by the Florida Division of the American Association for the United Nations, Mr. Hall is making several appearances throughout the state during December. He will be speaking at the state convention in Ft Lauderdale earlier.

The Miami appearance has been secured through the Coral Gables Chapter of the AAUN- we are helping to publicize it because we felt it would be of special interest to you.

Mr. Hall - - -

author of THE HATE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE UN (Beacon Press)

Nationally know speaker, including National radio & TV, on extremist movements.

Warmly recommended by Nat'l Education Assoc, many newspapers, The Sat. Review, etc.

Looks and sounds most interesting!

## STATE COUNCIL MOVING IN DADE-

At the Executive Committee meeting in Daytona Beach Bill Williams reviewed the status of the various local councils around the state, and submitted a proposal relative to the stalemate in Dade County.

Endorsed by the Exec. Comm., the next step will be the selection of not more than 15 individuals to serve on a steering committee to get things moving again.

Selection is to be made by members of the State Board of Directors living in Miami, with January the target date. Commitments to the upper half of the state during early December (Gainesville Council's Annual HR Institute, etc.) dominate the immediate future.

The Steering Committee will be asked to

- project meaningful and useful involvment of our members
- initiate and participate in programs to fulfill unmet needs or opportunities in the Dade County community relations picture.

More news will be coming your way soon - - - - -

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING OF THE FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

January 21st- Saturday

First Unitarian Church, Orlando

This will be an exciting meeting. Full details to be released during December.

# The Florida Climate

December 1960

## Annual Meeting Set

Official date set-

Saturday, January 21st

First Unitarian Church

Orlando

Highlights of the day:

Morning session for local council representatives. This kind of opportunity has been requested by several groups, so here 'tis.

President's Luncheon. All members and guests are invited to this, of course. Reservation forms will be sent in January.

Leadership education. A group exposed to some of the latest in group dynamics earlier this year will demonstrate and involve us in some educational fun.

## New Annual Report

This year will see the introduction of something new in the form of a written summary of the status of human relations in the State. It is expected that this will become the logbook for all Floridans interested in what is happening to the people who live together in Florida.

## New Poll on Segregation

The "most extensive probe of public thinking ever undertaken in this state on the sensitive racial issue" was done for THE MIAMI HERALD by the First Research Corp. recently. It revealed some interesting things about the current attitudes among Floridans.

Few white people raise any question about Negroes being entitled to "all the legal rights and privileges that the law gives to all citizens". Even fewer (7.5%) disagree with allowing Negroes to shop in the same stores.

Most Negroes believed they should be allowed to eat in the same restaurants, send their children to the same public schools, and live in the same neighborhoods as white people.

White people showed increasing disagreement on these scores. Slightly less than 60% believed that Negroes should not eat in the same restaurant. Just over 60% believed Negroes should not send their children to the same public schools. 76.4% believed that Negroes should not be allowed to live in the same neighborhoods.

White Floridans were almost evenly divided ober the possibility of Negroes belonging to the same church. Negroes were in favor 79%.

Almost 90% of the whites and more than 57% of the Negroes opposed intermarriage.

# $ For Alabama

Response to the plight of the Alabama Council on Human Relations has netted $271 thus far from the State of Florida. This has been forwarded.

On behalf of the harried Alabamians we extend a word of real appreciation for the assist.

## Brains Have No Color

Two teen-agers won cheers from greyhaired scientists recently, when their after-school lab work blazed a new trail in cancer research. In a paper delivered at the Fifth International Congress on Nutrition in Washington, Patricia Bath and Arnold Lentnek, both 17 years old, presented research evidence that cancer can sometimes be treated by feeding patients substances that speed cell growth. Both young scientists did their research in New York City. Pat was brought up in Harlem. Her father is a merchant seaman, her mother works occasionally as a domestic. Armold comes from the other side of the subway tracks--a suburb in the Rockaways--and his father is a well-to-do builder. The two students met during a brief interlude at Yeshiva University's Summer Institute in the Bio-Medical Sciences. They soon discovered they were working on similar experiments, and often compared notes and ideas. By working together for the same end, these young people from very different orbits have opened a new doorway to medical progress.

(Let's Be Human, by Harry Fleischman)

January 21st

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING

Orlando

## The Children's Hour-

Two little girls were meeting for the first time. The one who had just moved into the block in West Chatham that morning confided that she wished that she had a baby brother, as the other girl had.

"My mother can get one for you," came the prompt offer, and after a pause probably occasioned by the new girl's chocolate brown skin, "and you can paint him any color you want."

(Chicago Human Relations News)

## Church + State

The separation of Church and State issue has been a lively one for many years. Much searching and discussing has surrounded recurring law suits and controversy. Much more will have to go on before the issue is brought to some solution.

Two suits have been progressing in Dade County this year relative to religious practices in schools. They generated a lot of heat, and were almost lost to view in resulting confusion and clashes between some Christians and some Jews. The situation was further muddied by a political race involving a Jewish candidate for the school board.

The judge does not have to concern himself with these side issues and public confusion. He can stick to the legal issues, and this is an area where some clarification will be very helpful to all.

However, the community can and must untangle the muddle of aroused emotions, the jumble of information and misinformation, etc. This will not be an easy task, nor will it yield to quick solutions.

This issue, basic to American democracy, needs all the light and reason which can be summoned in a spirit of good will and honest inquiry.

## Negroes - & Public Office

A report on voting and Negroes running for public office will be given at the Annual Meeting. Changes are taking place across the State-

As we go to press with this Newsletter two Negroes are in run-offs in two races for the city commission of Daytona Beach.

A Negro candidate for position on the school board of Pinellas County earlier this year received 70% of her support from white voters.

There have been others.

The manner in which these bids for public office have been quietly received, and reported as simply a part of the political scene, is another indication of the way in which Florida can and does adjust to changing times and patterns.

Such activity on the part of Negroes should likewise serve to encourage additional participation in the vital business of choosing our public leaders, lending extra "color" to the campaigns !

## Gainesville's Fourth —

The Gainesville Council and the Student Religious Assoc. of the Univ. of Fla. have just held their Fourth Annual Institute on Human Relations. Beginning on Friday evening it ran through the middle of Saturday afternoon.

Keynote speaker, Dr. Charles U. Smith, delivered such a thought provoking address it has been reproduced and is being distributed by the G'ville Council. The title, "Race, Human Relations, and the Changing South".

A most successful project, from opening remarks of the student body president to the close.

## SRC Prexy Hob Nobs & Talks —

Dr. James McBride Dabbs, president of the Southern Regional Council, was the major speaker in Miami on Nov. 29th at the Equal Opportunity Day dinner- part of a national observance by the Urban League.

Held in the Everglades Hotel, over 400 people heard Mr. Dabbs, who shared speakers honors with the Ambassador from Ghana, His Excellency William M.Q. Halm. Plaques citing persons for their contributions toward improved Human Relations were presented to seven people- two of them representing Gov. Collins and Mayor High.

The honor of introducing Dr. Dabbs was given Bill Williams.

Dr. Dabbs has that rare faculty of leaving white and Negro folks feeling that they have a common heritage and a potentially marvelous future to share, urging us to forget the myths of the past and get on with the business of the present.

He has a second book out- "The Road Home", which is an autobiography. You'll remember "The Southern Heritage" as one of the truly outstanding statements to come out of the South.

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The new brochure enclosed with this newsletter has just been printed. Help us circulate it, willya????

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The FCHR is a non-profit, non-political organization dedicated to the well being of all Floridans. It needs, and merits, your support.

4241 SW 109 Ct, Miami 55, Fla.

Fla - PUBLICATIONS E S

# Newsletter

Phone
305 691-0220

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

6241 N.W. 17th Avenue Miami, Florida 33147

H. Franklin Williams Ph.D.
President

August H. VandenBosche
Executive Director

DIRECTOR'S CORNER:

Let me take a moment for editorial comment after my first ten weeks in office. Ten of the local councils have been visited. The state office has been moved from Daytona to Miami. Eight thousand miles have been put on the Falcon. There have been two trips to Atlanta. A new staff member has been added, and a new office manager is on the job.

It would be an exaggeration to say that now I am oriented to my responsibilities and familiar with our opportunities in human relations. I am deeply impressed with the work that the local councils are doing and with the dedication of our members to the situations they face in the local community.

Equally impressive to me is the gigantic task ahead of us in our program areas. We have just scratched the surface in securing equal opportunities, rights, and liberties for everyone in Florida. The attitudes of those involved in the areas where there have been some accomplishments, still remain, to an alarming degree attitudes of a paternalistic society granting favors. In so many of our counties the power structure remains militantly discriminating.

I feel that the time has come for us to become more aggressive in our work. We should step up our programs aimed at changing our communities. Now is the time for us to search out those who would support our program and enlist them in our work.

Also, the time has come for cooperation. We have neither the time nor the personnel to work all alone. Other organizations have similar aims and programs. Wherever we can, let us work in unison to fulfill those objectives.

MEET THE NEW MEMBERS OF THE F.C.H.R. FAMILY

We are most happy to announce the addition of Mr. LaVert Taylor to our staff, as Rural Advancement Project Director. Almost simultaneously with his accepting this position, LaVert announced his marriage; we all take this oportunity to extend our congratulations and to wish him and his lovely wife, Edna, great happiness.

LaVert was born in Shreveport, Louisiana, where he received his early schooling, graduating from Booker T. Washington High School. He attended Grambling College, Grambling, La., Butler Christian College, Tyler, Texas, and Shaw University in Raleigh, N.C. He also had some additional schooling at the Urban Training Center for Christian Missions in Chicago.

In spite of his years, being only 25, Mr. Taylor has behind him an impressive career which includes being a radio announcer for Station KRZY in Dallas, Texas, serving as Pastor for two years at the Second Baptist Church in Chapel Hill, N.C. and much Civil Rights work as Louisiana Representative for CORE and as Organizer and Project Director for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Missippi, North Carolina, and Virginia.

F.C.H.R. FAMILY(continued)

In Rural Advancement Project Work, Mr. Taylor will have the following responsibilities;

1. Aid in the development of local rural leadership and community organization.

2. Document needs of local areas, and present findings to appropriate federal, state, and local administrative agencies.

3. Bring information about federal and state programs to those who are eligible, but have thus far not benefited, and to assist in their obtaining the aid to which they are entitled.

4. Combat discriminatory practices in the administration of government programs designed to assist low income farmers and other local rural people.

Mrs. Ann Garey--Office Manager

With the moving of our state headquarters to Miami, we have added a full time office manager.

Mrs. Ann Garey came to the office on March 1st. She has lived in Miami for eight years and has been active in the Greater Miami Chapter, serving on their executive board. She was raised and received her schooling in Cleveland, Ohio. She is a widow and the mother of three children--Anita, 18, married and living in California, Margo 15, and Shaaron, 11.

Ann is a member of the First Unitarian Church of Miami, and active in their religious education program. She has served as Resident Chaperone at the United Christian Fellowship House at Kent State University in Ohio, worked as nursery school teacher, and held various office jobs.

EXPANDED GRANT-IN-AID:

We have received an additional grant from the Southern Regional Council to enable us to increase our membership and program, and to become self-sustaining in our basic staffed operations.

This assistance comes at a most opportune time for our state council. It will give us the needed funds to employ an intern for a year to assist us in our staff responsibilities. This will mean increased services to our local councils and increased program and research tasks that we can develop.

One of the important guidelines included for evaluation purposes which will definitely be related to the continuation or revision of our grant for 1967, will be the membership and financial growth of our state council.

FLORIDA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES--SEMINAR ON RELIGION AND RACE.

The Florida Council of Churches will conduct a state-wide Seminar on Religion and Race at Bethune-Cookman College, at Daytona Beach, May 3-4, 1966. The cost will be approximatley $10.00, which includes a $2.00 registration fee, a double occupancy motel room, and meals. The program is one that would be helpful to our members. If you are interested, write to The Florida Council of Churches, 100 Liberty Ave., Orlando, Fla.32801.

BOB SAUNDERS MOVES TO POVERTY PROGRAM:

Robert W. Saunders has moved from his position of Florida Field Director of N.A.A.C.P. to become the Civil Rights Director for the Southern Regional Office, Office of Economic Opportunity. His new responsibility is that of Program Specialist for Civil Rights, according to Frank K. Sloan, Regional Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The best wishes of the entire council go to Mr. Saunders in his new venture.

ATTENTION--DISPLACED TEACHERS!

Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, has fellowships available for science teachers displaced as a result of changes in school populations due to Civil Rights Act of 1964. The stipend is for $4000.00 ,tax free, for the academic year, plus an allowance of $500.00 for each dependent, not exceeding four. The deadline for applying is April 5th. Applications and literature are available at the State Council office, or write to Dr. Stuart C. Whitcomb, Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana.

H.E.W. NEEDS COMPLIANCE STAFF:

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare hopes to recruit for employment about 200 permanent, professional staff members for work in their Civil Rights compliance program, according to James C. O'Brien, Director of Personnel. In addition they plan to employ about 100 professional persons and 200 graduate students for temporary summerwork 98-10 weeks' in Cvil Rights compliance.

Any persons interested should secure an Application for Federal Employment (standard form #57) from the nearest Post Office and send it to: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Room 5316 North Building
c/o Mr. Charles Dawson
330 Independence Ave. S.W., Washington, D.C.

KOINONIA COMMUNITY ASKS FOR HELP:

Word has been received from Koinonia Community, Rt. 2, Americus Gerogia, that one of their students, Greg Wittkamper, is in need of tuition help to atten a unique school--The Friends World Institute. Greg was "beat up, pelted with stones, called filthy names, smeared with barbecue sauce and endured countless other vulgarities" when he attended Americus High School.

The help they are asking is as imaginative as the school Greg attends. Any contributions to the school library, of books or funds will be applied to Greg's tition. Mail to Committee on a Friends Worl College, 5722 Northern Blvd., East Norwich, New York, 11732 for further information.

NEWS FROM SOME OF OUR LOCAL CHAPTERS

Palm Beach County

Concerned with the placement of new schools in Riviera Beach which will perpetrate segregation. An investigation has been requested by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Refusal to serve Mrs. Florence Nelson in a Canal Point Restaurant on March 10, has resulted in complaints being sent to the Department of Justice regarding discriminatory practices on the part of the owner, Mr. L.P. Turbeville.

Broward County

Emphasizes desegregation and meaningful integration of the schools.

Jacksonville

Heard Mr. Vernon E. Jordan Jr. of the Southern Regional Council at a successful banquet. Mr. Jordan warned "do not be misled about civil rights progress."

Upper Pinellas County

Clearwater is one of our very active chapters. Last month at a joint meeting with the N.A.A.C.P. and the United Nations Association, a cherry bomb was thrown into the meeting room, which rather disturbed the meeting. Mr. K. Kaplan, National President of the N.A.A.C.P. was the featured speaker.

TO ALL CHAPTERS

Send us information and articles of interest about your chapter to be included in our next news letter.

WORKSHOP--ORLANDO, MAY 6-7.

All executive committee members, board of directors and a representative from each council are invited to the Angebilt Hotel in Orlando on May 6-7, for a workshop on the work of F.C.H.R. and its local councils. The meetings will begin with dinner at 7:00P.M. on the 6th. Reservations may be made by writing to the state headquarters. Staff members from the Southern Regional Council will be with us as leaders of the workshop.

**MEMBERSHIP REMINDER:**

If you have overlooked your membership for this year, please send it to YOUR LOCAL COUNCIL, or to the State Office at 6241 N.W. 17th Ave., Miami, Florida, 33147. Your local council will be credited for any contributions sent to the state office.

---

Mr/Mrs.____Mr.____Mrs.____Miss____
Name _____

Address _____Zip Code_____

I will contribute: $5.00____$10.00____$25.00____ Other_____
Year_____Month_____Quarter_____

**WE NEED A NAME**

This "Newsletter" needs a meaningful name. Please send us your suggestions. We would like something which will catch the reader's eye!

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
6241 N.W. 17th Avenue
Miami, Florida, 33147

Non-Proft Org.
U.S. Postage Pd.
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Miami, Florida

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

# Florida Council On Human Relations

324 South Beach Street

Daytona Beach, Florida

affiliated with

Southern Regional Council

## OUR PURPOSE:

### To "WORK IT OUT LIKE GROWN-UPS"

• The Florida Council stands for a calm, studied approach to the problems of the South. It believes the peaceful evolution of better race conditions in the South can best be brought about by the interracial conscience of the South, and that Southerners of both races can take the lead in solving their own problems.

## OUR METHOD:

• The Florida Council on Human Relations undertakes to do for Florida what the Southern Regional Council has been doing for the South: Search out the facts and turn the light of reason upon problems which too often have been approached only on the basis of feeling. It will take into consideration Southern mores, but it will not let tradition be its only guide in setting a pattern for the future. It's attitude will be practical but standing firmly for acceptance of law as one of the basic American traditions and one essential to the moral health of all our people. It wants to be armed with the facts; it will strive for justice and rationality. It wants to be there to counsel on a local level when and if the going becomes difficult.


EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Florida Council on Human Relations

Dr. Paul F. Finner, *Chairman;* Tallahassee

Mr. W. C. Taylor, *Vice-Chairman;* Belle Glade

Mr. I. H. Burney, *Treasurer;* Jacksonville

Mrs. Nathan Starr, *Secretary;* Gainesville

Mr. Herbert Davidson — Daytona Beach
Editor, News-Journal

Mr. Davisson Dunlap — Jacksonville
Attorney

Mr. Hollis Rinehart — Miami
Attorney

Mr. M. L. Kidd — Tallahassee
Florida A & M


## OUR POLICY:

• The Florida Council realizes that in Florida, with its great population consisting of large numbers of people of every race, color, religion, national origin and ancestry, there is no greater danger to the state, and its citizens than the existence of groups prejudiced against one another and antagonistic to each other because of these differences.

• Prejudice, intolerance, bigotry, discrimination and disorder threaten the rights and proper privileges of our citizens and menace the institutions of a free, democratic state.

• The Council will work for mutual understanding and respect among all groups in Florida. It will seek to eliminate prejudice, discrimination and disorder and give effect to the guarantee of equal rights for all, assured by the Constitution and the laws of Florida and of the USA.

• We do not believe in the exclusive validity of any single approach or any single organization. There is not only room, but a desperate need for a wide variety of programs concerned with broadening democracy through legal, economic, legislative religious and educational means.

## *the South of the* FUTURE

toward which our efforts are directed! A South where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where all can feel confident of personal safety and equality before the law; where there will exist no double standard in housing, health, education, or other public services; where, above all, every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and self-respect, in recognition of his creation in the image of God.

*—From "A Statement of Policy and Aims of the Southern Regional Council"*

## OUR ROOTS:

• The Florida Council is the fruit of efforts which began as early as 1919 to face current problems in search of solutions. It is an affiliate of the Southern Regional Council, itself formed in 1943 to focus and unite the concerns of the South. A wide variety of church affiliates is represented on its board, as well as leading attorneys and educational leaders. The Florida Council will endeavor to make its contributions on the same high plane.

# You Can Help

BE A PART - - -

of the Florida Council (The membership blank on the back of this page may be used by persons of any creed or color who are in accord with the aims of the Council.)

of your local planning and working groups.

CALL ON US - - -

• Our materials and consulting service are available to any community or individual.

WE ARE - - -

• Non-political, non-profit, deriving our support from membership dues, contributions and grants from SRC, non denominational and at the same time supported by all faiths.

## MEMBERSHIP BLANK

**Fla. Council on Human Relations**
**324 South Beach St., Daytona Beach, Fla.**

Believing in the principles and aims of the FCHR, I would like to become a

Single Member.....($5.00)
Joint Member.....)$7.50)
(Husband & wife)

Student .....($2.00)
Contributor ..... ($ )

(Each membership includes subscription to "New South" a publication issued monthly by the Southern Regional Council.)

Full Name..... Street .....

City..... County..... Occupation.....

Check Money Order Cash

# "Why I Belong to the FCHR"

Because no problem facing our state and nation is more important to the preservation of the free world and the success of democracy, and because I believe the problem can only be solved through education at the local level I am a member of the Florida Council on Human Relations. Right thinking people of both races by working together can solve the problem to the ultimate benefit of all of our citizens.

THE RT. REV. HENRY I. LOUITT
Bishop of South Florida
Episcopal Church

The program of the Florida Council stresses mutual understanding, harmony and good will in the preservation of law and order during a critical period.

PAUL F. FINNER
Professor Emeritus, F.S.U.

I belong to the Florida Council of Human Relations because of what I believe is its sincere Interest in, and its Sane approach to the problems of the People.

W. C. TAYLOR
Mortician Belle Glade

I belong to the Florida Council because I have seen terrific tensions develop between racial, religious, and nationality groups in our community and in our state. There is a great need for some organized effort to relieve these tensions when they develop and better still to prevent them from developing. The Florida Council represents such an effort. It will do much to maintain harmonious human relations in our state.

CAXTON DOGGETT
Minister, Rader Memorial Methodist Church, Miami, Fla.

I am active in the Florida Council of Human Relations because it is made up of men and women who try earnestly to demonstrate in their daily lives the principles of true democracy and Christianity by treating people of all races and religions as neighbors. We hold that the rights of all men are inseverably linked so that we cannot harm nor degrade nor torment one individual from among all the millions on this planet without in some degree wounding each of the others. For our country to achieve its possibilities all its people of all races and all religions must work together for the betterment of all. To act otherwise is to demonstrate our denial of a belief in democracy.

THOMAS DREIER
1011 Brightwaters Blvd.
St. Petersburg Editor & Writer

I belong to the Florida Council on Human Relations because I believe it to be the best vehicle for solving of Interracial problems Southwide, Statewide, and on the local community level.

I. H. BURNEY
Vice President Afro-American
Life Insurance Company

I belong to the Florida Council on Human Relations because, as a Christian, I am anxious every man shall share equally in all the blessings of a great democracy and that there shall be real brotherhood regardless of nationality or skin color. Since a group such as Florida Council can help to put these beliefs into action and that inspiration and strength comes from such a group, it is a true benefit to be a member.

MRS. W. C. WHITE, Jacksonville

I belong to the Fla. Council of Human Relations because I want to work effectively toward bringing the American principles of equality of opportunity and human dignity into full recognition and practice in Florida. This is an obligation to myself and to my state even more than to the large part of our population to whom the benefits of equality and dignity have been systematically denied.

MRS. NATHAN C. STARR, Gainesville

**Question Before Probers:** MIAMI HERALD

# Are Reds 'Using' Segregation Foes?

2-8-58

By JOHN McDERMOTT
Herald Political Writer

Is the Communist Party using pro-integrationists to create turmoil in Florida and other states?

That is what a legislative committee headed by Sen. Charley Johns of Starke will attempt to prove in hearings at Tallahassee and Miami.

**Approximately 40 persons have been subpenaed for the hearings which begin Monday in the capital and on Feb. 26 in Miami.**

Johns said the hearings will be aimed at deterring Communist activities in the field of racial conflict.

An added touch of importance was given the hearings when it was announced that the chief witness at the Tallahassee session will be J. B. Matthews, a New York and Washington investigator.

**Matthews directed several major congressional investigations of subversive Communist activity. He also served as an adviser to the late Red-hunting Sen. Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin.**

State Rep. Cliff Herrell of Miami, a member of the joint Senate-House investigating committee said he has no advance knowledge of the nature of the hearings. Furthermore, he said committee regulations require that all announcements come from the committee chairman.

Among those called for either the Tallahassee or Miami probes are members of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Florida Council of Human Relations, Florida A. & M. University and in addition, persons known to have been Communist sympathizers.

**Johns said in a prepared statement that the hearings would be aimed at determining to what extent Communist activity fired up racial conflict.**

Johns said the committee has "information regarding Communistic activities in several vital phases of life in Florida and other states."

The Johns statement, released through Committee Attorney Mark Hawes, said the committee would attempt to show "who these Communists are, what their aims are and what their activities are and have been."

Besides Matthews, one of the star witnesses subpenaed for the Tallahassee hearing is Mrs. William C. White of Jacksonville, secretary of the Florida Council for Human Relations.

**Her Miami counterpart, Mrs. A. Waldie Holroyd, 7710 NW Second Ave., is among approximately 35 subpenaed for the Miami hearing.**

Mrs. Holroyd's comment, when contacted by The Herald, was typical of those receiving subpenas:

"I don't know why I have been subpenaed. I assume that it is because I am active in the Council for Human Relations. We have favored the school integration because we think integration will come eventually and we would like to see it done peacefully. We have been trying to allay fears."

In addition to summons issued Thursday — mostly involving Miami Beach area residents — those served Friday by Constable W. N. (Newt) Hudson's office were:

**Louis Powesky, 2224 NW 58th St.; Phillip Seligman, 5930 SW 2nd Ter.; Phillip and Leah Feldman, 138 NW First St.; Jack Begler, 1120 NW 186th St.; Vernell Albury, 7156 NW 15th Ct., NAACP treasurer.**

G. E. Graves, Jr., 802 NW 2nd Ave., attorney for the NAACP; Dr. G. W. Hawkins, 1018 NW Second Ave., former president of the NAACP here; the Rev. Edward T. Graham, a Negro Minister, 356 NW Ninth St.; Mrs. Blanche McKinney, 9455 NW 36th Ave.

Arlington Sands, 152 NW 10th St.; Louis Potts, 14700 Buchanan St., Richmond Heights; Jose Carbonell, 3614 NW 12th Ter.; Howard Dixon, Seybold Bldg., former NAACP attorney; Charles Marks, 3088 SW 40th St., and Bertha Teplow, 253 NE 34th St.

**Hudson's office reported that the constable had "about eight more" subpenas to serve.**

Feldman, Carbonell, Begler, Marks and Mrs. Feldman had been questioned in previous hearings concerning Communist activity in Florida.

Harold - And my good friend - Ex- Mayor, now State Representative J E Jerome of Rock Hill has introduced similar legislation in Col. SC The "mon zer" Bob.

er Vote
Upheld


# The Florida Times-Union

SECTION 2

Local News, State, Classified Ads and Markets

TIDES AT THE BEACHES

High, 11:00 A.M.; 11:30 P.M.; Low 4:48 A.M.; 5:13 P.M.

JACKSONVILLE, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1958




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WITNESSES CALLED MONDAY

# Communist Efforts in State Due Airing in Solon's Probe

TALLAHASSEE, Feb. 7 (UP)—Communists and their efforts to stir up racial unrest in Florida will be the target of a special legislative investigating committee which opens public hearings here Monday, Chairman Charley E. Johns of Starke said today.

Chief witness at the Tallahassee hearings will be J. B. Matthews of New York and Washington who the committee said had directed a number of congressional investigations of communism.

The record shows Matthews was research director of the House Committee on Un-American Activities from 1940 through 1944, and later was hired by the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy as an adviser when McCarthy became chairman of a permanent investigating committee.

Other witnesses include Mrs. William C. White, Jacksonville, secretary of the Florida Council of Human Relations; Dr. Emmet W. Basful, Florida A&M University professor and secretary of the Tallahassee branch of the council, and Edwin E. Waller, Naples, identified only as a "private citizen."

Mrs. White was ordered to bring with her all records of the council, an integrated organization whose avowed aim is to promote better relations between the white and Negro races.

**List of Witnesses**

Committee counsel Mark Hawes of Tampa released a partial list of witnesses for a second public hearing in Miami Feb. 26, which he said also will be "primarily concerned with communism." The list includes several past or present officials of the Miami NAACP who testified before a similar legislative committee last year which investigated activities of the NAACP in "stirring up" race litigation.

In a statement released through Hawes, Sen. Johns said his seven-man committee has "information regarding Communists activities in several vital phases of life in Florida and other states."

"One of the aims of the Communist party in Florida, as elsewhere in the South, is to agitate racial conflict and unrest. This phase of the Communist party activities in Florida will be thoroughly developed as well as their other phases of activities," he said.

"The committee will develop the facts in regard to who these Communists are, what their aims are, and what their activities are and have been. It will develop the manner and means through which these individuals operate in their efforts to carry out their Communist activities. We will attempt to determine how successful their efforts have been in their various fields of endeavor."

Johns said the Tallahassee hearing will be devoted to developing the general aims, methods and means [illegible] of the Communist pa[illegible] in Miami and perhaps Jacksonville and Tampa, will develop efforts to carry out these aims in [illegible] he said.

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# Red Gains In NAACP Charged

By JOHN L. BOYLES
Chief of Our Capitol Bureau

TALLAHASSEE — A veteran of Congressional investigations respun the record on alleged Communist-front organizations Monday for the Florida Legislative committee probing racial tension.

Dr. Joseph Brown Mathews, 63pyear-old former Socialist, asserted that "for the past 30 years the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peopleh as been a prime target of Communist penetration.

"The record will show conclusively," Mathews said, "that the Communist apparatus has registered a degree of success in penetrating the NAACP which is not paralleledi n the case of any other non-Communist organization."

**Mathews, a native Kentuckian who has spent most of his life in New York, claimed he has documented evidence of Red infiltration into the field of race relations while he was serving on the staff of The House Un-American Activities Committee and for the committee headed by the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy.**

"It is a basic item in Communist strategy to accentuate and exploit every situation of social tension and turbulence. Where such situations do not exist," Mathews said, "The Communists exert every possible effort toward manufacturing them.

"If the South should suddenly wipe out all forms of segregation, the Communists would lose all interest in the question ofi ntegration."

Carefully phrasing his answers, Mathews asserted that

Turn to Page 2A Col. 3

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medicine man adopts her

**Prober Links NAACP**

# *Commie Strides In Dixie Charged*

Continued from Page 1

"Communists and all other left-wingers strongly favor the centralization of power in the federal government and the corresponding obliteration o states' rights.

"As long as the constitutional system of 48 sovereign states exists, the states represent pockets of resistance against a revolutionary advance of Communism. Every encroachment upon the reserved rights of the states is applauded by the Communists."

**Matthews testified that the record will show that Communists and Communist influence have been directly involved in every major race incident of the past four years since the Supreme Court 'legislated' on the subject of integration."**

He told the committee that of 236 names on the letterhead of the NAACP and an affiliate organization, 46 were persons who belonged to anywhere from 15t o 108 groups allegedly infiltrated or used by Communists.

Mathews, reading off a list of names found in Who's Who, said he was not accusing any of them of being Communists or believing in aims of the Communist party.

The list included Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Edward L. Parsons, Protestant Episcopal Bishop; Author Van Wyck Brooks, Poet Archibald Macleish, Frank P. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina; Socialist Party lead-

Norman Thomas, lyricswriter Oscar Hammerstein II, Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam and newspaper columnists Max Lerner and Lewis Gannett.

Mathews charged the southern Conference Educational Fund with headquarters in New Orleans, formerly the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, is a Communist-front group designed to stir up racial tension in the South.

Sen. Charley Johns, committee hcairman, praised Mathews at the outset as "the leading authority on the subject of communism in this country."

**Johns said the committee did not intend to "injure, harass, or unnecessarily embarass any individual or organization" in its inquiry.**

He asked that no conclusions be drawn from the testimony "until the full facts" are presented.

The committee will resume at 10 a. m. today when it is expectedt o call to the stand Mrs. William C. White of Jacksonville, secretary of the Florida Council for Human Relations, an integrated organization aimed at bettering race relations.

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Miami Seaquarium's Jacques Mayel hitches a ride on one of the most vicious members in the shark kingdom, a 13-shoulder. The Seaquarium had a battery of skindivers with harpoons ready to protect Mayel if anything went amiss.
—International News Photo

# Top Witness Is Expert On Red U.S. Activities

Miami Herald 2-11-58

*Related Story, 1A*

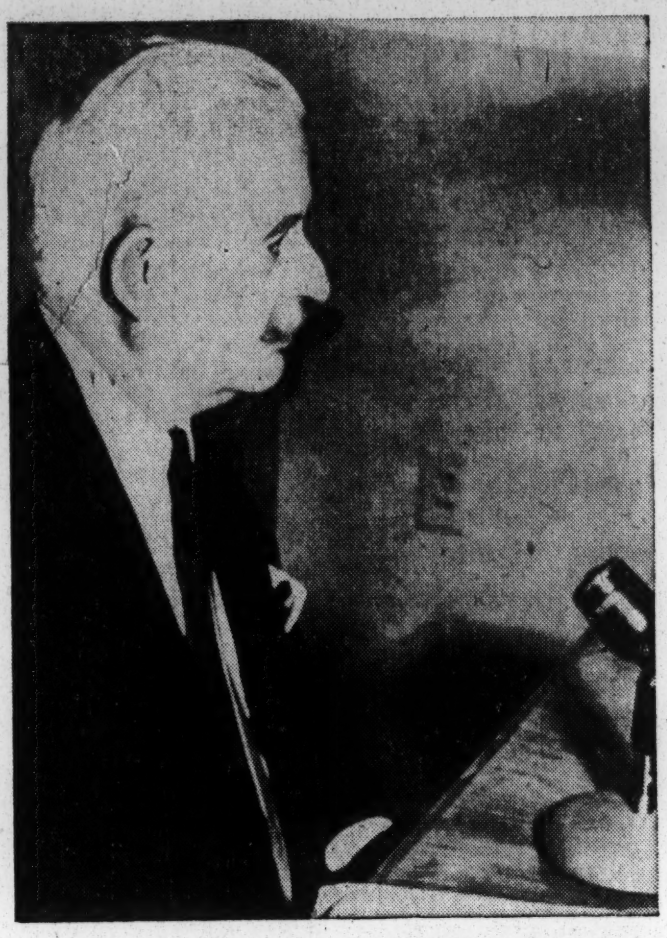
TALLAHASSEE —(AP)— J. B. Matthews, the Florida Legislative Investigating Committee's chief witness on communism, by his own count was a member of 28 Red-front organizations and a leftist, but never a card-carrying Communist.

Matthews, about 63, was suspended from the Socialist Party as being too far left.

**He appeared before the Florida committee neatly dressed in a blue suit, his white hair smoothed back and sported a big handlebar mustache. He testified in a quiet voice as the committee set about outlining the general aims of the Communist Party.**

The committee chairman, State Sen. Charley Johns, called Matthews "the leading authority on the subject of communism in this country."

Matthews became executive director for the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy's Senate investigations subcommittee in 1953, but left after only a few weeks amid a furor over an article he had previously written for a national magazine.



—Associated Press Wirephoto

**J. B. Matthews on Stand**
*. . . belonged to 28 red-front groups*

**In the article, Matthews said "the largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the U.S. is composed of Protestant clergy."**

He said the article was not anti-religious and added, "If I could make a few hundred Protestants refrain from lending their names to Communist causes, I think I will have done the church a service."

President Eisenhower deplored the article as violating the "principles of freedom and decency."

**McCarthy asked for and got Matthews' resignation July 9, 1953. In an interview next day, Matthews described himself as "a libertarian of the 19th century variety."**

That means one who, he said "is opposed to statism and collectivism in all its forms—communism, socialism and the new deal."

A native of Hopkinsville, Ky., Matthews was reared as a strict Methodist. After graduation from Asbury College, he went to the Orient, where he was a teacher at a Chinese school in Java. He was ordained a minister before he returned to the U.S. He took several advanced educational degrees, including a Ph.D.

**In 1929 he became executive secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, an anti-war organization. He has said that step was one of the most decisive of his life.**

It led him, he said, into "numerous radical activities of a socialist and pacifist complexion."

He said, "I was a leftist, a member of the Socialist Party, I regret to say, but I never was a Communist, bund member or facist."

It was at this period he joined the Communist-front organizations and became an officeholder in 15, he said.

**In 1935 he said he concluded "you can't work with the Communists" and three years later became a witness and then chief investigator for the House Committee on un-American Activities. He was credited with shifting the attention of the committee from the Communist Party to the fellow-travelers.**

He worked with the committee nine years and then became a private consultant on communism in New York until he was hired by Sen. McCarthy.

## Secretaries to Meet

Miami Chapter of the National Secretaries Association (International) will meet at 6:30 p.m. Wednesday in the McAllister Hotel.

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Harold Fleming

NATHAN PERLMUTTER
FLORIDA REGIONAL OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
330 Seybold Bldg., Miami - FR 3-6306

# 15 Listed as Communists In Hearing at Tallahassee

# Mrs. Paul Crouch's Deposition Names Past, Present Miamians; Hearing To Shift Here on Feb. 26

By JOHN BOYLES
Chief of Our Capitol Bureau

TALLAHASSEE The Florida Legislative Committee ended its session in Tallahassee Tuesday after hearing 15 Miamians and former Miamians listed as having been connected with alleged Communist organizations.

The committee, investigating reported Communist ties with racial agitation in Florida, moves to Miami for hearings beginning Feb. 26.

Also highlighting Tuesday's meeting was a short-lived threat by Rep. W. C. Herrell, of Miami, to resign.

**The incident occurred when Businessman James K. Shaw, treasurer of the Tallahassee Council on Human Relations, was cut short by Committee Counsel Mark Hawes when he (Shaw) protested the subpenaing of the organization's records.**

Herrell, who contended the witness should be allowed to speak his piece, declared:

"The committee can have my resignation if it intends to put a blinder and a mouth gag on every witness."

What looked like a stormy issue suddenly fell flat, however, when the committee members allowed Shaw to have his say.

It was during the reading of testimony given earlier by Mrs. Sylvia Crouch that the 15 names were listed.

Mrs. Crouch is the widow of Paul Crouch, longtime Red who once edited a weekly paper in Dade County.

**An ardent Communist for almost 20 years before he became a paid informer for the government, Crouch is credited with having helped inspire the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy on his Red-hunting spree.**

Since Crouch's death in 1955, the credibility of much of his "inside information" has been disputed by some government sources and several newspaper columnists.

Hawes said most of the names given by Mrs. Crouch will be among the 30 witnesses scheduled to appear at the Miami hearing. Actually, at least 10 of the 15 have long been revealed as being linked with leftist activities here. Many no longer live here.

They are:

Leo Sheiner — former Miami attorney, disbarred because of refusal to answer questions on alleged Communist activities but later readmitted to the bar.

Jack Strong, also known as Jack Sapphire and Isadore Sapphire — he was tagged in a 1954 Congressional probe as a former educational director for the Communist Party here.

**James B. Nemo (or Nimmo) — a former laundry workers union organizer, balked at answering questions by Dade grand jury probing communism. Also named in Congressional investigation.**

Michael Shantzek — former Miami Beach house painter, sent to jail in 1954 for contempt in grand jury probe of Communists.

Charles Smolikoff — an ex-Miami Beach gift shop owner and member of the Transport Workers Union, jailed for contempt in same probe as Shantzek. Once called Dade's party leader.

M. L. Edwards — onetime official in airline workers union here, arrested in 1954 on a charge of lying when he denied ever having been a Communist.

Irving and Shirley Gold — husband and wife, officials in Red group here and distributors of Red propaganda in labor unions.

Theresa Kanter — labeled "well-known Communist" by House Un-American Activities Subcommittee.

George Nelson — Once called Florida's Communist Party chairman.

Others named by Mrs. Crouch were Gail and Carroll Gropers, Nat Ross, Phil Shepsky and Carolyn Stevens.

Hawes said Mrs. Crouch, now living in Hawaii, was found to be visiting in New York and was persuaded to come to Florida Jan. 7, 1958, to give her testimony to Hawes, Committee Chairman Sen. Charley Johns, Rep. William O'Neill and Sen. Randolph Hodges at Johns' hometown of Starke.

Dined 5/2

February 18, 1958

Mr. William K. Williams
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
213 N. E. Second Avenue
Miami, Florida

Dear Bill:

I assume that during the day today Harold Fleming will be able to reach you by phone. If so, you will understand the purpose of the enclosed material.

Since J. B. Matthews has been responsible for several attacks on the Council and its board members, it is entirely possible that he will draw SRC into the current hearings. Therefore, it seems wise that you have material which will allow you to refute effectively any charges he may make against the Council and against the Florida Council by virtue of its association with SRC. We are not suggesting that you release this material or make use of it unless it is necessary. If, however, it does become necessary, the enclosed material, largely setting straight the facts about the Council and its membership, should put you in good shape to refute any charges against SRC.

Among the materials enclosed is our most recent list of board members. They are identified by profession on the list. If any of these names should arise, you might make a particular effort to identify the people and their work.

We are all interested and concerned about your situation and if there is the least possibility that we can be of further help, let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
enclosures

Statement for Meeting of Trustees of Wesley Mem. Bldg.
Thomas Waring editorial & HCF ltr. of June 28, 1957
MAW's ltr. to W. M. Rainach, dtd. April 24, 1957
Firing Line Analysis
List of Board Members attacked by Hearst Journal-American of Nov. 8, 1955
Augusta Courier Analysis
3 copies - Congressional Record Reprint
2 copies - SRC History and Aims
Current Board List
Thermo. copy of ltr. from Francis E. Walter (House Un-American Acitivies Committee)

Investigation of

February 19, 1958

Mr. William K. Williams
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
213 N. W. Second Avenue
Miami 32, Florida

Dear Bill:

Enclosed are more materials which may be of some help to you. I have learned from Harold Fleming that he was unable to reach you by phone yesterday. We are very anxious to keep in close touch with you and hope that you will call us at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures

Inquiries

February 19, 1958

Mr. A. R. Mead
1719 N. W. 6th Avenue
Gainesville, Florida

Dear Mr. Mead:

I am sorry that we have taken so long to answer your letter of the 12th. Mr. Fleming is ill and away from the office. Therefore, your letter has been called to my attention.

Enclosed are several pieces of material which should be of help to you. We do not have a great deal of the type of material you need.

We have sent such material as we thought would be helpful to Bill Williams of Miami, Director of the Florida Council on Human Relations. Perhaps you will also be in touch with him.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures.

---Rcd 2/14/58

Gainesville, Florida,
February 12th, 1958.

Dr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta.

Dear Dr. Fleming:

J.B.Matthews of Senator McCarthy snooping and smear fame in our fair land helping to smear negroes and white folks. We know a little about him. We do not know what organizations have been classed as real Communist fronts--and he seems to have all organizations there that differ from him. A legislative committee is holding hearings and is now shifting to Miami, Florida. We need facts quickly about these former Communists? Can your office send us some quickly? I believe we have sources of getting it into the press--at least into enough that it will be a partial "back fire".

Your help will be much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

A R Mead

A.R.Mead,
1719 N.W. 6th Ave.
Gainesville,
Florida.

I am a member of our local Council and Chairman of the several interest groups of which we six. ARM

I saw-heard Gov. Griffin on TV last night. It was a terrible throwback to near primitives.

On Monday, May 6, 1968, 211 of the 235 employees of the Department of Sanitation, City of St. Petersburg, refused to report for work. They claimed that they had been promised a pay raise which did not materialize. They demanded an increase of 20 cents above the $1.87 to $2.27 an hour they were being paid for a 40 hour week. All but one of the striking employees were Negroes. Only 24 men remained on the job.

City Manager Lynn Andrews offered them a 5-cent raise to stay at work while the salary question was negotiated. The men refused and, on May 8, Andrews discharged them. He pointed out that a strike by public employees is illegal under Florida law. The city began recruiting replacements immediately. Within three weeks sanitation service had been restored to normal. In the interim trucks and crews had operated with a police escort. On at least one occasion eight prisoners from the city jail were used to collect garbage in a Negro residential neighborhood. Migrant workers, and men from other cities were hired, despite a city ordinance which requires, at least ordinarily, a six-months residence in the city. A great many of them were white, including all of the new drivers and crew chiefs.

The dispute had been brewing for more than two months. Walter Shultz, who was head of the Sanitation Department at the time of the work stoppage, had been hired on a temporary basis for the purpose of setting up a more efficient system of garbage collection. Under the old system, older men and those who had injuries worked on trash crews, while younger men collected garbage, handling heavy containers. Residents received twice-weekly garbage pickups--on a Monday-Thursday, Tuesday-Friday, and Wednesday-Saturday schedule.

Shultz proposed to shift 40-50 of the older men out of the department and, with a reduced force of 235, to provide all customers with either Monday-Thursday or Tuesday-Friday garbage service, to have the entire force collect trash on Wednesday, and to have Saturday as a holiday.

The workers rejected the plan, but it was put into effect anyway, on March 18. The men then agreed to work for thirty days on Mr. Shultz's promise that, at the end of that period, the books would be opened to the men and their spokesman-attorney, James Sanderlin, and savings to the Department would be shared on a 50-50 basis. His statement was public, quoted in the local press. Two weeks before the walkout he was quoted as commenting, "the men are working harder and deserve more money."

The books were not opened on April 15, but the men agreed to a delay of two weeks. On April 29 the city administration again refused to allow examination of the books and asked for another two-week postponement. The workers did not agree to this formally, but they did work another week. Then came the work stoppage on May 6 and the dismissals on May 8. The men claimed that the stoppage was not a strike at all, but a suspension of work in a confused and tense situation. The said that the city wanted the suspension as much as they, because of possible violence.

Reduction of the work force meant savings of $240,000 per year to the Department in wages alone. More efficient use of equipment should have meant even greater savings. In offering a 5-cents per hour raise, Andrews said that this increase to all 950 city employees would cost the city $100,000 and that to raise all city employees by 20 cents per hour would cost $400,000.

The sanitation men replied that other departments should be called upon to effect their own economies, thus earning their own increases.

City Manager Andrews considered the matter settled with ~~the~~ his firing of the sanitation workers and their replacement with new employees. He stated that there was no point in further negotiations: the men were no longer employees of the city. And, in fact, that is where the matter stands -- despite much activity on all sides, despite police cruisers following garbage trucks, despite the purchase of $35,000 worth of riot equipment by the city, despite twelve known fire-bombings by June 18, despite comings and goings of civil rights personnalities, and despite $61,000 in overtime police work in one five-week period. ~~The~~ St. Petersburg is left with serious divisions and tensions, between blacks and whites, within the white community, within the black community, within the city administration, within the city council, and within the business community. But the city administration, under Andrews, appears able to make its policy stick, with ~~none~~ none of the opposing forces, or any combination of them, able to muster enough power to challenge it effectively.

It quickly became apparent that Andrews had quietly taken over the reigns of the Department of Sanitation from Shultz, whom the workers described as "a nice guy." On May 7 reporters inquired about ~~the~~ a rumor that Shultz was resigning and that a new temporary head of the Department would be employed -- Charles J. Kaniss, a Brigadier General in the Florida National Guard. Andrews denied both, although ~~and~~ ~~the~~ a Negro leader has a copy of Shultz's resignation which was

given him on May 6. Kaniss took over on the first of June, and the administration is still advertising for a permanent replacement in the position.

The St Petersburg Community Relations Commission, a citizens group appointed by the city council, took an early interest in the dispute. On May 13, following a closed meeting the night before, the Commission delivered letters to Mayor Don Jones and the other members of the City Council declaring that the fired workers were victims of broken promises and urging the council to reopen negotiations. Andrews, however, said that it was not a community relations problem and refused to let the community relations director, Alex Hawkins, a Negro, become involved.

By July 2 members of the Community Relations Commission were feuding among themselves. At a meeting held on that date, according to the St. Petersburg Times, Dr. Fred Alsup and Leonard Summers, both Negroes, wanted to discuss the garbage strike. "We Negroes have been doing everything to keep things quiet and yet we get no response from City Hall," said Alsup. Richard Buckingham, western division manager for the General Telephone Company and a member of the commission, replied that the commission was "beating a dead horse" and that they ought to be talking about finding new jobs for the fifty or so sanitation men who had not either returned to the trucks or taken other work. Buckingham had previously stated his support for the city administration "for taking the only action it could have in the face of an illegal strike."

When Budkingham attempted to discuss plans to start a local chapter of the National Alliance of Businessmen to help find

jobs for the hardcore unemployed, Alsup asked if the city administration was ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ represented, as "one of the biggest businesses." There was a heated exchange and Buckingham stormed out of the meeting, saying, "That's all you want to talk about, garbage strike, garbage strike....The Negro needs better educational opportunities, better housing, more employement opportunities. When you want to talk about these things, I'll be back."

The Chamber of Commerce and ~~xxx~~ six ~~xxxxxxx~~ of the seven-man City Council backed the City Manager. Mayor Don Jones, however, dissented. In a speech at the Kiwanis Club on May 17 he charged the city administration with responsibility for the garbage strike, pointing to the published promise of a pay raise~~x~~ for the men. "This shouldn't have happened, it didn't have to happen," he said. ~~xxxxxxx~~ He added that "anybody who thinks we don't have a community relations problem in St. Petersburg is a damn fool" -- a clear reference to Andrews' contention that it was a "labor problem, not a community relations problem." The Mayor acknowledged that he was "probably committing political suicide with this statement, but at least I will sleep better tonight."

In fact, however, the Mayor and his family continued to lose sleep as a result of abusive telephone calls. Early in July he told friends, shaking his head, that he did~~n~~ not mind neglecting his insurance business, or even subjecting his family to abuse, if it were accomplishing anything -- but, he said, he was simply getting nowhere.

St Petersburg's daily papers, the morning Times and the Evening Independent, were generally favorable to the garbage workers. The Times editorialized:

> Thirty-three days after the start of St. Petersburg's strike of Negro garbage collectors, it is clear that City Manager Lynn Andrews has won an empty and costly "victory."
>
> The City's garbage is being collected. But in solving the collection problem, Andrews has created even greater ones.
>
> .....
>
> With the exception of Mayor Don Jones, the City Council's performance during the deterioration has been ostrich-like. With Andrews, most councilmen have been blind to the consequences of his actions.
>
> The truth is that Andrews planned from the start of the illegal strike to use it as a way to correct previous hiring mistakes in the department. He also has used it to break up all organized efforts to improve communications in the department.

Both papers editorially encouraged efforts by St. Petersburg businessmen to provide jobs for the fired workers and other Negroes.

Two factions seemed to be developing in the white business and professional community, also. Herman Goldner, a former mayor of St. Petersburg and now a candidate for the state legislature, submitted to Chamber of Commerce officials, at the end of June, a four-point program for easing hard-core unemployment of minority-group citizens. Goldner is a vice president of the chamber, in charge of community relations. In his memo he pointed out that what was and remained a labor dispute was escalating into a race conflict, a danger which "overshadows the right or wrongness

of the original labor dispute." In an effort to separate the racial and labor elements, he suggested:

(1) that "the city engage in an immediate broad base employment program of Negroes in diversified employment throughout the city where current vacancies exist;"

(2) that the city develop a training program beyond mere on-the-job training for unskilled employees;

(3) that the city adopt a firm policy of internal promotion;

(4) that the community, particularly major employers and the Chamber of Commerce, make a serious effort to find job vacancies in the private sector for the fired sanitation workers and, beyond that, mobilize the community to offer job opportunities to the "hard core unemployed."

The proposals got a cool reception from Chamber of Commerce President Don Spicer. He said the chamber was already involved in an employment program and had a committee "working quietly and dilligently." The Evening Independent reported on July 1, "Highly placed sources told the Independent Goldner has considered -- and may have already-- submitted his resignation from the chamber."

Meanwhile, Raleigh W. Greene, Jr., an attorney and businessman, announced formation of a non-profit organization called "Citizens for a Lawful Community. The purpose of the organization, according to Greene, is to "uphold law and order and to seek peaceful means of solving the problems of social change." Its major effort would be "to educate people on the law and see that it is upheld." A press report quoted Greene as saying, "We are giving wholehearted support to those

charged with the legal responsibility of keeping law and order," including City Manager Andrews and the six-man majority of the City Council, "who are backing the firm but fair decisions of our City Manager." In a speech before the Civitan Club, Greene asked rhetorically:

> What is this spectacle of protest marches on city hall--of men armed with bricks and sticks and soft drink bottles--of angry denunciations from the steps of that same city hall--of demands for the resignation of one of the men who has served this community well?
>
> Are we to be cowed by the outside professional agitator who comes barging into town uninformed -- frequently uninvited and unfriendly -- and who leaves the same way?

At the conclusion of the speech 38 members of the Civitan Club paid $1.00 dues to join the new organization. It also won a unanimous vote from the St. Petersburg Bar Association to co-sponsor the organization. "If we as attorneys don't stand for law and order, who will?" asked Ed Turville, president of the bar association.

The "outside professional agitators" to whom Greene referred included Marvin Davies, state field director of the NAACP; The Reverend A. D. King, brother of the late Dr. Martin Luther King; and Kentucky State Senator Georgia Davis, chairman of the Kentucky Leadership Conference and the first Negro and first woman elected to the Kentucky ~~xxxxx~~ Senate. (City Manager Andrews apparently agrees with Greene's assessment. An Associated Press dispatch on May 25 quoted him as saying, "I think part of it is in the over-all picture nationwide to hit the utilities." Young Negro militants provoked the strike, he said, and ~~xxxxxxxx~~ the strikers "won't come back just as a matter of fear about what these young militants would do to them.")

Mr. Davies came to St. Petersburg on invitation of the sanitation workers and the local chapter of the NAACP. He instigated, on May 19, a Negro boycott of downtown St. Petersburg, declaring that help could be obtained from 66 other county chapters of the NAACP, the regional office or national headquarters "to engulf and enmass this community in bodies." Businessmen said the boycott was ineffective. It did founder, indeed. Local observers cite apathy on the part of the Negro community, which numbers only about 13% of the population anyway, and the existence of huge shopping centers in other parts of the city.

Mr. King arrived in St. Petersburg on Thursday, June 27. He was huddled with protest leaders for a briefing when some 200 persons, including a large number of whites, left Jordan park on a two-mile protest march. They had a permit to march late in the afternoon (not to tie up rush-hour traffic, according to city officials) to an out-of-the-way park near Tampa Bay. At 5:47 some of the marchers attempted to leave the designated route and go to City Hall. They were stopped by the police and riot squads, sat down on the corner of First Avenue South and Fifth Street, and began praying and singing. About an hour later 38 men and five women were arrested, including Joe Savage, leader of the sanitation men, and two white professors from Florida Presbyterian College -- along with the wife of one of them. (It was subsequently reported that an entire meeting of the college's Board of Trustees was given to discussion of possible consequences of these arrests to the institution's fund-raising efforts.)

There was some rock-throwing when police chased a young Negro girl who apparently disobeyed an order, but no other incidents

of violence as demonstrators were carried or dragged to police vehicles. Mr. King twice cruised by the scene in a car with five men, and once he stopped briefly to shake hands.

King spoke at a mass meeting that night, attended by about 250 persons, including an estimated 50 children. He declared that "soul force" would prevail. He attacked City Manager Andrews, contrasting the "starving" existence of garbagemen with Andrews life on a salary in excess of $30,000. Next day he departed with a promise to return the following week.

Senator Davis came in his place on July 2, along with Raoul Cunningham, young director of the Kentucky Christian Leadership Conference. Mrs. Davis explained that Mr. King had been summoned to "an emergency meeting" of the SCLC Board in Washington and assured the sanitation men that he would be back. She and Cunningham led marches on July 2 and 3. Again these were scheduled to begin a 5:00 P.M., the only hour for which a permit could be obtained, but were allowed to proceed to City Hall. Each march started with about 50 persons, wound through the ghetto, and ended with about 150 supporters in the nearly-empty streets downtown.

Senator Davis also read an address to a "mass meeting" of 76 persons at Bethel A.M.E. Church on the evening of July 3rd. The most enthusiastic response from the audience came when, in a departure from her prepared text, she admitted a moment of despondency at the sight, during the marches, of blacks in cars and on their front porches watching as spectators, but not participating.

Various local groups sought to support the fired workers, mostly by means of repeated pleas to the city council and City Manager Andrews:

The Greater St. Petersburg Council on Human Relations has urged reopening of negotiations. The Reverend H. Robert Gemmer, president of that group said refusal to negotiate further would be "unwise and regrettable."

The South Pinellas Senior Citizens Club sent a resolution to City Council, stating, "Race relations in the City of St. Petersburg have been good up to now. We fear the action of City Council and the city manager is leading to certain trouble....We ask the mayor, the city council and the city manager to reconsider their action to date and come to an amicable agreement to the mutual satisfaction of all concerned."

An integrated group of about 28 clergymen, calling itself The Concerned Clergy had representatives at meetings of the city council on June 20 and again on July 3. They called upon the city council to reverse the policy of its administration, pointing out that courses were open to them other than a choice between full approval of the administration and dismissal of City Manager Andrews. On their second visit they complained that questions they had directed to the council on their first visit had been answered by a letter composed largely by the administration, which reviewed the history of the crisis, but did not speak of plans for the future. City councilman Horace Williams asked the clergymen why they had not spoken out to controvert "many irresponsible statements" made by militant blacks. "I haven't heard any concerned clergy speak out against them," he said.

The City Council also received a petition from 50 outside residents urging fair play for the fired sanitation workers.

The Reverend August VandenBosche, executive director of the Florida Council on Human Relations, has been working closely with the Concerned Clergy, Attorney Sanderlin, and the sanitation men throughout the crisis. He has been instrumental in negotiations with representatives of the National Council of Churches and social concerns agencies of several denominations who were in St. Petersburg at the end of the second month of the strike. The churchmen held out the promise of some financial support for efforts to organize the Negro community, but were uncertain which faction of the Negro community should be funded.

Leadership of the protest by Sanderlin, the NAACP, and the ministers is challenged by a group of militant blacks whose leader is Joe Waller. Waller has 40 to 60 young followers. The organization he is forming will be named for his hero, Jomo Kenyatta, leader of the Mau Mau terrorist group in Kenya.

Waller argues that the present situation is hopeless for the sanitation workers and the black community generally. They are powerless, he maintains, to effect social change by any of the normal means. He, therefore, intends to organize the "grassroots" people of St. Petersburg's black "ghetto." He scorns the traditional Negro leaders, who, he says, are completely out of touch with the poor. He gives the president of the NAACP Youth Council a hard time about that group's voter registration

drives and other efforts to use the institutionalized processes of change. He scoffs at such gestures as the fired garbage workers' renting trucks, out of their meagre funds, to pick up garbage from the homes of invalids.

It is difficult to decide whether Waller is declaring an intention or only reading the portents when he says, "St. Pete is going to burn this summer."

The American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees has had representatives investigating the St. Petersburg situation several times, but seemed unable to get a clear request from the striking workers to participate in their struggle. They first sent John Due, a Negro attorney, formerly on the staff of the Congress of Racial Equality, who now works out of Tallahassee as a union organizer. Due's instructions were to "be available" to the striking workers to help in any way he dould and to offer the union's help. At one point he composed a telegram to the union's headquarters in Washington, asking their participation in the St. Petersburg strike. Joe Savage signed it, but James Sanderlin interpreted it as a request to the union to come and "take over" the leadership -- and refused to sign. Sanderlin argues that, if union organization and recognition becomes an issue in the struggle, "Andrews would refuse to negotiate and we would lose a lot of the support we have. We would lose the support of the newspapers, for example." Upon receiving this rebuff, Due became allied with the Joe Waller faction and continues to be distrusted by the established leadership of the protest.

~~Pr-J.-Ciampa,-field-director-of-the-AFSCME,-and-Bill-Lucy,-an-assistant,-visited-St.-Petersburg-~~

Robert R. Klingensmith, assistant field director of the AFSCME, was sent to St. Petersburg from Washington during the second week of the strike. He offered "whatever help I can to these men on strike and that includes financial help if they need it." The city was also visited briefly by P. J. Ciampa, field director for the union, and one of his chief aides, Bill Lucey, after a union convention in Miami. They too offered assistance and, as a result, the union contributed $1,000 to the strikers' welfare fund. "But they just don't seem to want our ~~xxlpxx~~ participation," Ciampa says.

It was the AFSCME which organized the Memphis sanitation workers in the strike during which Dr. Martin Luther King was assassinated. A few of the St. Petersburg garbagemen belong, as individuals, to the union. There is no union local there, however.

In a last attempt to get an entre, Ciampa sent Jesse Epps, the sensitive ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ union official from Clarksville, Mississippi, who played a large part in securing the backing of Negro ministers in Memphis for the strike there. After a quick check, Epps left, stating that the situation had deteriorated too far to be very hopeful of achieving anything by union involvement.

At this writing it is the expressed intention of the sanitation workers and their supporters to continue the direct action program, and to escalate it, until the city is willing to negotiate with them on four issues:

(1) Continuing recognition of the elected committee of the workers, with Joe Savage as chairman.

(2) A wage increase -- with the figures of 20 cents and 25 cents per hour most often mentioned.

(3) Rehiring of the men who still desire to return without loss of seniority. (The city has, since the strike, gone back to the old system of garbage collection, including a 48 hour week.)

(4) The number of holidays. (Paid holidays have been reduced from four to two.)

In a sense, therefore, the purpose of the struggle has now changed from that of seeking improvement for the workers to one of merely preventing things from being worse. For most of the men, apparently, and for most of the Negro community, obviously, the game hardly seems worth that candle. Only a few men now bear, personally and directly, the hurt of the situation:

Roosevelt Walker says that he is one of those who has not had work since he got fired. He would have been eligible for retirement at the end of July, having not quite 30 years with the Department of Sanitation. He started as a garbage man in 1936, but lost two years during World War II. He explains that he is "69 by one birth day and 65 by the other." (This required an old man's digression: he had been born in Georgia, delivered by a midwife, whom folks paid off with a chicken or some greens or whatever they had; when he wrote to Atlanta at the behest of the Social Security people, they wrote back that

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Archie Warren, a foreman, went back to work on July 1 after a one-week suspension for refusing to work on Saturdays. He capitulated. Sanitation director Kaniss had suspended him. Warren's complaint had been that, since the department went back to a 48 hour week, he was making only an additional $10 for the extra eight hours. Warren, who had 15 years with the department, said he returned because he "had no other choice." "If the citizens of St. Petersburg want to sit around and let city employees be treated as they are, what choice do I have?"

An anonymous sanitation worker, interviewed by Jimmy Mann of the St. Petersburg Times, said that his take home pay from the job had been about $77.00. Consequently he had always moonlighted to support his wife and and a son who is an accomplished musician. He once did yard work during off hours, but a year ago he had taken a full eight-hour job, 4:00 to midnight, after his 7:00 to 3:00 stint collecting garbage. So now he and his family are making-do on his night job, which pays him $60 per week, plus the wages his wife gets for domestic work. He would not go back to the garbage job as a "new" employee. "You don't just throw nine years away."

Joe Savage, 42, the elected leader of the men, was a crew chief with 18 years service in the department. At the July 3 mass meeting of 76 souls in support of the workers, Joe Savage's zestful leading of the singing had been the one life-infusing element of a meeting that, otherwise, was a wooden, plodding imitation of the Movement's techniques -- the walk-around offering, the perorations, the cue-phrases triggering applause -- without the quickening spirit thereof. He stood at the end of the meeting and, obviously moved, spoke of how often he had had a feeling of "aloneness -- nobody cares about the garbage man." With complete sincerity, unblinking, he expressed appreciation for the meeting's evidence that others, both black and white, care.

One could only stand and sing, in one's best death-bedside manner the inevitable final chorus of "deep in my heart, I do believe, we shall overcome someday." One could only stand and sing, clasping a black hand on one side and a white hand on the

other. One could only rock back and forth in the manner of the soul-rhythm already departed. "Black and white together... we shall overcome someday." One could only sing, mouthing the words guiltily, as though praying without faith for a mountain to be removed.

The Crisis Concern Committee was formed on June 18. Its fourteen supporting organizations included the American Friends Service Committee, the Religious Society of Friends, B'nai B'rith, B'nai B'rith Women, Episcopal Cergy of Greater St. Petersburg, the Greater St. Petersburg Council of Churches, Jewish War Veterans and their Auxiliary, the Social Action Committee of the Unitarian-Universalist Church, and the Lakeview Presbyterian Church. They presented a statement to the city council which read, in part,

> Basically it appears that the influential forces of our city have rejected the Negro community, failed to understand its needs, and refused to consider its requests. Even more important, at this moment, than jobs, housing, education and political opportunity is an assurance that the Negro is respected, that he has an effective voice in decision making and above all that he has a share in the future of our city.

Fla - Gen?, 07
Mabel Reese

January 15, 1962

Mrs. Mabel Norris Reese
News-Journal Corporation
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mabel:

I will be coming for your annual meeting January 20 and I look forward to seeing you all.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

DAYTONA BEACH EVENING NEWS
DAYTONA BEACH MORNING JOURNAL
THE SUNDAY NEWS-JOURNAL

RADIO STATIONS
WNDB
WNDB-FM

News-Journal Corporation
DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

Jan. 9, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I'm wondering if Bill Williams notified you of the date of our annual meeting---Jan. 20, 10 a.m., Bethune Cookman College, Daytona Beach?

I'm hoping, and I know the whole board is too, that you can be with us. There are many things to talk over and we need your advice.

Meanwhile, my very best wishes to you in this new year.

~~Cordially~~

Reese

Mabel Norris Reese, President
Florida Council on Human
Relations

MNR:nb

Fla - MR
07
Gen

February 7, 1962

Mrs. Mabel Reese
News-Journal Corporation
Box 431
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mabel:

We were sorry to learn here that Bill Williams has indicated his desire to leave his position in the Florida Council at some time in the future. Bill was one of the original state directors and we have enjoyed working with him during the past seven years. He has helped build a large organization in Florida and has made a considerable contribution to the gradual improvement of the climate of race relations in Florida.

We don't know what plans Bill may have, but if he feels the time has come to move on to new fields and if his resignation is accepted by the Florida Council we would hope that we could help him find work which would enable him to continue to contribute his skill and experience to the problems of tension and change in the South.

We look forward to continued cooperation with the Florida Council on Human Relations whatever decisions may be made concerning your future staff leadership.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

cc: Mr. William K. Williams

# *Florida Council on* HUMAN RELATIONS

4241 S. W. 109TH COURT
MIAMI 55, FLORIDA

PHONE CA 1-8521

WM. K. WILLIAMS, *Executive Director*

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Zephyrhills
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Miami
DR. H. FRANKLIN WILLIAMS
Miami

Feb. 14, 1962

Mr. Bill Williams
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
4241 S.W. 109th Court
Miami 55, Florida

Dear Bill:

The Executive Committee, meeting here Feb. 10 with a quorum present, voted to accept your decision to resign as Executive Director of the Florida Council on Human Relations, with a unanimous expression of deep appreciation for all you have done for the organization through the years, and your dedication to the cause of promoting better human relations in Florida.

It is our hope that your leaving the position can be delayed a minimum of 60 to 90 days in order to give us time to find your successor. You also probably realize that there will be a need to orientate him in the position, and it is the hope of the committee that you can devote some time to this task.

If, however, in the meanwhile you get an offer that is particularly pressing, we want to meet with you and work out the details in the event it requires an earlier departure.

Again, may I say the committee was warm in its expression of appreciation for your invaluable help in keeping Florida relatively free from discord in these times of change in human relations.

Cordially,

Mabel Norris Reese, President
Florida Council on
Human Relations

MNR:nb

# *Florida Council on* HUMAN RELATIONS

4241 S. W. 109TH COURT
MIAMI 55, FLORIDA

PHONE CA 1-8521

WM. K. WILLIAMS, *Executive Director*

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

DR. PAUL FINNER, *Pres. Emeritus*
Tallahassee
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Daytona Beach
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Miami

Feb. 14, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Field Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is a copy of my letter to Bill Williams, informing him formally on the action of the Executive Committee last Saturday---I had called him Saturday evening to inform him of the committee's action and to chat with him on his plans, which still are vague.

Now that the action has been taken, we hope, of course, to go right ahead with full speed in selecting the new Executive Director.

We plan to meet in March to discuss the problem some more, and to decide on the actual course. Our problem, as you know, is to get a three faced man---an organizer, a fund raiser and a ruffled feathers smoother. We need all three; we can't afford three salaries---not even two.

It was pretty much the consensus of the committee that what we need most, since we must choose, is a fund raiser, who also may have some shades of the other qualifications. Bill is not a fund raiser. He is not a really good organizer---else, we believe, we would not be losing strength.

We also have the problem of reestablishing our central office.

All this is to say that we would very much like to have you come to our March meeting and confer with us on direction, and let us know what SRC advises. And to let us know if SRC has any plans to help us in our crisis.

We will try to set the meeting to suit your convenience.

Could I hear from you on what Atlanta has

# *Florida Council on* HUMAN RELATIONS

4241 S. W. 109TH COURT
MIAMI 55, FLORIDA

PHONE CA 1-8521

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Miami



been thinking on the Florida situation, and if you can attend our meeting? I hope you will share these letters with Leslie Dunbar, and tell him I appreciate his nice letter to Bill Williams, a copy of which I received.

Cordially,

Mabel Norris Reese

MNR:nb

Enclosure 1

Reading file copy
Fla - MR

February 21, 1962

Mrs. Mabel Reese
Box 431
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mabel:

I will be happy to meet with your Executive Committee in March to consider plans for the Florida Council. The last two weeks of the month will be the only possible time and of these, the first week would be preferable, although a Saturday meeting on the 24th would also be convenient. All of your correspondence, etc., has been shared with Les Dunbar and the whole situation has been a matter of some study and discussion here. Our general ideas are as follows:

(1) We feel that Bill should be allowed a wide latitude in making his future arrangements, even if this should take him until sometime next fall or so.

(2) We would agree that you need a three faced man. We would question your putting primary emphasis on fund raising attributes. Don't let the pendulum swing to the other extreme. It would be of very little value for the Florida Council to be rich but without staff able to initiate and carry through program.

(3) We agree with your decision to remove the office from Miami and to establish a state office set up. This move would most logically be made at the time of the staff transition.

(4) We will do our best to help you learn of persons worthy of considering as Bill's successor. We have some biographical data on file. I could bring it in March or send it on to you, as you might wish.

(5) We feel quite strongly that a new director should not actually be hired until such time as the Florida Council has enough financial reserves on hand to cover the pay roll

for at least the first few months. I would think a treasury of $3,500 would be minimal. I think it would be unfair to ask anyone to assume the position without at least this degree of initial backing. Our Executive Committee has been somewhat concerned about the shaky financial status of the Florida Council and might be reluctant to continue financial support under a new staff arrangement unless there was some assurance of greater stability. This may sound as though we are expecting you to solve your problems before you are able to bring in a man to help solve them, but we are thinking only in terms of giving him a good start.

Our general practice here is to cut our quarterly grants in half during periods when the director's office is vacant, on the basis that the pay roll needs are much smaller during such times. This practice was followed, for example, last year when the Alabama Council was without a director for four months. This would seem to mean that you should attempt to build up a reserve prior to the time Bill leaves, while you are receiving full SRC grant in aid. If there should be an interregnum, however, you could probably add to your reserves even on the basis of 50% grants, with no salary to pay.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

cc: Mr. William K. Williams

Fla -
MR
Gen

March 9, 1962

Mrs. Mabel Norris Reese
President
Florida Council on Human Relations
News-Journal Corporation
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mabel:

Since I last wrote you about your Executive Committee meeting, I have developed some kind of stupid conflict on Saturday, March 24, which involves my going to North Carolina to attend someone's wedding that I don't even know who is related to my wife. Saturday, March 31, would be much more satisfactory to me, as would Saturday, April 7. If March 24 is the only date suitable to your people, let me know quick and I will try to get out of the above commitment.

I hope the last letter didn't seem too negative to you. It was, of course, intended as a formal document for your board.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

DAYTONA BEACH EVENING NEWS
DAYTONA BEACH MORNING JOURNAL
THE SUNDAY NEWS-JOURNAL

RADIO STATIONS
WNDB
WNDB-FM

News-Journal Corporation
DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

March 6, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Blame it on John Glenn. He disconcerted me.

I just have been too busy with work and Open Forum to even think of the meeting.

This is a note to say we plan to hold the Executive Committee meeting of the Florida Council on March 24.

I believe you mentioned that date would be convenient.

If not, could you message me back quickly and I will set it up at your convenience.

Thanks for your letter. I'm still digesting it, and hope the board will take seriously its contents. Do bring the biographical data you mentioned in it.

Hope to see you on the 24th.

Sincerely,

Mabel Norris Reese, President
Florida Council
On Human Relations

Fla - MR

# *Florida Council on* HUMAN RELATIONS

4241 S. W. 109TH COURT
MIAMI 55, FLORIDA

PHONE CA 1-8521

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March 17, 1962

Dear Paul:

I believe you have a request from Katherine Mosley to attend and participate in our local Council's workshop during the first week in April.

If you do plan to do so, would Saturday April 7 be a better date for you for the meeting of our Executive Committee?

I can set it for then, if that would be preferable to March 31.

Let me know---I haven't sent out notices yet. I will ask Bill to notify the committee as soon as I hear, or perhaps I can do so myself.

If March 31 would be preferable, we can use that date too, though time for notificiation would be shortened.

Sincerely,

Mabel Norris Reese

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

cc: Bill Williams

July 13, 1982

Mrs. Mabel Norris Chesley
Box 431
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mrs. Chesley:

In Paul Rilling's absence--he is presently on vacation in Europe--your letter of July 11 was referred to Les Dunbar, who offered this suggestion: please send us, following your July 28 board meeting, a review of the situation of the Florida Council as seen at that meeting, including what the board views as the prospects for fund raising. Paul will not return until August 15, but your needs will be given much thought here, Les states, after we hear from you.

Les also asked me to mention to you that it was Paul's hope that the board itself would be able to undertake fund-raising activities for the new director, as he wrote you on February 21 and mentioned in a more recent letter to Mr. Burney, dated June 18.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

# *Florida Council on* HUMAN RELATIONS

4241 S. W. 109TH COURT
MIAMI 55, FLORIDA
PHONE CA 1-8521

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Miami

July 11, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Paul:

I know---I have been too long getting around to the need of writing to you on Florida affairs, but this has been a hectic summer.

To be brief: As you know, Bill has left; we have little more than $200 in the treasury according to his final report.

Last Sunday, I went to Miami to participate in a revitalization of the group there. It has voted to become affiliated with the Florida Council again. The meeting was most encouraging, though admittedly, more could have attended. However, Franklin Williams felt the most promising and active ones were there.

Our problem is, as always, financing. We can't see our way now to putting someone to work without help, though now we have renewed interest in the city where the most money could be raised. But would it be right to put someone from outside the state to work at fund raising right away? Would it not put the Council in an unfavorable light?

why not?

I am calling a meeting of the Board of Directors for July 28, here, and outlining the problem to them. I want to keep things going as a state group, particularly in light of the new enthusiasm in Miami.

How we can make a decision on hiring a replacement without funds, however, is beyond me. Any comment?

Regards,

Mabel Norris Chesley

cc: Ralph Dreger

Can't the Board help.

June 18, 1962

Mr. I. H. Burney
P. O. Box 660
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mr. Burney:

A letter from Will Campbell concerning another possibility for the Florida position is enclosed.

So far as new staff is concerned, the situation seems to be as follows. Mr. Lewis Deer has eliminated himself from consideration. The Rev. William Jordan has indicated a strong interest. Mr. Gregory Schiert, Director of the Missouri Commission, has indicated some interest. I hope that you have been in touch with him further. I have also sent on to you data on Gaitha Martinez, who was suggested by Harold Kramer, of the American Jewish Congress. Perhaps the Rev. Mr. Chambless will also be interested. I was under the impression that Bill Williams had one or two ideas for the position and hope that you have asked him for suggestions.

In view of our feeling that you would need to have some funds on hand before employing a new man, there is probably no great rush. The next steps would seem to be to check out Mrs. Martinez down your way and to arrange an interview with Mr. Jordan, which we would conduct or which would involve inviting him to Florida or one of you coming to Atlanta.

I will be leaving next week for vacation in Europe, returning in early August. Should you need any help from us in the meantime, I hope you will feel free to communicate with Paul Anthony.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm
cc: Mrs. Mabel Norris Chesley

File copy
Fla MR

February 21, 1962

Mrs. Mabel Reese
Box 431
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mabel;

I will be happy to meet with your Executive Committee in March to consider plans for the Florida Council. The last two weeks of the month will be the only possible time and of these, the first week would be preferable, although a Saturday meeting on the 24th would also be convenient. All of your correspondence, etc., has been shared with Les Dunbar and the whole situation has been a matter of some study and discussion here. Our general ideas are as follows;

(1) We feel that Bill should be allowed a wide latitude in making his future arrangements, even if this should take him until sometime next fall or so.

(2) We would agree that you need a three faced man. We would question your putting primary emphasis on fund raising attributes. Don't let the pendulum swing to the other extreme. It would be of very little value for the Florida Council to be rich but without staff able to initiate and carry through program.

(3) We agree with your decision to remove the office from Miami and to establish a state office set up. This move would most logically be made at the time of the staff transition.

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(5) We feel quite strongly that a new director should not actually be hired until such time as the Florida Council has enough financial reserves on hand to cover the pay roll

for at least the first few months. I would think a treasury of $3,500 would be minimal. I think it would be unfair to ask anyone to assume the position without at least this degree of initial backing. Our Executive Committee has been somewhat concerned about the shaky financial status of the Florida Council and might be reluctant to continue financial support under a new staff arrangement unless there was some assurance of greater stability. This may sound as though we are expecting you to solve your problems before you are able to bring in a man to help solve them, but we are thinking only in terms of giving him a good start.

Our general practice here is to cut our quarterly grants in half during periods when the director's office is vacant, on the basis that the pay roll needs are much smaller during such times. This practice was followed, for example, last year when the Alabama Council was without a director for four months. This would seem to mean that you should attempt to build up a reserve prior to the time Bill leaves, while you are receiving full SRC grant in aid. If there should be an interregnum, however, you could probably add to your reserves even on the basis of 50% grants, with no salary to pay.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:ww

cc: Mr. William K. Williams

Fla - Chesley X

August 15, 1962

Mrs. Mabel Norris Chesley
Box 431
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mabel:

We are anxious to know the thinking of the board of the Florida Council as expressed at the July 28th meeting. I realize that the present situation must be a trying one for you. Let me know if you and I should get together soon and talk things over.

If it would be helpful we could perhaps arrange to have Paul Anthony or myself visit some of the local Councils this fall to help keep the organization active.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

August 22, 1962

Mrs. Mabel Norris Chesley
Box 431
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mabel:

Let me know whatever you may have discovered about the Ft. Myers situation and any suggestions for action on our part.

I hope you had a good summer.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of
Field Activities

PR:mm

Fla
Mbl Ches

December 17, 1962

Mrs. Mabel Norris Chesley
Chairman
Florida Council on Human Relations
P. O. Box 431
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mabel:

It was a pleasure seeing you again. From all the dismal reports I had come expecting little, but the Florida Council seems to have a real fighting chance. I shall speak to Benjamin Mays and arrange to see Louis Mitchell soon.

Have a good vacation.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

**Memo** FROM THE DESK OF **MARGE MANDERSON**

Les:

Do you have any advice on answering this, or shall I simply tell her that Paul is away and will answer when he returns? See the last two paragraphs of Paul's letter of Feb. 21, attached. (also letter of 6/18 to Mr. Burkey.) I think his purpose here was to make sure the Fla. Council board got busy on fund-raising (over)

before bringing in a new man.

Fla. has already received 3 of the basic grant installments for this year; they have $850.00 left in basic grant funds in this year's budget. Matching funds in the amount of $2,000 are available; however, funds raised 1st quarter fell below the base point by $1,248.00. We've received no financial report for the 2nd Q. -

# *Florida Council on* HUMAN RELATIONS

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DR. H. FRANKLIN WILLIAMS Miami

January 8, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

In response to your memo on state staffers' meeting, I am afraid if the meeting is held in the middle of the week I cannot come on either date. I have strictly kept my Council activities out of my school time so there can be no shadow of criticism to the effect that I take time off from my University work to do Council business. Even for the Annual Meeting of FCHR I shall not leave Jax until after my last class on Friday, which fortunately is over at 2:00. If things work out right with Lou Mitchell, I think it would be excellent for him to attend the meeting. As long as you suggest that he might attend, I shall write him in answer to his letter which I have on my desk to reply to, with the request that he do attend. I cannot, of course, make any commitments for our Board, any more than he can make commitments for himself. But assuming that arrangements will work out right, he would get a good send-off by getting in on the Atlanta meeting. I wish I could also attend, but unless it could be on a weekend, which I recognize as not very practicable, I cannot be there.

You did say that Wiley Branton would not be able to get to Daytona until 12:30 on Saturday, January 26th, did you not? I told Mable Chesley that in planning the details on the A.M. program we would have to make arrangements to have Wiley speak in the afternoon, not to count on him for the luncheon session. (By the way, on the phone and in your note you said 24th and 25th--you are a day early. It is January 25th and 26th.)

Sincerely

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.
Acting Executive Director

RMD:s

January 14, 1962

Dr. Ralph Dreger
Acting Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
2867 Justina Road
Jacksonville 11, Florida

Dear Ralph:

Enclosed is the quarterly grant-in-aid payment for the Florida Council. I continue to be impressed with the good work you and your wife are doing for FCHR.

Needless to say, I am very interested in knowing the financial situation when the audit is completed.

The arrangements and schedules for the Mitchells' visit sounds good. But, do you think the Executive Committee can make a decision on the staffing matter at a breakfast meeting? Perhaps so, and so much the better if possible. I only raise the question.

Should time permit during that busy weekend, I would very much like an hour or so when you and I can talk about the various developments.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm
Enc.

# *Florida Council on* HUMAN RELATIONS

4241 S. W. 109TH COURT
MIAMI 55, FLORIDA

PHONE CA 1-8521

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Miami

Aug. 22, 1962

Ralph Dregger
2867 Justine Rd.
Jacksonville 11, Fla.

Dear Ralph:

I have had a letter from Paul Rilling in Atlanta inquiring about the action taken by the Florida Council at our July meeting.

I believe if you would put him on the list for the mailing of the letters to local presidents, it will tell him the story pretty completely. Would you mind doing this?

And I am wondering if you have heard from Bill Williams? I had a letter from him last week, carbon copy to his mother, suggesting that she send checks to Dr. Collie for signature and then on to him in Chicago for his signature. He then would mail them on to you so you could meet the expenses of mailing and other things.

This is a complicated way of doing it, but under the circumstances it seems the best way out for now.

With Judge Simpson's order finally coming through, we surely can see the necessity of reviving our council, and getting it moving again even better than a man named Kennedy is getting the country moving.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely

cc: Paul Rilling

Mabel Norris Chesley

(Dear Paul: I hope this serves to answer your questions. Dr. Dregger, with the help of his wife, is taking on the hard job of trying to spur the local councils to action on fund raising. Actually, I think our July meeting was our most successful, though only seven attended. Mabel)

August 28, 1962

Dr. Ralph Dregger
Acting Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
2867 Justina Road
Jacksonville 11, Florida

Dear Dr. Dregger:

I'm glad to hear from Mabel that you are on the job as interim director of the Florida Council. We will channel all of the usual requests and communications to you from now on. I hope you will let me know if there is anything we can do to be helpful to you during this transition period.

There are several things I would like to call to your attention at the moment. First is the requirement of SRC that each state council receiving aid from SRC provide us with a yearly audit of financial records. We have on hand the audit for the 1960 year, but apparently have not received one for the 1961 fiscal year. Unless we can receive such an audit or indications that one is in progress by the time of our next executive committee meeting here September 20, we may have trouble getting approval for assistance to the Florida Council for 1963. I'm sure that members of the committee will understand the current difficult situation of the Florida Council but I would suggest that you look for an accountant who could do you an audit fairly inexpensively.

I hope you are aware thatuunder our matching funds program the Florida Council can claim additional funds from SRC for all funds raised since December 1 in excess of $3,700 and up to a maximum total of $5,700. According to reports we have received through March 1 the Florida Council had raised a total of $1,517.00 in dues and contributions since December 1. I realize that there is little or no possibility of the Florida Council being in a position to claim these matching funds by September 1, or by October 1, which is the final deadline, but I thought I would remind you of their

availability. You can count funds raised by local councils even though they are expended locally.

You probably are aware of our requirement of quarterly reports, and past reports of the Florida Council are in your files. The next quarterly report due here can be turned in any time between September 1 and October 1 and should include a financial report as well as a narrative report for the months of June, July, and August. Bill's last report did not include a financial report, so we are particularly anxious to see one with the next quarterly report.

If all this red tape seems unintelligible, let me know and we'll do our best to clarify.

I hope to see you soon on a future trip to Florida.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm
cc: Mrs. Mabel Norris Reese

# *Florida Council on* HUMAN RELATIONS


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Miami
DR. H. FRANKLIN WILLIAMS
Miami


August 26, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is a copy of the letter we sent to Florida Council Presidents.

I told Mabel in my letter of reply to hers, a copy of which she sent to you, that I could not operate under such roundabout circumstances in connection with the finances as she was suggesting, following Bill's lead. Dr. Collie is not even Treasurer. Further, I said that I did not intend to act as if I were not Acting Director, but that instead in some way Bill were still Director and I had to channel everything through him. It will be difficult enough for me to carry on without such shenanigans. Since the Board took the action it did in connection with naming me Acting Director, I told Mabel I thought we had complied with bank regulations in spirit as far as transferring funds and getting new signatures. From Bill's letter to Mabel I should judge that there has been no transfer even to the present Treasurer, Eulalie Ginn.

You are probably aware that Judge Bryan Simpson has ruled in favor of the plaintiffs in Duval County school suit. I just heard today that the School Board may be appealing his decision.

Sincerely

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.
Acting Director

RMD:s
Enc.

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Interim Address:

2867 Justina Road
Jacksonville 11, Fla.

To: Council Presidents

From: Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D., Acting Director
Florida Council on Human Relations

The Board of Directors of the Florida Council on Human Relations, meeting at Daytona Beach July 28, took a number of actions designed to strengthen our organization. And, of course, these involve you and your local Council.

I was appointed as Acting Director to replace Bill Williams, our regular Director. As you may have heard, Bill has resigned, and is now employed by the Illinois Council on Human Relations as a field director. I will serve, without salary, until a new director is decided upon.

When the new Director is employed, his office will be in Daytona Beach. It is more centrally located than Miami, and will be to the Council's advantage in many ways.

Meanwhile, Dr. Franklin Williams of the Board was requested to examine the organization's records which are still in Miami. He will report to me on present needs.

As you know, there is need for further financing of the Council than we receive from dues if we are to operate successfully. Therefore, the Board has set a goal of $3,000 to be raised by October 15, 1962. If we raise that amount or more, the Southern Regional Council will match our funds dollar for dollar. We shall then be in a position to employ a Director and be off to a good start in 1963.

We are asking each local organization in the state to raise a minimum of $300 in that time---the $300 to be clear of local obligations and strictly for use by the state organization.

The Board also has set standards for local organizations which we believe will be a benefit to them and to the state Council.

Local organizations of 10 or more members will be considered Human Relations Councils and affiliates of the state Council on the following bases: Local Councils are responsible to the state organization for $4.00 dues annually for each member on their local membership rolls. This amount includes each member's subscription to the New South. Local organizations can set their local dues as they see fit.

Members who join the state organization directly (as in communities where there is no local organization) will pay $5.00 dues annually.

An up-to-date printed brochure, in simple form, explaining the purposes of the Council, will soon be furnished each member. A number of brochures will be supplied each local Council in reasonable quantities, for use in recruiting new members. Please keep this office informed of your latest membership changes, so that our mailing list for these brochures and other purposes will continue to be current.

The Board of Directors asks you as the responsible person in Council affairs in your community to take the necessary action with your Council between now and October 15, in order that we may continue to function effectively. There are crucial times ahead for Florida. We must pass our own crisis with flying colors so that we may be able to meet the tests of human relations that are on the horizon.

Please let me hear from you just as soon as possible so we can include your Council in our planning.

SEAL FOAM BOND

August 29, 1962

Dr. Ralph Dreger
Acting Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
2867 Justina Road
Jacksonville 11, Florida

Dear Dr. Dreger:

Thank you for your recent letter including material to local council presidents. By way of establishing liaison we will immediately send you copies of all material published by the Council and hope that you will send us copies of newsletters and Florida Council on Human Relations published material.

I am enclosing a copy of a letter I wrote to several of our board members in Miami. I would normally not write persons in Florida without keeping you informed, but somehow I was not aware that you had already taken over as Acting Director. We will normally send you copies of correspondence that this office has with persons in Florida.

If there is anything we can do to help your work let me know. I would be happy to come and meet with you if this seems wise, for purposes of planning and coordination.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Enc.

Aug. 31, 1962

Dr. Ralph Dregger
2867 Justina Road
Jacksonville 11, Fla.

Dear Ralph:

The copy of your letter to Paul made a bell ring in my head and I dug through my files to find the enclosed, a copy of which I will make for Paul and you can retain the original in your file.

I know I used this at the July meeting to report on our financial situation and I am sure that I must have mentioned the audit. I hope this clarifies our situation, though I fear it is not adequate to make SRC very happy. I had a letter from Bill the other day and he is hoping to get this way soon to move his family, and said he would stop here. I'm wondering if he has got around to sending you the checks yet. I have not heard from his mother since he asked her to pick up the checks.

As for my getting to Jax---gosh, man! This weekend we are having a legislative caucus; I have to go to a convention the following; I am loaded with work here. Also, have the state advisory committee on civil rights here the 14th.

I fear I can't do it; but I trust your judgment on it very much. Especially if you are under the well trained eye of your nice wife.

Thanks again for your efforts.

Sincerely,

Mabel Norris Chesley

cc/Paul Rilling
enc. audit

Dear Paul- Forgive my not making corrections on this carbon- I am writing this letter about midnight and cannot take the time for correcting.

PAD
LDV
MM

September 6, 1962

Mrs. Mabel Norris Chesley
News-Journal Corporation
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mabel:

I had hoped to get in contact with you today, for I had to speak at Bethune-Cookman this afternoon, but I had to move in and out fast. What I wanted to say is that nothing has yet arrived from Dr. Williams, so I am completely stymied in Council work. Bill Williams has not contacted me as you hoped he would. And I still do not know how I can expend funds for the brochure (or anything) or how much is available to spend. Should I go to Miami and get the records myself? I can assure you that I am completely frustrated by not having anything with which to work. If the Council can afford to pay my flight to Miami, I should be willing to go over a weekend--it would have to be a week hence, for I am committed for this weekend.

In your recent letter you explain why you cannot make it to Jax soon, and I can certainly understand. A thought has boiled up in my mind now that I think over several remarks from members of the E.C. I wonder if you or any of the others have a faint notion that maybe I offered to take on the FCHR post because I live a lonely life on a campus and pine for something to do. I do not count myself overbusy by any means, but I have a few responsibilities in addition to Council work. It happens that I am Secretary-Treasurer of the Southeastern Psychological Association, a position which is the only working one in the organization with all records and virtually all correspondence in my hands. You may know that I am Chairman of the Florida Cooperating Council on Children and Youth, which is our follow-up organization for the White House Conference consisting of all 80-odd associations working statewide with children and youth. You probably are not aware that I am Chairman of the Behavioral Classification Project which works in connection with all the child guidance clinics in the state under several grants. I had all the responsibility for execution of the trial project this past year, for drawing up the detailed budgets for the next three and a half years ($139,000 next year), and for the Technical Assistance Project which drew together in August 50 persons from all over the eastern U.S. to consult on the BCP. In connection with the BCP I have a staff of from three to five persons working regularly under my direction. Twenty percent of my professional time is devoted to being Research Consultant to the State Board of Health. A small proportion of my time goes to my church

work, such as teaching a Sunday School class, and serving as psychological consultant to our Board of Missions. Of course, I also try to keep up in my research and writing other than the BCP. And, oh, yes, incidentally I teach fulltime at Jacksonville University. As you can see, I really do not have anywhere nearly the responsibilities some other people have, but I did wish to disabuse you of any idea that all I do is sit in my leisurely office on the campus waiting for something exciting to come along. I took on the Council job because I feel that it needs to be done and I shall do a good job. But also because I am willing to take the time to do the job, I need to have the full cooperation of everyone.

In order to have your cooperation I need to have answers and action from you in respect to the following:

1. How can I get hold of the records I need in the shortest possible time?

2. How can I expend funds without going to Chicago or having my hands tied with all kinds of red tape?

3. When is Bill coming, so I can get together with him? (What is Bill's address, by the way?)

4. This is a new one--the Director of Community Services of the Unitarian Service Committee still thinks there is a possibility of getting a fulltime man in Jax. But they could not swing the financing before. I have suggested that the FCHR and USC might be able to join forces in some way for a Council man to spend perhaps a third of his time in Jax if the USC contributes part of a man's salary. If the idea is not at all palatable, let me know so that I shall not pursue the matter any further. If it sounds like sense, let me know that, too.

With high hopes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.
Acting Director

cc: Mr. Paul Rilling

September 6, 1962

Dr. Ralph Dreger
Acting Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
2867 Justina Road
Jacksonville 11, Florida

Dear Ralph:

Thank you for your recent letter. I fully understand the handicaps under which you are working and hope that your records will soon be in your hands. I will be happy to meet with you as soon as you think best, and the sooner we set the date the better.

Mr. Lent, with USC, has talked with us about the Jacksonville possibility and we have urged that it be followed through.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

P.S. Why don't you tell Mrs. Chesley that your name has only one "g"?

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Miami

August 29, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling:
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

After reading your letter of August 28, I have the feeling that our Florida Council records are not all you would like them to be. With all the sterling qualities Bill has evidently orderly record keeping is not one of them.

I shall do my best to get the quarterly report to you, also the yearly audits for 1961 and when the time comes for 1962. At this time I am almost completely in the dark, for all the records are in Miami. The arrangement made at the last Executive Committee meeting was that Dr. H. Franklin Williams of the University of Miami should examine the files and send me what I need to keep the FCHR going. He was to carry out this task just after return from his vaction, August 15th. So far I have had no word from him. I waited until this past weekend, then wrote him with a copy of my letter to Mabel. (I expressed that one in a Germanic way--a copy of my letter to HFW went to Mabel.) All I have now is a box of letterheads and a bunch of addressed envelopes made up from an unknown mailing list, plus the list of local Council Presidents. Until I get materials I can make no reports whatsoever to SRC or anyone.

When I do get our materials, I think it would be a great service to us if you could come and spend some time with me to help get us organized in the right way. If we can get things set up in a businesslike fashion for the new Director to take over, the whole work of the Council will prosper.

If the records arrive in time, I shall see whether we are near the $3700 needed for matching funds. If we are, I shall get in contact with local Councils to find if they have raised enough to put us over.

A bit more news of Jacksonville comes to mind. You may recall that the Unitarian Service Committee had broached the subject of putting a man here in Jax as an executive secretary for the Northeast Florida Council on Human Relations, apparently in the way they have done in Atlanta and somewhere else. The USC funds did not materialize, so they had to withdraw their offer. Mr. Ernest Lent of their Community Service department who made the contact with us initially has been in touch with us again. He is not promising anything to us now as he did before, but he tells us they are still very much interested in Jacksonville. It would be excellent if we could have someone here during these coming months.

I shall be in touch with you just as soon as possible.

Sincerely

Ralph

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.
Acting Director

RMD:s
cc: Mrs. Mabel Norris Chesley

P.S. Two things about names: Mabel is now Mrs. Chesley, and my name is spelled with one "g".

Sept. 11, 1962

Dr. Ralph Dregger:
2867 Justins Road
Jacksonville 11, Fla.

Dear Ralph:

I was out of town over the weekend and just now able to answer your letter.

I think I can answer question No. 2 in short order. I have on hand now $66, received in dribbles with the final one on the weekend. Today, I will deppsit it in an account here and provide for you to countersign the checks. You will have to send mm your signature to the bank, the Florida Bank & Trust Co., Beach st.

That at least will take care of the most pressing needs on financing.

Now, I have a question. Eulale and Bill assured me all was taken care of---no outstanding indebtedness against the Council The July 31 bank statement showed $442.15. Yet the August statement shows a check to Internal Revenue for $240.29 and a bank charge of $1.00 (excessive!). Now our balance, as they show it, is $200.86. That figure must be in error. No---guess not. Too hasty with my arithmetic.

What could the $240 be for? We do not pay income tax. Bill's Social Security, I was told, was clear. I hope Paul will try to clarify that for us, we had counted on that $442.

I can't understand why Dr. Williams has not replied to your letters. That is not like him. I hate the thought of you having to go down there. What about Ed Graham? Would a note to him bring action? He said he would remove the stuff from Bill's house when I talked with him in July.

A letter from Bill's mother asked that we get the stuff out and also to send out a membership notice not to send contributions to Miami. She doesn't know what would happen to them--probably would be returned, which would be bad.

After starting this letterand getting interupted for

conference, I did two things. Went to the bank to open account and got forms, which I enclose for your signatures. Then I called Dr. Williams. He's been back only a few days; a mountain of work waiting on his desk. But believe he will move on it now. He said he'd get it down this week.

You know Bill Williams. He never puts his address on his notes. I do not have it, but it was in the SRC newsletter this week, perhaps you saw it.

For my part, I believe your idea on the USC aid for a director with some of his work in Jax would be all right. However, it would have to be a matter for the board to decide.

Your list of activities stunned me. I thought I was busy, but not like that. I just added to mine as board chairman of the Citizens Scholarship Foundation, and should have my head examined. Other people say no and get away with it.

I hope this letter will be of some assistance. Return the signed forms to me and I will take them to the bank. The amount now is $77. I had not paid my August pledge, I noted.

Best wishes,

Mabel Norris Chesley

enc: 3 forms
cc: Paul Rilling

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Miami
DR. H. FRANKLIN WILLIAMS
Miami


Dear Paul: Mabel called Williams in Miami after receiving my last letter, but so far we have gotten nothing. I am hoping that Williams took the weekend to go through the stuff down there. If nothing comes, I shall call Mabel and Williams and tell them I am coming to Miami next weekend to go through the stuff myself. This business is ridiculous. I have sent out the following letter with the hope we can come up with enough to make the grade. Actually, I am not even certain I have all the Council addresses, for one at least I have found completely off, another not quite up-to-date.

Paul

SEPT 17 1962

TO COUNCIL PRESIDENTS

FROM RALPH MASON DREGER PHD
ACTING DIRECTOR
FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

SUBJECT MATCHING FUNDS FOR FCHR
FROM SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

SRC INFORMS US THAT WE CAN CLAIM MATCHING FUNDS BETWEEN 3700 AND 5700 FOR DUES AND CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED SINCE DEC 1 WE CAN COUNT FUNDS RAISED BY LOCAL COUNCILS EVEN THO EXPENDED LOCALLY THEREFORE PLEASE SEND IMMEDIATELY AMOUNT RAISED BY YOUR COUNCIL SINCE DEC 1 SHOW HOW MUCH WAS SENT TO FCHR AND HOW MUCH RETAINED LOCALLY IF I CAN GET A REPORT IN BY OCT 1 WE CAN POSSIBLY CLAIM MATCHING FUNDS

2867 JUSTINA RD
JACKSONVILLE 11 FLORIDA

September 18, 1962

Dr. Ralph Dreger
2867 Justina Road
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Ralph:

Thank you for keeping me informed with carbons, etc.. I do hope that you hear from Dr. Williams by at least yesterday, if not before.

I would question the value of joining forces with the Unitarian Service Committee in the financing of a full-time man in Jacksonville. This kind of arrangement can get quite complicated with no clear understanding and practice as to whom the man is responsible to and where the policy authority is. It might work with the right man, but it would be difficult to be responsible to Boston for one-third of your time and to Daytona Beach or wherever for two-thirds. I also feel that the Florida Council really needs a full-time man and that we should work toward a full time man in each of the two positions noted. I wouldn't rule out the joint approach, but would advise care and caution.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

September 28, 1962

Dr. Ralph M. Dreger
Acting Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
2867 Justina Road
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Ralph:

I enjoyed talking with Mrs. Dreger yesterday and hope that we are sending the material she needs.

On the matter of Harry Golden, I doubt if we would be of too much service. Harry is one of the most maddening speakers as far as arrangements are concerned. He is difficult to approach, unpredictable as to reactions, and unreliable as to commitments. He is, of course, a superb speaker when and if he comes. He has just postponed a speaking engagement for the Arkansas Council for the third time, but will probably get there eventually. He has had a policy in the past of speaking to Jewish groups, Unitarian groups, and Councils on Human Relations without his usual commercial fee. I believe this policy is still in effect, although he has not said much about it recently. He has spoken for the North Carolina Council on Human Relations several times recently and is committed to the Arkansas Council for a much lower fee than $1,000.

SRC dropped Golden from our board for nonparticipation in our activities a year or two ago and we believe that he is mildly resentful. For this reason we believe it would not be too tactical for us to make the approach. The best way to get Harry is for someone who knows him to call him and ask him to speak. Perhaps Rabbi Taxay could do this. He is vulnerable to Rabbis. Failing this, I would suggest that you simply call him directly.

If you don't want to do this I can attempt to have

Harry Jones, Director of the North Carolina Council, make the request, but I think this would be third best.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of
Field Activities

PR:mm

# *Florida Council on* HUMAN RELATIONS

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September 21, 1962

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Appreciate your words of caution in respect to a joint approach with the Unitarians. Mr. Lent with whom I have had correspondence about this matter is trying to work out some way that a full-time man can be here in Jax. He, too, feels that it is better to try to work out the Jacksonville position by itself if possible. I feel the way you both feel about it; but I also think we have to face a situation where it may be impossible to get someone in either position.

One reason I am writing is to get some possible help. When Mr. Burney came back from the Executive Committee meeting last spring, he brought the matter of having a special speaker to assist in raising the money before the local Council Board. I was not a member at the time or I think I should have protested over what was done. They insisted on trying to get Harry Golden and doing so directly rather than through SRC. At first the Secretary got the run-around, then was referred to Golden's agents, who in turn informed us it would cost $1000 for an appearance. Now the Board here has asked me to contact SRC to find if you can get Golden directly for not such a large fee. Please let me know if it is possible and if it is, when. The Board especially wishes to attract the Jewish citizens who have not shown a special interest in the local Council.

I received a card from Miami yesterday saying a list of members is on the way. So far it has not come--but though I am waiting to see if all I need is in the package, I am fairly certain I shall have to go down next weekend to get things myself.

Sincerely

Ralph

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.
Acting Director

COPY

September 30, 1 962

Mrs. Mabel Norris Chesley
News-Journal Corporation
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mabel:

Yesterday Georgia and I were in Miami and went through the materials which Reverend Mr. Graham had been able to get from Beryl Williams just before she left. We picked up all the most current files, the office equipment, etc. However, the mail that must have been accumulating since Bill left was not there. Most of the older files, books, pamphlets, and miscellany we left stored in the basement of the Mt. Zion Baptist Church, Graham's church. When a fulltime Director takes over, I shall be glad to take the time to sift through the mass of material with him to see what ought to go to the Daytona office and what ought to be chucked. One set of older files we did bring along is that dealing with the days when we were the Florida Division of the SRC; these seemed like valuable historial documents which should be carefully preserved.

I am writing to Bill, if somewhere I can locate his address, and also to Eulalie Ginn to trace down the latest books.

With the materials I now have I should be able to get out a newsletter of some kind to the membership in a very short while.

Inasmuch as Paul Rilling has offered to come here to meet with me as soon as I have all the necessary records, in order to help get things going straight. Do you think it would be a good idea to have the Executive Committee meet here the same weekend? There are several important items, like date and place of Annual Meeting, budget, some procedural matters, and perhaps others as I get into these records, which need E.C. action. I am asking Paul for his choice of dates.

By the way, I did not know what to charge the FCHR for the Miami trip. I had no guidance as to what travel and per diem are paid, so I used the State's 10¢/mi. and estimated my other expenses, thinking it would take two days in Miami. Since Georgia went with me, and we got two days' work done in one-half day, I may be able to figure it less. Anyway, I wrote a check for $100 and deposited it to cover my expenses. If I can figure actual expenses per diem less, and if 10¢ is not the travel allowance, I shall write a check to the FCHR for the difference. Thus far I can find no figures about travel allowance. You may know.

James Howard from the Fort Pierce Community Association was the only Council President to respond to my appeal for reports on financial ingathering since Dec. 1st. With the small amount he could report plus our income in Jax, we do not come anywhere near the $3700 minimum for matching funds from SRC. I am very much disappointed at so poor a showing. But I am more disappointed in the lack of communication represented. I am afraid the tie-up between the state and local Councils is altogether too haphazard. The steps the Board took in July to set clear standards for a local Council's affiliating should be of assistance in the long run, but at this point we still have state's rights with its hamstringing of the larger body.

I shall keep you posted on any new developments.

Sincerely

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.
Acting Director

RMD:s

October 23, 1962

Dr. and Mrs. Ralph Dreger
2867 Justina Road
Jacksonville 11, Florida

Dear Georgia and Ralph:

I very much enjoyed my brief stay with you last Saturday. The quality of the company made the task seem pleasant and light.

The Florida Council can count itself extremely lucky having you people on the job. Do let me know whenever we can be of help.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

October 25, 1962

Dr. Ralph Dreger
Acting Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
2867 Justina Road
Jacksonville 11, Florida

Dear Ralph:

I am enclosing biographical data on another possibility for the directorship of the Florida Council. I met Mr. Atwood recently and was reasonably well impressed with him.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm
Enc.

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October 30, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Field Representative
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is the third quarter report. I have added the Newsletter which we finally got out, for the Newsletter gives the kind of thing I think you said the SRC wants. It would take a lot more time to incorporate what is in the Newsletter into my report. If, however, what I have done is not satisfactory, I shall be glad to do whatever is called for.

Paul Anthony sent me some help in setting up our books. Also, the tape of New South subscribers came today. We shall make use of it right along, but it will be most helpful for the next Newsletter mailing.

I do not know what gives with Eulalie Ginn. In all the years I have known her she has never behaved this way before.

Thanks for getting the tape and Anthony's help to me.

Sincerely

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.
Acting Director

RMD:s

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November 2, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling, Field Representative
Southern Regional Council
52 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Enclosed are the quarterly financial statement, New South subscriptions, and check to cover the latter.

I want to thank you for the group of reports, the brochures on the other state Councils, and the tape of New South Florida subscriptions. Also, I shall appreciate your conveying to Mr. Anthony my thanks for his help in respect to the books. At this point I am burning so much midnight oil that an extra letter means a lot. My registered letter to Eulalie Ginn reached her, so I shall be awaiting the books eagerly.

Our appeal through the Newsletter netted far more than enough the first two days to cover the entire cost of envelopes and all. And, of course, the replies have just begun to come in.

Now, I have to get down to the very difficult task of getting our financial picture in order. We are working on a form which can be used by the local Councils for their own records of memberships and subscriptions and at the same time can serve for the FCHR and SRC. We hope it works.

Sincerely

Ralph

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.
Acting Director

RMD:s
Enc.

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November 6, 1962

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

If all our good people move North, how can we poor Southerners make a go of it? In a way, of course, you have not quite gone North, for Washington, D.C., still savors of the South.

I am sure you know that we shall miss you both professionally and personally. However, I cannot blame you for wanting to take a job with more fixedness than the one you have. To be away from home as much as you have had to be is very difficult. I wish you the finest of everything in your new position and know that you will give just that to your new position.

I am enclosing two pieces of literature, both of which you may have, though I am not sure how you would come into possession of the one from our Board of Missions. If you do not have either of them, feel free to copy them. I should like to have them back for my files.

We are having our Executive Committee meeting on Saturday. I am hoping I can get the members to commit themselves to the kind of personal contact of which you and I spoke.

Again, let me express my regrets and my good wishes.

Sincerely

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.
Acting Director

RMD:s
Enc.

MM

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December 11, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Welcome to the new position. This letter comes in answer to the recent letter from Paul Rilling, but of necessity the reply is to you. And I am happy to be able to write you.

The news contained in the letter from Paul R. is very encouraging. It will certainly require a great deal of help to get us on our feet, so the extra amounts which look possible from SRC will come in very handy. I think sooner or later the FCHR should be at the place where it does not need to be subsidized. But I think if we can get over a hump, we can make that time sooner. We are making efforts now to get in as much money as we can from our people, so hopefully we can qualify for SRC funds to the extent allowable in our present condition. In turn, we may be able to obtain a Director so that we can further qualify.

I am looking forward with pleasure to your coming to be with us in Daytona Saturday. If you were not coming, I should have many more comments and questions in this letter.

Please accept my thanks and those of FCHR for the prospective grants.

Sincerely

Ralph

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.
Acting Executive Director

RMD:s
cc: Mabel Norris Chesley

File -
RDrg

December 17, 1962

Dr. Ralph Dreger
Acting Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
2867 Justina Road
Jacksonville 11, Florida

Dear Ralph:

It was a pleasure meeting you and I want to again express my appreciation to you and your wife for the excellent job you are doing for the Florida Council. All of us are grateful.

I shall speak to Benjamin Mays and arrange to see Lou Mitchell as soon as possible.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

December 20, 1962

Dr. Ralph Dreger
Acting Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
2867 Justina Road
Jacksonville 11, Florida

Dear Ralph:

Dr. Mays and one other person whom I approached found it impossible to make either of the dates we discussed. This may be fortunate in a way since I've turned up a man who can do a good job for you: Wiley Branton, the head of our Voter Education Project. A vitae is enclosed. Wiley is available for Saturday, January 26. It would be most convenient for him if he could come down on the Saturday non-stop flight getting to Daytona at 12:30 P.M.. Can you arrange the program to make this possible?

I will see Louis Mitchell on the 27th or 28th and will let you know immediately thereafter the outcome of our meeting.

If you have an opportunity before you get away, would you please confirm that the speaker and the date are satisfactory. Also, I would like instructions on anything I can do at or before the meeting and whether or not you want me in Daytona early, like Friday evening before.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm
cc: Mrs. Mabel Norris Chesley

Fla - Dreg

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MRS. W. C. WHITE Zephyrhills
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DR. H. FRANKLIN WILLIAMS Miami


December 23, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

This letter responds to your two recent ones, the first of which came while our family was out of town.

Since getting your December 20th letter yesterday morning, I have tried unsuccessfully to get in touch with Mabel, for even though the E.C. left it up to you and me to make arrangements for the main speaker for the Annual Meeting I felt the need to consult with Mabel about the time. I have dimly in the back of my mind the thought that she was going to have an Advisory Com. meeting that same week. As I recall, however, she said it would not be impossible, even though inconvenient, for her to make it. So I am taking the liberty, because time is more of the essence than it would have been with a February date, of saying o.k. on both speaker and date. To be able to get a top-flight man like Wiley Branton is far too much of an opportunity to let slip. I know I express the gratitude of the Council for your getting such a good man.

Whether we shall need you on Friday evening before the A.M. I do not know. If Mabel calls an Executive Committee meeting, she might want you then if you can afford the time to be with us. Anyway, one of us will let you know just as soon as possible.

I hope things turn out well with Lou Mitchell.

Sincerely

Ralph

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.
Acting Executive Director

RMD:s
cc: Mrs. Mabel Norris Chesley

P.S. It was a genuine pleasure to make your acquaintance a week ago Saturday. I hope our first visit will be only one of many.

As I sit here thinking, I have another question with which you may be able to help me. I am Secretary-Treasurer of our Southeastern Psychological Association and have quite a bit to do with selecting sites for our annual conventions. Our association is on record as willing to go only to those cities where the hotel or motel (as Miami Beach sometimes terms its palatial tourist homes) will accommodate all our members without discrimination. Since adopting that position a couple of years ago, we have had to meet on the fringes of our region or once in Gatlinburg, which as you know is rather difficult to reach. Do you know of any more centrally located facilities of this nature? Our convention runs about 500 to 600 registrants, not all of whom, of course, stay at the convention headquarters; but a sufficient number do to make it necessary to have fairly large accommodations. In Miami Beach for this next April we shall have two hotels as headquarters, with overflow in two others. We are supposed to be cooperating with a committee representing all the major professionally-oriented societies, but the committee seems to have bogged down. Any help you can give our association may be of help to others as well.

We plan our Newsletter to be out this weekend--so please call me about Lou Mitchell.

# *Florida Council on* HUMAN RELATIONS

mm

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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Tampa
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Zephyrhills
MRS. CHARLES WILLIAMS
Miami
DR. H. FRANKLIN WILLIAMS
Miami

January 17, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Ralph is a bit under the weather this morning, while at the same time being busy preparing an installation-of-officers address for the Flajax Club's formal dinner this evening. Interestingly enough, this will be the first really formal affair we've attended since living in Jacksonville--Flajax is a Negro men's club.

Thanks from both of us, and from the whole FCHR for the quarterly grant-in-aid payment. It has already been deposited. At this point our bank balance is inching close to the $3000 mark, with the only outstanding liabilities being some reimbursement to local councils for their share of dues sent direct to the state office, plus the New South subscriptions for January so far.

Yesterday's mail brought inquiry about affiliation with FCHR from the Tallahassee Council--something for which Ralph has been hoping ever since he was, as a former professor at FSU, the first chairman of the Tally group. He may already have written you that the Dade County Community Relations Council has applied for affiliation. They have already sent in $300 as a Council contribution, and hope to make it $500 by the annual meeting. Central Brevard (Clearwater) also hope to bring $500 to the meeting in Daytona. So we are much encouraged.

The auditor now has the 1962 financial records, but probably won't complete his audit until just before the annual meeting. In the meantime I'm sending along the enclosed mimeographed report which we have preparedfor the Board of Directors. I'm definitely not a bookkeeper, but fortunately for FCHR I did keep books in one job I had years ago--as secretary in a good-sized metropolitan church. It's amazing how all my previous experience keeps coming in handy in my present role as wife to the very busy, very versatile (very wonderful) Ralph Dreger.

I look forward to meeting you personally in Daytona. If, by the way, you would like to stop over in Jax on your return trip to go over things in the office, we'd be delighted to have you stay overnight with us.

Sincerely,

Georgia

Georgia E. Dreger, Ed.D.

Fla
Chesley

VIA AIR MAIL
January 21, 1963

Mrs. Mabel Norris Chesley
P. O. Box 431
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mabel:

Lou Mitchell, his wife, and I will arrive--as you know--at 12:30 on Friday. Am sure we can arrange adequate accommodations but should there be any place we should stay that would be especially convenient to you and FCHR, please arrange for it. Will check with you on arrival.

Saw Mitchell in Birmingham on Friday. He is very eager about the interview.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Fla
RMD

January 23, 1963

Dr. Ralph Dreger
Acting Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
2867 Justina Road
Jacksonville 11, Florida

Dear Dr. Dreger:

I am so very sorry the enclosed information, requested in your letter of December 23 to Paul Anthony, has been so long delayed.

The typewritten sheet was prepared for our internal use in the research department, from newsclips and friendly informants rather than from a formal survey. I have penciled in the number of rooms available in a facility when I could find this information in our Tour Books.

I have heard--and this is information not to be made public--that the major Atlanta hotels plan desegregation sometime during the Spring of this year.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

# *Florida Council on* HUMAN RELATIONS

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REV. PAUL WAGNER Tampa
MRS. W. C. WHITE Zephyrhills
MRS. CHARLES WILLIAMS Miami
DR. H. FRANKLIN WILLIAMS Miami

January 28, 1963

(Copy to Paul Anthony, SRC. Letter to Executive Committee.)

One important matter of business was left unsettled at the Executive Committee meeting last Saturday, namely the problem of my having the double responsibility of President and Acting Executive Director. To some this did not seem an important issue, in spite of the fact that my acceptance of the nomination for the presidency had been conditional upon my not continuing to serve in the executive spot. Some felt that I could just go on wearing both hats--apparently I did not make it clear that my wife, Dr. Georgia Dreger, has for the past several months carried by far the majority of the time-consuming details of the position as well as a good deal of the executive work itself. Having given it further thought, I now feel very strongly that, with my being President, someone else should be Acting Executive Director--and the logical solution seems to be, for the few months between now and the time Lou Mitchell comes, that my wife assume the title as well as increased responsibility.

There are several practical reasons for this move: First, it would be difficult to find someone else who at this point would be both capable and willing to take on the very time-consuming task of being Acting Executive Director; and it seems unwise to shift the whole office set-up again for the brief interim period. Second, professional work is going to take me out of Jacksonville quite a bit, especially in the late spring. Already Georgia has found it rather awkward in writing letters for the Council to have to indicate that she is writing as my "unofficial assistant." Georgia has brought to our FCHR emergency years of experience in writing and editorial work, promotion, and office management, along with doctoral training which included specialization in community service. She is entirely capable of making the decisions I would make; and in fact I have often followed her thought in making decisions. We two would, of course, work together constantly, but without everything requiring some action on my part. Third, meetings of the Executive Committee

and Board should have the benefit of Georgia's detailed knowledge of Council work during these important months. Frankly, she knows more than I do about many aspects of our operations. If her work is entirely unofficial--however much it may be appreciated--she has no official function with the Executive Committee or Board and would not attend meetings. Fourth, when it comes time to turn things over to Lou Mitchell, the transfer can be expedited by having the person most familiar with all the details to go over the work with him, and to be able to do so as a temporary officer of the Council rather than just as a council member.

I am sorry that it has been necessary, because we did not take any clear action, to make an issue of this matter. It is, in fact, a bit embarrassing that I have to do so, for it may appear that the Dregers are trying to take too many official positions in the FCHR. Nevertheless, action must be taken. Unless there is serious objection--in which case I shall be obliged to call an Executive Committee meeting to settle the matter--I recommend strongly that, with my being President, Georgia take on the title of Acting Executive Director. I would like whatever response you care to make not later than a week from today, Monday, February 4. If I do not hear from you within the week, I shall assume that you have no serious objections.

Looking forward to working with you this year in what I regard, and I know you do, too, as one of the most vital enterprises we can undertake in our time, I am

Sincerely yours,

Ralph Mason Dreger

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.
President

RMD:G

# *Florida Council on* HUMAN RELATIONS

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REV. PAUL WAGNER Tampa
MRS. W. C. WHITE Zephyrhills
MRS. CHARLES WILLIAMS Miami
DR. H. FRANKLIN WILLIAMS Miami

February 8, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Services
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Please forgive my not writing to you before in connection with all you have done for us. I knew that Dr. Williams would be sending notes of thanks, so I did not feel it so urgent to write. Still, I should have done so sooner.

First, let me thank through you Marge Manderson for sending the materials on hotel accommodations. I am glad to hear that Atlanta hotels plan desegregation--I shall, of course, not say anything to anyone until they make the announcement. But I am pleased to know this news now, for I am sure when the news is made public our Southeastern Psychological Association will come to Atlanta right away next year; if the news is not announced by the time of our convention in April, I can tell our Executive Committee that I shall have news in a short while that will enable us to meet in the center of our region again.

I have a bit of information to add on hotels. The major Jacksonville hotels now allow desegregated meetings and private luncheons or dinners, though they do not accommodate Negro guests overnight.

I want to add my thanks to Dr. Williams for your gracious help in everything. You will be delighted to know that with a deposit we are making today we shall have over $4200 in the bank clear--that is, after all expenses are deducted. Also, you may know that Lou Mitchell is announcing his decision over this weekend to his church. He said on the phone to Georgia that he may not be able to come until July 1st, but I am writing him urging him strongly to be sure to make it June 1st.

The Board made Georgia Acting Executive Director, so I do not have to wear two hats. (E.C. did it rather.)

Sincerely

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.
President

M

February 12, 1963

Dr. Ralph Mason Dreger
Florida Council on Human Relations
P. O. Box 8292
Jacksonville 11, Florida

Dear Ralph,

You now have an Executive Director, officially, effective July 1. I consented to the request which I anticipated of staying through June 30 due to the obligation I feel to the Rector and my three year oral contract which actually terminates at the end of June.

From what Georgia said on the telephone, this will necessitate my meeting with you during May to go over the details of the FCHR operation. This I will do, and because you will be gone in June, any necessary correspondence and mailings can proceed from this office here.

Betsy and I will go to Daytona within the next month to settle the housing problem, and there is a good chance she will move during June with the children. This will mean I shall begin active work from the very beginning, not having to spend time arranging family matters.

I want you to know how much I look forward to this opportunity with the Florida Council, and I hope I shall be able to fulfill the expectations of all of us for its growth and effectiveness.

With every good wish, I remain

Yours most sincerely,

Louis L. Mitchell, Jr.

Paul — I will be there 3/5 for ED's meeting; probably drive over with Jimerson, or vice-versa.
Can SRC help expenses of Betsy and I going to Daytona to look for housing — We will drive and eat hot-dogs and camp on beach if necessary, but will need some help —
Gracias & Pax, Lou

cc: Mr. Herbert Davidson
Mrs. Mabel Chesley
Mr. Paul Anthony

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON
HUMAN RELATIONS

February 25, 1963

Paul:

Ralph was delighted to know you might be able to meet with the Executive Committee. As you'll see from the enclosed copy, time has been set for the 9th.

I'm writing council contacts in Clearwater, St. Pete, Tampa, and Fort Myers about Miss Wilkins' being in the Sarasota area, and I'll channel any response through you.

Georgia

copy to Paul Anthony

P. O. Box 8292
Jacksonville 11, Fla.
February 25, 1963

Mrs. Pierre Miles
12 Azalea Drive
Ormond Beach, Fla.

Dear Mrs. Miles:

I am calling an FCHR Executive Committee meeting for Saturday, March 9, 1:00 to 4:00 p.m., at the News-Journal Building, Daytona Beach. I wanted to be able to give a choice of dates, but that did not work out. I hope the 9th will be a convenient date for most members.

There are a number of matters to be decided. Georgia, as Acting Executive Director, has also prepared a list of some ideas for spring promotion to which she would like Executive Committee reaction. A copy is enclosed for you to study before the meeting.

News from Lou Mitchell is that he will be in Florida a great deal of time during June, and some time in May, getting his family moved and the office set up. Then he will be full-time in Florida beginning July First. Geergia will see him in Atlanta an an SRC staff meeting on March 5 and 6, and will discuss spring promotion and other FCHR matters with him.

Please let us know just as soon as possible on the enclosed postal card whether or not you will be able to attend the March 9th meeting. And please be prompt at 1:00. It promises to be a full three-hour session.

Sincerely,

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.
President

RMD:G

VIA AIR MAIL
February 25, 1963

Dr. Ralph M. Dreger
Dr. Georgia Dreger
2867 Justina Road
Jacksonville 11, Florida

Dear Ralph and Georgia:

Congratuàations to you both on your new hats--and on a really fine annual meeting well arranged. I am pleased Lou's appointment is official, and, like you, hope he can be about the job. Hope by now he has been in touch with you and discussed ideas for considerable earlier work. We talked about this following Georgia's call to me.

I am indeed delighted to know of the $4,200 on hand. It is another indication of the incredibly good job the Dregers have done. Also, the newsletter is up to its usual high standards.

As we discussed at Daytona, you have our pledge of full support during the months ahead. I feel the next year will be a very significant and good one for FCHR. I hope to be able to work very closely with Lou after his arrival. In the meantime, please feel free to call on me for any services we can render.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

March 14, 1963

Dr. and Mrs. Ralph Mason Dreger
Florida Council on Human Relations
P. O. Box 8292
Jacksonville 11, Florida

Dear Ralph and Georgia,

I am not certain whether protocol calls for me to write the President or Acting Director, but as persons I write you both with greetings. I am most anxious to know how the meeting last Saturday turned out, and if the potential gathering on June 8 is now definite.

It was good to have the opportunity of conversing with Georgia last week in Atlanta. I learned much and was provoked into more anxiety in not being able to begin work with the F.C.H.R. immediately. I continue to be more deeply impressed by the work both of you have carried on over these past months.

My plans for going to Florida house-hunting are to leave here on the morning of March 26, arriving in Daytona 12:30 P.M. via air with Betsy. I plan to be free to stay until Saturday, giving us ample time to assess the copious details of real-estate dealings.

I would appreciate your sending me a check for the basic expenses of this trip which will amount to $205.00 ($119 air fare; $46.00 food; $40.00 motel.) I will cover all other expenses.

Following this trip, in mid-April, I will spend one full day with you in Jacksonville, probably the 19th or 26th if convenient for you, to be indoctrinated specifically in all that you have set up, and to plan the June transition.

Looking forward to our future together, and with every good wish, I remain

Yours sincerely,

Louis L. Mitchell, Jr.

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony
Mr. Herbert Davidson

LLM,Jr./cm

Paul - Just to keep you informed on your worries - Many thanks for all your help - With end-of last week - Betsy sends her love - Keep up the struggle! Fan

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON
HUMAN RELATIONS

March 21, 1963

Dear Paul:

Ralph had already written the enclosed letter before we talked, though I had not seen it. I think it says essentially what you did, and all seems to be clear for Lou's visit next week.

Thanks again for your help. Things here are under control again after two weeks when Ralph and I have been carrying a pretty heavy schedule in spite of flu-limited energy.

Georgia

March 20, 1963

The Reverend Louis L. Mitchell, Jr.
St. Luke's Episcopal Church
Mountain Brook, Alabama

Dear Lou:

A check for $205 has gone forward as per your request. We did not receive your letter until Monday and had a few matters to clear up in respect to your request, so Georgia was not able to send the check to Herbert Davidson until yesterday.

Your letter raises several matters in my mind. The first is concerning your January trip. I am not certain what arrangements were made for your expenses then. It seems to me that Southern Regional was going to pick up the tab. Have you been reimbursed for that trip? If not, you should be. The second is in connection with this contemplated house-hunting trip. There is just nothing budgeted for any trips prior to your actually moving here. However, if someone promisted you such expenses, someone whom you had reason to believe possessed authority to make such commitments, then, of course, we are honor bound to fulfill such a promise. On March 9th the Executive Committee did agree to pay your moving expenses up to the amount of a month's salary, with the understanding that you would get three bids from moving companies in order to hold expenses down.

The Executive Committee, while very optimistic about the progress we have made is fully cognizant about three things: 1. Although we have made most of the budget for this year, the last $3000-plus will be far harder to raise than the first portion. 2. There is no place in the budget except travel for moving moving expenses to come from--and only $1175 is in that budget at this time for the entire year. 3. Many persons are not giving or are not giving as they ought, but also many persons and families are sacrificing in order to support the Council, so the Board has an obligation to use funds available with great care.

The Board at the meeting in January did not, of course, think about any extra trips being required in June, and the Executive Committee did not discuss the matter. This means we will have to plan together very specifically for these extra expenses and how to meet them.

In order to hold down expenses, we are going to do everything we can to help you accomplish as much as possible in one trip. (1) Since you say you plan to stay until Saturday March 30th, Georgia is willing to come to Daytona on Friday and screen secretarial candidates, so that you could have your choice of the best ones. Hopefully you could make your decision and have someone who could start setting up the office June 1st. If you would like Georgia to do the preliminary screening, let us know right away, so that she can get ads in the News-Journal and also make her plans for being away from home that Friday. (2) Then, we can set up a meeting with Dr. Moore of Bethune-Cookman and Mrs. Moseley, Chairman of the Halifax Area Council, for planning the June 8th meeting; that is, this meeting could be on Saturday when I can come down to Daytona also. Georgia, I am sure, told you that we feel strongly that you should help to plan the June 8th meeting for we want you to take the major leadership role beginning at that point. (3) Georgia says that as far as office routine and other matters like that are concerned, she can write up detailed procedures which will be understandable to you and your secretary. Thus it will not be necessary for you to spend a full day in Jacksonville during April going over such details.

We are looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph. D.
President, Florida Council on
Human Relations

CC: Paul Anthony
Herbert Davidson

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON
HUMAN RELATIONS

March 24, 1962

Dear Paul: Soon I must write you a letter all your own, rather than just sending carbons!

Plan to be in Daytona Friday and Saturday to screen applicants forFCHR office secretary and to plan June 8 meeting with Lou. Somewhat early for the secretary--but the right gal may just be looking for something to start when school is out--and your thought that Lou might not have a secretary until August makes me shudder!

Georgia

P. O. Box 8292
Jacksonville 11, Fla.
March 23, 1963

Miss Margaret Long, Editor
NEW SOUTH
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Margaret:

I have an idea! (A former boss of mine used to say, "Cherish it, Dear--it's in a strange place!")

How about an article for NEW SOUTH highlighting some of the struggles and successes of a local group of citizens to organize a human relations council? I have in mind particularly our very new Lee County Council on Human Relations (Fort Myers), a community where struggles and successes both include some good human interest stories as well as, incidentally, some good points on how to go about setting up a local council. The group there has not yet held a public meeting, but have had as many as 35 to 40 attending. Josephine Wilkins of the SRC Board spent time with them very recently--and got herself threatend by the police with arrest for "vagrancy" following a meeting at a Negro Baptist church! A small Episcopal Church on Sanibel ("Gift from the Sea") Island has been completely integrated. Paul Anthony and Miss Wilkins can tell you more--for there is much more which even I don't know of yet.

Not yet--but Ralph and I will spend April 24 in Fort Myers. I would be glad at that time to do the spade work for such an article. Or maybe Miss Wilkins would be willing to write it herself? It would be a good way to show the SRC as really concerned with local and state council doings.

It was so good to get to meet you and others at SRC at the March state staff meeting. Having sat at an editor's desk for some seven years (doing youth church curriculum materials) I have some empathy as well as sympathy for some of your struggles, and some vicarious satisfaction in your real success with NEW SOUTH.

Sincerely,

Georgia E. Dreger, Ed.D.
Acting Executive Director

cc: Paul Anthony

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON
HUMAN RELATIONS

March 25, p.m.

Dear Paul: Thanks for your call and for your concern. I've made 6 calls to Daytona today, all profitable. A good bunch of cooperative folk there. I think Lou won't have some of the local problems Bill had in Miami.

Daytona Council want Lou back April 22-25 for a workshop--they to pay his expenses.

Hurriedly,

Georgia

P. O. Box 8292
Jacksonville 11, Fla.
March 25, 1963

The Rev. Louis L. Mitchell, Jr.
c/o Herbert Davidson
News-Journal Building
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Dear Lou:

Here is a quick run-down on plans we have confirmed by long distance calls today to help with the plans the next few days for your stay in Daytona:

1. Ralph has asked Mrs. Pierre Miles (12 Azalea Drive, Ormond Beach) to serve as Chairman of a committee of her choosing devoted to helping with the Daytona end of the many problems involved in getting you and the FCHR office established there. She will be seeing Herbert Davidson tonight (Monday), and will meet you at his office on Tuesday, 26th.

2. If you think kindly of my offer to do some beginning interviewing to screen qualified secretaries for your making a final choice, I'll arrive Friday about mid-morning and be available at the News-Journal Friday, day and evening, and Saturday morning. I've cleared this with Mr. Davidson. Proposed ad copy for the paper is enclosed. Check the copy with Mr. Davidson, make needed changes, and send it along to Classified. If you do not want me to come, call me Tuesday. I plan to get out a quick note to Council members in Daytona telling them I'll be there Friday.

3. Ralph will drive to Daytona following his afternoon appointments on Friday, and we can have a supper planning session for the June 8 meeting at Howard Johnson's. This will involve you (and Betsy, of course, if she can make it), Mrs. Banks from Bethune-Cookman, Mrs. Miles, Mrs. Moseley, Ralph and me. Then we are to clear our planning in a brief meeting Saturday morning with Dr. Moore at Bethune-Cookman--which need not involve you if you must be still taking care of real estate details.

Okay?...See your Friday.

Sincerely,

Georgia E. Dreger, Ed.D.
Acting Executive Director

cc: Herbert Davidson
Mrs. Pierre Miles
Paul Anthony

Help-Wanted Ad to appear in Daytona Beach News-Journal
Thursday, Friday, Saturday
March 28 - 30

ALL-SKILLS SECRETARY for state office Florida Council on Human Relations, located Daytona after June 1. Full responsibility for office when Director travels. Real service opportunity. Applications invited from qualified persons regardless of race, creed, or color. Starting salary $65 week./ Apply in person to Out-of-town interviewer at News-Journal this Friday, day or evening, and Saturday a.m.

Bill to: Florida Council on Human Relations
Box 8292
Jacksonville 11, Fla.

*"...to counteract prejudice and discrimination based on racial, religious, nationality or ethnic group membership."*

# Florida Council on Human Relations

P. O. Box 8292 / Jacksonville 11, Florida

March 28, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I knew this day would finally come--when I would wish fervently that I had at least two more heads and four more hands. Then if I couldn't get all my jobs done, I could at least make some money in the circus! So I'm making relatively molehills out of the mountain of stuff I need to write you by enclosing a bunch of separate memos and letters. I just can't face doing it except piecemeal!

Really all is well, at least under control.

Note the new stationery. We had held off, trying to get a firm Board list. I even vaguely remember that some by-law says we are supposed to have the Board list on the stationery. But we discover that names were added to the list last annual meeting without contact with the persons being nominated--and we haven't succeeded in hearing from all of them. So from now until June we'll have the simpler letterhead I personally much prefer.

Keep reading!

Sincerely,

Georgia

Georgia E. Dreger, Ed.D.
Acting Executive Director

*"...to counteract prejudice and discrimination based on racial, religious, nationality or ethnic group membership."*

# Florida Council on Human Relations

P. O. Box 8292 / Jacksonville 11, Florida

March 28, 1963

To: Paul Anthony

From: Georgia Dreger

Subject: SRC NEWSLETTER

Bravo!

Could Florida have 60 copies per month if we promise to make good use of them? I would like to send them to all our Board, since this is the point at which we are making a real drive for more Board participation. I would also like to send a copy to each local council--either to the President or to the Program Chairman. We find that some of the local councils--the less cooperative ones as far as state concerns are concerned--have been asking the pertinent if selfish question, "So what do FCHR and SRC do for us?" FCHR NEWSLETTER has impressed some of these people, and a monthly copy of SRC NEWSLETTER would do likewise.

Within the next week I'll send along whatever news or notes from Florida which might be appropriate for the April issue.

*"...to counteract prejudice and discrimination based on racial, religious, nationality or ethnic group membership."*

# Florida Council on Human Relations

P. O. Box 8292 / Jacksonville 11, Florida

March 28, 1963

To: Paul Anthony

From: Georgia Dreger

Subject: Sample copies of NEW SOUTH

Are there some back issues of NEW SOUTH lying around which we could use to send along with copies of FCHR NEWSLETTER to prospective FCHR members? During March-April we're making a concentrated effort to get lists of new, active prospects from the local council officers. To these we are sending a cuffent FCHR NEWSLETTER, asking them to indicate whether or not they wish to receive future issues or become members--and we won't put them on our regular mailing list until they personally request it. If we could send along NEW SOUTH, too, I think it would help them to see how much they get for their dues money.

Do

*"...to counteract prejudice and discrimination based on racial, religious, nationality or ethnic group membership."*

# Florida Council on Human Relations

P. O. Box 8292 / Jacksonville 11, Florida

March 28, 1963

To: Paul Anthony

From: Georgia Dreger

Subject: FCHR brochure

It is long past time that Florida should have a new brochure describing its work, etc., but since wehave waited so long, I think we should wait and let Lou be in on the planning if not the actual writing. I will mention it to him when I see him in Daytona this week end.

Do you have there at SRC extra copies of the kind of brochures used in the other states? I have three of four here in file, but not duplicates. Could you send a bunch to Lou and also to me?

April 2, 1963

Dr. Georgia DMeger
Acting Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
2867 Justina Road
Jacksonville 11, Florida

Dear Georgia:

Your great stack of communications is staring me in the face. Here goes.

1. Lou was not sent a notice of the June meeting. He will be and we can discuss it with him. Thoughhelping, SRC will not pay expenses so we will have to consider this especially.

The meeting will not include Presidents. That will come later, if we can arrangeeit. When the meeting is held we can consider having Ralph and Mrs. Banks.

Good luck on all the arrangements!

2. Marge is collecting copies of those brochures we have. They will be included or follow soon. Several will be sent to Lou as well.

3. Marge will select several hundred copies of back issues of New South and send them soon.

4. The 60 copies of the newsletter will be sent. Florida news for April will be helpful.

5. Thanks for the names and for the helpful suggestions. Actually, this is not to be our study but our help to International Research Associates for the ALA study. We will have access to their findings and, in time, this might be one area of interesting state council programming.

So be that stack of memos!

The new stationery is quite attractive.

These days I'm almost as busy as a Dreger, but I hope soon to be available for any planning for the summer and fall ~~whiwhich~~ which you would want me involved.

My best to Ralph and to you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

April 26, 1963

Dr. Georgia Dreger
Acting Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
2867 Justina Road
Jacksonville 11, Florida

Dear Georgia:

Recently the Justice Department informed us of a number of school districts in which the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare had achieved agreements to make non-racial school assignments of children living on federal property. In Florida, these are:

Hillsborough County (MacDill AFB)
Okaloosa County (Eglin AFB and Hurlburt AFB)
Santa Rosa County (Whiting Field Naval Air Station).

If an opportunity arises would you keep an eye on these areas or ask a local member to do so? The success--or lack thereof--might be very interesting to know about.

Best to Ralph and to you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm
cc: Louis Mitchell

"...to counteract prejudice and discrimination based on racial, religious, nationality or ethnic group membership."

# Florida Council on Human Relations

P. O. Box 8292 / Jacksonville 11, Florida

May 3, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

The enclosed carbon of a letter to Lou will help to bring you up to date on FCHR matters. I am having a real struggle to keep up with things at this point, but still hope with some additional secretarial help to make it through to the June 8th meeting.

I am not attempting to answer your recent memo about staff benefits, etc, since we will have a chance to talk about that when you are in Jacksonville on May 14th. I hope to have many details well enough in hand by that time to be able to use your help on a number of questions.

Sincerely,

Georgia

Georgia E. Dreger, Ed.D.
Acting Executive Director

GED/abw
Enclosure

P.S. One gus will be glad to meet you at the airport. Just call when you arrive:
Home: RA 4-5862
Office RA 4-6666 (Ralph's research office)
We are only a few minutes from the airport via the Expressway.

G

May 3, 1963

The Rev. Louis L. Mitchell, Jr.
St. Luke's Episcopal Church
Mountain Brook, Alabama

Dear Lou:

I have intended writing you for a number of weeks now, but I have just been too much occupied with trying to keep up with the volume of FCHR work. For one thing, we have been much concerned about the Birmingham situation and your part in it. We hope that you have not had any great personal difficulty.

I have not yet had a report from Daytona concerning the Workshop there, but I hope your trip there worked out well. Ralph and I had a very good trip around the state last week, with fruitful contacts for FCHR in: Orlando, Winter Park, Tampa, St. Petersburg, Clearwater, Fort Myers, Miami, and Fort Lauderdale. I am going to send a fairly detailed report on these contacts to you and to Paul, so that you will be able to profit by them when you make your first swing through Florida.

I am enclosing minutes of the March 9th, Executive Committee along with a list of committee appointments Ralph has made. The May Newsletter will be out next week with detailed announcement for the June 8th meeting.

Let us know how your plans for moving are coming along. Have you as yet received bids from movers? Did you get to see the office while you were in Daytona?

You will be interested to know that this is Mrs. Weston's first day on the job. In fact writing this letter is her first assignment. Because the Daytona office could not be ready before June 1st, Mrs. Weston is going to come to Jacksonville a day or two a week during May. I also have another part-time secretary working here for this month. I simply must take up some professional work after this next week, so I must turn many of the details over to someone else. There really is no budget for secretarial work during May, but we will just have to work that out some how.

Sincerely,

Georgia E. Dreger, Ed.D.
Acting Executive Director

GED/abw
Enclosure
cc: Paul Anthony

May 15, 1963

Dear Mrs. Weston:

As you know from the message relayed to you from Mr. Hill's office, we were in Daytona briefly yesterday, but because of scheduled appointments in Jacksonville we were not able to see you or phone you more at length. I did not have your home phone with me at the time. I did leave word that because of changed plans we would not expect you to come to Jacksonville on Thursday of this week as previously planned.

I have given a great deal of thought to our whole FCHR planning since our last meeting, and have come to the conclusion that I should recommend some major changes. I wish there had been opportunity for me to talk with you about all this in person, but I also feel you should know about the change at the earliest possible moment. I have conferred about the changes with Mr. Mitchell by long distance, and in person with the Field Director for the Southern Regional Council.

We will not be opening our office in Daytona until July 1, when Mr. Mitchell will be ready to take over his full-time responsibilities as Executive Director. Because of this fact, and because of concern I have about the unusually heavy responsibilities the secretarial position will entail, we feel we should terminate our agreement with you for employment. Even though the job has not yet actually begun, there was a definite commitment with you for the position. We are, therefore, in lieu of the two weeks' notice customarily given, enclosing a check for a full two weeks' salary, with appropriate deductions for social security and withholding tax for the total amount paid to you by FCHR. You will please drop me a card or note letting me know for our records your Social Security Number.

I am certainly sorry that this decision has had to be made, a take upon myself personally a great part of the responsibility for not having clarified matters more fully in our initial interview. I want you to know that I do feel you have good potential for most secretarial positions. Our particular job, however, will demand two things which our experience of the last two weeks has caused me to question in your case: (1) The work requires considerably higher than average level of skill. I certainly realize that your lack of speed on work you did was perhaps largely due to tension of being in a new job; but there will perhaps be many times when the FCHR secretary must produce a great amount of work under tension conditions. I think you felt somewhat overwhelmed by the immensity of the task. Frankly, I myself did not realize that the work was so difficult until I started to try to train someone else. I not only brought to

the work years of experience and much professional training, but the work also grew with me over a period of months. (2) The job requires a great deal more in terms of responsibility than does the average secretarial job. The major negative I felt was, of course, the fact that you did not come as scheduled last week, and had made no effort to let me know you were not going to come. Frankly, we could take a chance with the level of skill, for I am confident that would develop over a period of time. With this matter of taking very conscientious responsibility, particularly when there would not be day-to-day supervision, we just cannot afford to take a chance.

Again let me say how sorry I am that our plans did not work out. We enjoyed having you in our home and knowing you personally. I do hope that this may, in some ways, be a profitable experience for you, and you will soon find full-time employment in which you can find real satisfaction.

Sincerely yours,

Georgia E. Dreger, Ed.D.
Acting Executive Director

"...to counteract prejudice and discrimination based on racial, religious, nationality or ethnic group membership."

# Florida Council on Human Relations

P. O. Box 8292 / Jacksonville 11, Florida

May 16, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Although I think you know how much we appreciated your being with us Tuesday, and especially for the masterful address you gave, I want to put our appreciation in black and white. As I said Tuesday night, I do not know whether to thank you or not for your words; in a way it seemed anti-climactic to applaud what you said, for it was too vital merely to be applauded as any other lecture or speech might be. When one deals with the deep feelings of people the way you did, it seems almost sacrilegious merely to clap. But I think you know it was the only way people felt they could show how much they felt.

I intended to ask you before, and should have when you were here, about the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Every so often I get literature from them. In the back of my mind is a shadow of a question about the group, but I may have some wrong information stored there. I shall be glad to hear anything you have to say on the subject. It might be a good service the SRC could perform to set up a list of organizations which are unquestionable and another of those not so. Maybe it would not be a good idea, but it is difficult for the person without research resources for this kind of thing to know which groups are soundly American and which not.

Again thanks for everything.

Sincerely

Ralph

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.
Chairman, Human Relations
Council of Greater Jacksonville

RMD:s

CONFIDENTIAL

P. O. Box 8292
Jacksonville 11, Fla.
May 18, 1963

To: Lou Mitchell
Paul Anthony

From: Georgia Dreger

Subject: Mrs. Margaret J. Bass, Prospective FCHR Secretary

From brief phone or personal conversations, both of you know that I support Mrs. Bass strongly for our new secretary; and for our sakes I hope we can have her. However, there are some things I should like to share with both of you now, particularly since I won't be available for most of the summer. Primarily these matters concern Margaret's personal ~~dis~~- situation, problems which may affect not only the decision as to what job she will take but also how she will fulfill the task. I have no feeling of violating confidence in telling you these things, but for several reasons I think it would be best if this correspondence did not get into some file which she might eventually see if she does become FCHR secretary.

In terms of secretarial skills Margaret is good--not the best, but good. She does not take dictation by shorthand, or at least has not done so for many years. The report I am sending you of our April local council visits was dictated on a borrowed Edison Voicewriter, and I think she did very well in transcription. She can spell--and that's something in a $65-a-week secretary these days! She also catches on fairly fast in the many office procedures--and has a good ability to see a job whole as well as to give attention to details.

A glance at Margaret's record of training and experience (enclosed) will show that she is a person with some solid past accomplishments. Not infrequently, behind such a record stands a person who needs to accomplish, who can, and does--but also a person with great feelings of self derogation and lack of confidence. Margaret is not shy nor retiring, she meets people well, but underneath she lacks self-confidence. As I say, such a situation is not infrequent--I could use those same terms in describing myself! But particularly at this time when life has been very difficult for her, she will need personal recognition (not necessarily public acclaim) from those close to her in her work.

Margaret is 38, having been married for 14 years to a man 28 years her senior. He was evidently always young for his years, but she must have lived for years with fear of his death or incapacitating illness. His death in January came suddenly, leaving Margaret with two children--a daughter 13, a son 11. Just a few months prior to her husband's death, she had the last of several miscarriages. She has been under considerable physical strain, therefore, and at present is undergoing the painful as well as embarrassing process of having all her teeth removed.

She is basically quite an attractive person, and will have her new teeth in a matter of weeks now. When she first came to work for me she seemed quite depressed, but the physician discovered very low hemoglobin, and new medication within the last couple of weeks is helping her tremendously.

I say all that to say this: I still think Margaret is a real find for work in the field of human relations. I think she eventually will be ready and indeed capable of doing far more than being FCHR office secretary. Whatever job she takes, I believe that she will produce from the start more than she will be paid for--but at this point the demands of her own problems are great enough that those near to her in her work will need to support and encourage her.

While I believe that Margaret will work well in the FCHR setting in Daytona, I also feel that she would be better off personally in a situation where she would be part of a staff of several rather than working so much alone. For this reason, my feeling for her as friend rather than as just prospective secretary leads me to say that IF some job were to open up at Southern Regional Council, I would encourage her to take it. Paul and I discussed this briefly--with Paul's saying that they had just been looking for a person with Margaret's background, but had hired someone else who may not really be able to fill the bill. I wanted to say to Lou at this point that if some such opportunity for her develops there would be no feeling whatsoever that SRC would be taking her away from us. Even if she takes the FCHR job, it would only be for a year or perhaps two at best. In order to provide for her children's future, she will simply have to do more professional-level work with commensurate remuneration. Right now she is not completely dependent on salary, though her other income is adequate only for bare necessities.

Margaret is putting her house up for sale, knowing that whatever happens she is going to be moving out of Jacksonville. She has been doing substitute teaching in high schools, but does not relish the idea of teaching full-time, and that would be the only other work available. And--with an over supply of trained Negro teachers--she is not sure she could even get that full-time employment.

As it stands now, if SRC has nothing definite to offer within the very near future, then Margaret would be willing to move to Daytona Beach for at least the coming academic year. Will you, Paul, let me have some reaction from you about this right away? And, Lou, if you think the problems I have outlined are such that you would rather hold back about employing Mrs. Bass, with the hope that you would be able to find someone else after you come to Florida, write me immediately. I have made no final commitment to Margaret one way or the other--though I am proceeding to train her in all phases of FCHR office procedures.

May 21, 1963

Dr. Ralph Mason Dreger
2867 Justina Road
Jacksonville 11, Florida

Dear Ralph:

Thank you for the comments about the speech. I am deeply grateful.

The matter of lists of "good and bad" agencies is an extremely delicate thing. However, a good general guide is that of the listing of the participants of the Southern Interagency Conference, the informal quarterly meeting of regional or national agencies who meet periodically to discuss programs of mutual interest. Agencies are invited to participate on the basis of a three-fourths vote of those agencies who regularly participate, or are "members." You will note the Southern Conference Educational Fund is not a participant. In fact, their organization's recent request for membership was overwhelmingly rejected by the Southern Interagency Conference. I would personally urge you and FCHR to have nothing to do with SCEF. Beyond this statement, perhaps you, Lou, and I could discuss the matter June 7 or 8.

Look forward to seeing you then.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

May 21, 1963

Dr. Georgia Dreger
P. O. Box 8292
Jacksonville 11, Florida

Dear Georgia:

Thanks for the copies of your memos regarding personnel.

In reference to Margaret; SRC does not have anything at the moment though I will keep her in mind for I think her employment by us--in time--could be mutually beneficial. In the meantime, I see no reason why FCHR should not employ her if you and Lou agree on the move, nor would I see any future developments--in any direction which might be beneficial to Margaret--as a liability or reason for hesitation. Incidentally, I was very impressed with Margaret, the person, during our brief meeting.

The matter with Mrs. Weston is well handled.

The earlier verbal briefing on your trip through the state was helpful. The written report is of even more help. Hope we can make good use of it!

Look forward to seeing you all June 7 and 8.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm
cc: Lou Mitchell

May 22, 1963

Mrs. Ralph Dreger, Ed.D.
Florida Council on Human Relations
P. O. Box 8292
Jacksonville 11, Florida

Dear Georgia,

In response to yours of the 18th with enclosures which I just received today, I would say Mrs. Bass Apparently could do a most creditable job with the FCHR. I heartily endorse your hiring her if you feel she wants such a job and SRC does not need her.

Will write on other matters in the near future. Many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Louis L. Mitchell, Jr.

LLM,Jr/vbe
c/c Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

mm

May 23, 1963

Mrs. Ralph Dreger, Ed.D.
Florida Council on Human Relations
P. O. Box 8292
Jacksonville 11, Florida

Dear Georgia,

Greetings again.

This note is in regard to our moving from this fair city to Ormond where we have begun paying rent on a house -- 19 Byron Ellinor Drive. I understand the Executive Committee asked for three estimates from moving companies. Enclosed is one estimate which I shall accept on the following information. All transportation - travel costs are set by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Every reputable mover with whom I have spoken will charge $492.00 for the transportation. Therefore, all savings will come from packing and incidentals. Mr. Casey, with Mayflower, is an active member of this church, plus a friend, and will donate copious cartons and packing materials so that I can pack myself, with the exception of mirrors, china, etc. which I want them to pack for insurance purposes. In view of this I feel other bids are irrelevant. Our move will take place June 28, arriving the first.

I have read your report on the various councils in Florida, and commend you and Ralph once again for your efforts. It appears I have a few incidentals to care for when I begin down yonder!

All my best to you.

Sincerely,

Louis L. Mitchell, Jr.

LLM,Jr./cm

Enc. Mayflower estimate
cc: Mr. Paul Anthony ✓

RD MMM

May 27, 1963

The Reverend Louis L. Mitchell, Jr.
St. Luke's Episcopal Church
Mountain Brook, Alabama

Dear Lou:

Thanks for the note concerning the moving expenses. You are probably doing the thing the right way, with your friend in the Mayflower. Moving companies have us going and coming, literally. I'll bet the Interstate Commerce Commission does not set the rates, but instead sets the maximum rate anyone can charge, then everybody charges the maximum. At least, that was the way it was during the Second World War with the Office of Price Administration. I served as Chairman of our OPA Panel where we lived in California. OPA made it entirely clear that they were not setting prices, only the maximum price that could be charged. So every store charged the maximum. I may be wrong about the ICC, for I know it operates peculiarly. Anyway, go ahead and get all you can out of Mayflower; they will be making a pretty penny at the most they give you extra.

There are agenda matters for the June 7-8 meetings which need some of your attention, so I am enclosing a copy of the proposed agendas for the Executive Committee and Board of Directors. Paul Anthony is also getting a copy, so that he may make any suggestions. Please note that I have placed a report from you on both agendas. At a half hour Board meeting you will only have a couple of minutes to say very much. You will be before the entire body of FCHR most of the morning, so you do not need much time in the Board. If you have burning issues which must be taken up at some length, write a memo ~~take the time at~~ for the E.C. meeting on Friday night. Georgia's brief report on Saturday will be her last official act, so your words on the same program will be as full-fledged Executive Director.

You will notice that I have said to the Board members that our new Director will offer suggestions for the consideration of the Committees on Program. Please have a brief statement for each committee. Actually, because the time for committee meetings will be brief at this session, the most the committees can do is get organized and lay out plans for what they will be doing. I should suggest that you give each one somewhat the same outline, primarily: get the facts, plan your acts, then a few hints of program in relation to the latter. Paul should be of help here. I want you to make use of these committees, for they can multiply your efforts manifold.

One matter that concerns me somewhat is that of how much time you are going to spend in Florida in June. I think it would be wise for you to have at least three or four days in the week or so following the June 8 meeting just to help get the office in order, so that when you move you can get going right away on the productive work of the FCHR. We are going to bring all we have here except materials for the June Newsletter to Daytona on June 7. (We thought that even though Georgia would no longer be AED, it would be too difficult for you to try to get a Newsletter out in June, so we shall put one

out right after the meeting. After that it's your baby.) When you have a chance to go over the things that are left in the basement of Ed Graham's church in Miami, it would be well to get what you need to Daytona and chuck the rest. It might even pay you to go to Miami in June, for the Council's filing cabinets are there. If they are suitable for use, you should have them right away; if they are not, we should know it and obtain usable ones immediately. At any rate, your base of operations should be well-organized at the earliest moment so that your office can operate smoothly when you are away or present. We can work out some equitable arrangement for payment of salary for your June time.

In thinking over plans for June 8, I am reminded that I have asked Bishop Louttit to have an Invocation at the end of the morning session. I figured that if we try to have one at the start people will be coming in at odd times during the Board meeting, and to try to have one outside for the picnic lunch would be impossible. So the best time is when everybody will be present and relatively immobile. Accordingly, will you close out the program you are handling just before 11:55 and turn the meeting back to me to introduce Bishop Louttit? That will also give time to give directions for the noon hour.

Looking forward to seeing you next week, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.
President

RMD:s
Enc.

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

Dear Paul: Thanks for the information on SCEF. I had in the back of my mind some question marks, but I hate to let question marks determine my behavior.

Ralph

AGENDAS

Florida Council on Human Relations, 6/7-8

| | | E.C. | Board |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Secretary's report | x | x |
| 2. | Treasurer's report | x | x |
| 3. | Board members' response to information letter | x | x |
| 4. | Office Committee report | x | x |
| 5. | Acting Executive Director's report | x | x |
| 6. | Personnel Practices Committee report | x | x |
| 7. | By-Laws Committee report | x | x |
| 8. | Executive Director's report | x | x |
| 9. | Charters granted and requested | | x |
| 10. | Jacksonville Council name change | | x |
| 11. | Introduction new secretary, invitation to office-E.D. | | x |

RD

*"... to counteract prejudice and discrimination based on racial, religious, nationality or ethnic group membership."*

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

July 28, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

The enclosed clippings have come to me in various ways. I wondered in connection with the Courier article whether the last paragraph is true, or true as of fall 1962. The other gives a rather balanced view of the way others look at us.

Georgia and I have been doing quite a bit of work here in connection with data we gathered in the Behavioral Classification Project, preparing the data for the computers. The computers do not make many mistakes on our work, but the human beings associated with them have made a number of mistakes which have occasioned our doing a great deal more than we should have to otherwise.

We have found out this summer that we shall be having an addition to the family in February of next year. I told one of my friends in Pittsburgh that Phil, our son, came along in 1943, Trish in 1953, ? in 1963-64, but that I was leaving 1973 to Phil and Trish.

Lou seems to be taking hold of the Florida situation with vigor, as we expected him to. Henrine Banks from Daytona has been keeping close contact with him, I understand, as our Vice-President, for I certainly am too far away to be of much help. Things have certainly been happening fast these days. I fear that some of it is but the result of rivalry among the different groups; it is not unexpected, whatever sparks it, however.

Looking forward to seeing you in the near future, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Ralph

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.
President

RD

July 31, 1963

Dr. Ralph M. Dreger
1954-D, Orchard Downs
Urbana, Illinois

Dear Ralph:

It's very good to hear from you. Have thought of you and Georgia often this summer with the hope that all goes well with some relaxation.

The news of the coming event is wonderful. Though, for the life of me I can't understand why '73 should not continue the grand tradition!

Lou does seem to be taking over well. Have had no opportunity to visit him but have kept in rather close touch by mail and phone. I am especially pleased at his skill in reaching very influential people--such as in Tampa--and am hopeful that new and strong Councils will come from such work. As I have discussed with Lou, perhaps after your return we can plan an effective membership drive for the fall which will broaden the FCHR base considerably and incidentally take care of the remaining financial needs for the year. Also, I am hopeful we can arrange the trip through the state sometime in September.

August looks very busy for us here and we look to September with some concern. Any number of communities are falling into school desegregation then with less than adequate preparation. ASSIST seems to be doing a good job in Jacksonville though knowing that city we must always have some concern about it. Others have a record like Jacksonville--or worse--and don't have an ASSIST.

On the assumption that things are going well in Florida and that you now have a staff, shall look forward to a time when we can, at some leisure, have a quiet, long, and non-business conversation. Perhaps it should be before February!

My very best to you and to Georgia.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Fla - Dreg -

October 7, 1963

Dr. Ralph Dreger
2867 Justina Road
Jacksonville 11, Florida

Dear Ralph:

As you know some one hundred distinguished Southerners make up the Southern Regional Council. Each year a few persons are elected to serve to replace those who leave the region, resign, or are rotated off the Council.

At a recent Nominating Committee meeting you were one of the persons selected to be recommended to the full Council. These recommendations do not lead to automatic election for the Council has a very independent will of its own. But, the recommendations are usually accepted. This therefore is to determine--just for our own information--whether or not you will serve if elected. The meeting at which this decision would be made will be held November 25-26.

Needless to say I am very pleased the Nominating Committee has taken this action and hope you will find it possible to serve. I feel membership on the Council is a real honor and that none deserve it more than you. And, I would welcome this continued and new relationship.

Best to Georgia and you. Hope to see you soon to review fall developments and to be of any help to FCHR progress.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

*"... to counteract prejudice and discrimination based on racial, religious, nationality or ethnic group membership."*

**FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

LWD ✓
PA ✓
(PA has not seen this)
MJ - file

October 10, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

It is good to hear from you again. Since Georgia and I are not in the game we were, we sort of feel on the sidelines in a sense. One thing we have missed much is having more contact with you. If the suggestion of the Nominating Committee is not turned down by the Council, one of the benefits I should be looking toward is to have more fellowship with you.

From the preceding sentence I guess you can gather that I am willing to serve if the Council accepts the nomination. I, too, regard belonging to the Southern Regional Council as a distinct honor. To take my place beside the distinguished men and women who now constitute the Council and to walk in the footsteps of those others who have pioneered with courage and wisdom I shall count a very high privilege indeed.

Georgia joins me in expressing her pleasure at the action of the Nominating Committee. And she joins me warmly in sending greetings to you.

Sincerely

Ralph

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.

RMD:s

File
R Dreg -

October 15, 1983

Dr. Ralph M. Dreger
2867 Justina Rd.
Jacksonville 11, Florida

Dear Ralph:

Thanks for the good letter of the 10th. Come late November, I shall look forward to welcoming you to the Council.

On Sunday November 3, I join Lou in Daytona for a trip to Palm Beach on the 4th for their fund-raising dinner there. Thereafter several stops ending in Miami for their annual dinner on the 6th. Will our paths cross on any of these? Both of the dinners mentioned sound like good efforts to me.

My very best to Georgia and to you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

mm

Proposed Budget

for the Year 1963

Florida Council on Human Relations

Proposed Income

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Contributions | $ 4300.00 | |
| Memberships | 700.00 | |
| New South | 600.00 | |
| S.R.C. grants | 6975.00 | |
| Carryover from 1962 ($1500 of this amount applies toward S.R.C. matching) | 2387.00 | |
| | | $14,962.00 |

Proposed Expenses

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Payroll | | $ 7310.00 | |
| Executive Director (7/12) | $5250 | | |
| Office Secretary (7/12) | 1960 | | |
| Bookkeeper part-time (5/12) | 100 | | |
| Payroll taxes | | 980.00 | |
| Rent (7/12) | | 490.00 | |
| New South | | 600.00 | |
| Travel (7/12) | | 1175.00 | |
| Refunds to local Councils | | 200.00 | |
| Office Supplies | | 200.00 | |
| Telephone | | 400.00 | |
| Postage | | 300.00 | |
| Printing | | 200.00 | |
| Equipment | | 200.00 | |
| Books | | 100.00 | |
| Audit, bank charges | | 50.00 | |
| Miscellaneous | | 200.00 | |
| Surplus | | 2557.00 | |
| | | | $14,962.00 |

Fla
Ralph
Dreger

**JACKSONVILLE UNIVERSITY**
**JACKSONVILLE 11, FLORIDA**

April 14, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Enclosed please find a check to cover your expenses at the Southeastern Psychological Association convention. I wish it could be a great deal more, especially in view of the quality of your discussion.

After you had spoken, I said to myself, "Well, Paul did it again!" I have heard you speak several times now, once as you recall entirely extemporaneously when another speaker failed to show up. In each case you have come through with flying colors. I assured Dr. Cohen that such would be the case; but it is always good to have one's predictions verified. I am sure people could have listened to you a much longer time than they did. But considering the circumstances you spoke just long enough, not too short or too long a time.

Georgia joins me in sending warmest greetings.

~~Sincerely~~
Ralph

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.
Professor of Psychology

RMD:s
Enc.
cc: President Louis D. Cohen

Fla -
Ralph Dreger

April 21, 1964

Dr. Ralph M. Dreger
Professor of Psychology
Jacksonville University
Jacksonville 11, Florida

Dear Ralph:

Many thanks for your letter of the 14th and your generous and unexpected check. I felt very disappointed at my usefulness but am grateful for your comments.

Sometime soon I shall be coming through Jacksonville. I hope to see you and Georgia then. In the meantime, my best to you both.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

May 15, 1963

Dr. Ralph Mason Dreger
President
Florida Council on Human Relations
P. O. Box 8292
Jacksonville - 11, Florida

Dear Dr. Dreger:

The fact that I'm a member of the Executive Committee of the SRC certainly should not automatically exclude me from membership to your Board. It does so happen that there's some conflict of interest when one sits on the Board which is making decisions about the disbursement of funds to state councils, but I do not think this is a major consideration. It takes all the time I can give for me to stay active with the SRC Committee, and there are other reasons too. Actually I followed the same practice when I was in Atlanta for many years. I worked on the SRC Executive Committee from the very early days of its formation, through the long desolate days of its mid-period, and into the days of its affluence, but during none of this time was I also actively associated with the Georgia Council.

Thank you for calling to my attention again the meeting on June 8th. I would like to be present, but I'm not sure at this point that it will be possible. I shall look forward to seeing you either on this occasion or at another time.

Sincerely,

John A. Griffin
Director

JAG/gp

"...to counteract prejudice and discrimination based on racial, religious, nationality or ethnic group membership."

# Florida Council on Human Relations

P. O. Box 8292 / Jacksonville 11, Florida

May 6, 1963

Dr. John A. Griffin, Director
Division of University Relations
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Dr. Griffin:

Thank you for your letter and contribution. I can see that it must have seemed strange to you that I kept sending materials to you as a Board member when in actual fact you are not. Please forgive the ignorance on my part. I had naturally assumed, since your name had been given to me as a member of the Board of Directors, that your name was included with your consent.

I am a bit troubled by your statement that you explained that you are serving on the Executive Committee of SRC "...and would, therefore, be unable to serve on the Board of the Florida Council too." What concerns me is that three of our Florida Board are also on the Board of SRC, and I wonder if someone goes on the Executive Committee of SRC whether or not he is then automatically disqualified from serving on a state Board. If it is only a matter that you feel that taking part on the regional level is all the time you can afford, that is one thing. If there is some stipulation of SRC to a possible conflict of interest or something like that, that is quite another thing.

Even though you may not feel that you can take part officially in the Florida Council, I hope that unofficially you will do so. As I am sure you know by this time, for example, on June 8th there will be membership meeting. It would be very encouraging if you and a number of others from Tallahassee will be present. The new Executive Director is to be introduced in his capacity as Director--he was only introduced as a "candidate" last January. The local Councils will give reports of their progress and problems. It will give you as a member of SRC-EC grass roots knowledge of the work of local councils unobtainable any other way.

Again, thank you.

Sincerely,

Ralph Mason Dreger

RMD:s

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D., Re

April 26, 1963

Dr. Ralph Mason Dreger
President
Florida Council on Human Relations
P. O. Box 8292
Jacksonville - 11, Florida

Dear Dr. Dreger:

I want to acknowledge your letter of April 15th in which you ask about a brief questionnaire sent to me as a member of the Board of Directors of the Florida Council on Human Relations. I want to set the record straight. I am not a member of the Board. When I was asked to serve some time ago I declined, explaining that I was serving on the Executive Committee of the SRC and would, therefore, be unable to serve on the Board of the Florida Council too. You can imagine how interested I am in what the Council is doing, but I feel that I simply cannot have an active part in it.

I enclose a small contribution for the Council.

Sincerely,

John A. Griffin
Director

JAG/gp
Enclosure

Fla-
Ralph Dreger

June 9, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

TA-please reply

Dear Les:

Just a very hasty note. The enclosed ad appeared in the paper this morning. Ernie and Victor Raymos and I have talked the matter over and agree that an ad must go in urging people to express their opinions for decency and law, as well as giving the reasons for the injunction.

Ernie wanted to know if you had received the $300 back, together with some other materials he sent you. Then he wanted to know whether we can have the $300 for an advertisement. This is real Injun-giving (what prejudice in such a phrase).

Ernie is contacting the members of the Board to authorize an ad. But I am sure there will be no objection, especially to the one which I have drawn up, which is hard-hitting but factual.

Sincerely

Ralph

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.

# Georgia Senate Votes 6-Year Judge Terms in Slap at House

8 (AP)—The ... ar ... es ... he ... ns ... l-

"My effort had nothing to do with George Wallace," McCracken said. But he answered affirmatively when asked if his plan would not provide an outlet if both national parties adopted platforms repugnant to Georgians.


# WHAT HAPPENED TO THE STRAW BALLOT?

**Why did Professor Ralph Dreger, president of the Jacksonville Council on Human Relations, file a suit to enjoin the straw ballot in the second primary on this vital issue . . . should privately owned restaurants, hotels and motels be forced to racially integrate their customers . . .**

**Why was this same Professor Ralph Dreger so intent on prohibiting Duval County citizens from expressing their true feelings on this issue?**

**Is he afraid of the outcome of the "Voice of the People" . . . in a free and democratic election . . . or is he just in favor of people expressing their opinions by means of rocks, bottles, pickets and Molotov cocktails?**

**The only purpose Mr. Dreger has served is that of the integrationists, the NAACP, the unlawful demonstrators and the ultra-liberals, who want power for themselves, and the Federal Government to force the wishes of a minority group upon those of the majority.**

**While his organization professes to be for democracy, Mr. Dreger struck a blow for people who wish to do away with the rights of a man to own private property and to decide how that property will be used. He may have also smothered a spark that would have brought the light to other communities who wish to solve their own problem of race relations without the help of outside agitators, and do it by the means of a free and democratic election. . . . This man has done a tremendous disservice to all the citizens of Duval County, both Negro and white.**

**Here is what the Wall Street Journal had to say about the idea of a straw ballot in Jacksonville:**

*Civil Rights Bill Faces 'Vote' in Florida Area*

*Special to* THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

JACKSONVILLE, Fla. — Voters in Jacksonville and surrounding Duval County will probably be the first in the nation to have the opportunity of expressing their feelings about a specific section of the civil-rights bill.

A special ballot available at polling sites for the May 26 Democratic gubernatorial primary runoff will ask, "Should privately owned restaurants, hotels and motels be forced to racially integrate their customers?" The answers of Democratic voters, who comprise about 90% of total registration in the county, will be tabulated by the county election supervisor.

The expense of preparing the ballots is being met by the Duval County Federation for Constitution[illegible]

**This advertisement is sponsored by the Duval County Federation for Constitutional Government in an effort to expose the disservice done the citizens of Duval County. We strongly feel that the people of Duval County should have the chance to express their feelings, in a non-violent method, by means of a free and democratic election. . . . If you feel our course is the correct one, if you feel that a democratic election is the proper means by which to solve our problems, if you object to force and violence, then we invite you to join our cause: To call your county commissioner and urge his support for continuing the fight through the courts. And if you wish to contribute money to help to continue our fight, then send your contributions to 47 W. Forsyth St., Jacksonville, Fla.**

Paid for by Duval County Federation for Constitutional Government.
MR. FITZHUGH POWELL, Chairman MRS. DON GRAZE, Secretary

File - Ralph Dreger

June 11, 1964

Dr. Ralph Mason Dreger
2867 Justina Road
Jacksonville 11, Florida

Dear Ralph:

Les has asked me to handle the inquiry in your letter of the 9th. Therefore, enclosed is our check for $300 for use by the Jacksonville Council on Human Relations in the Council's program related to public accommodations.

Keep us informed, and good luck.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm
Enc.
cc: Mr. Ernest Lent

Fla.-
Ralph Dresser-
PA

June 19, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

You may think I am a dreadful ingrate not to have responded sooner to your letter and the check. I can only plead emergencies beyond my control. Last week Georgia and I had to fly to LSU to talk with Dean Taylor on the situation relating to my desegregation activities. The President had been receiving letters from my admirers here telling him what a dastardly character I am. Dean Taylor wished to confront the matter head-on, so asked me to come. The interview was eminently satisfactory to both of us. But the time spent, three days away from here, was most untimely, for yesterday the movers came for my office equipment, all of which had to be readied for transporting to LSU. Anyway, I made it by main strength and awkwardness.

So, now, thank you very much for the check. It turned out that Ernie consulted some people whose judgment differed from mine on the necessity for an advertisement. I disagreed, but told Ernie I would abide by the wishes of a majority. One of the ones Ernie consulted, Bill Maness, yesterday said, seeing that we had not had an ad to explain our position he thought it might be a good idea to go before the County Commissioners and make a statement; I should judge he had changed his mind about having an ad--but he did not press his present suggestion which I should have vetoed anyway. I am sorry that we seem to blow hot and cold on this ad business. I still feel that we should have a public statement to explain why we seemed to be anti-democratic as

our opponents claim when we were in reality pursuing the democratic course. If things turn out as we think they will at the hearing on the permanent injunction, I am going to bring the matter of an ad up again.

The way the situation stands now is that the hearing to set the permanent injunction hearing was held today. The final hearing is to take place next Friday at 2:00 p.m. It looks as if there is going to be a full-scale hearing again, for the County Attorney is insisting that he will not accept the testimony of the temporary hearing.

In the last week the County Attorney attempted to make a deal with us. He wanted to agree not to press anything beyond the way things stand now in return for our promise not to say anything about the absentee ballots, of which there are possibly 1500 which had gone out before the hearing on the temporary injunction. It was clear from what he said that the County Commission wanted to turn over the absentee straw ballots to the Duval County Federation for Constitutional Government. That would be the day! We rejected the offer. So now they are going to try to make it just as difficult for us as possible.

I shall keep you informed as much as I can of the developments.

Georgia sends her regards along with mine.

Sincerely

Ralph

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.

RMD:s

Fla -

Ralph Dreger

June 22, 1964

Dr. Ralph Dreger
2867 Justina Road
Jacksonville 11, Florida

Dear Ralph:

Thanks for your letter. I am impressed that you found time to write at all. Blow as hot and cold on the ad matter as you like. This sounds like a situation that has to be played very much by ear.

Keep us informed. We are very much interested, especially in what happens on Friday.

Your comments on Baton Rouge were a sharp reminder that you are removing yourself from this immediate area. While they need good people there, the thought of you and Georgia not being in these parts is saddening.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

REPORT TO LOU MITCHELL AND PAUL ANTHONY ON APRIL VISITS TO LOCAL COUNCIL AREAS

I am dictating herein a fairly detailed account of both facts and feelings about our local council visits, as guidance for you two as you make your proposed swing through Florida getting acquainted with local groups. Obviously a good many of the details are confidential, but to be used in any way that you see fit.

ORLANDO

Key contact person in this area is the Rev. Caxton Doggett, Minister of Winter Park Methodist Church. Caxton had arranged an interview for Ralph and me with the Rev. John Anderson, Minister of First Presbyterian Church, and with the Rev. Malcolm Watson, Minister of the Park ~~Kale~~ Lake Presbyterian Church. Watson is President of the Ministerial Alliance in Orlando. Anderson is probably the most influential minister in the area, having moved there from Dallas, where he was a member of the Committee of 100 during the Dallas desegregation planning period. Anderson also writes a column for the local paper (I think it is called the Orlando News-Sentinel). In spite of a very conservative viewpoint in editorial policy, Anderson is evidently able on occasion to express some fairly liberal ideas in his column. He seemed to be taken with the idea of establishing a Human Relations Council in Orlando, although he did say he would personally not have time to be deeply involved in its organization and structure. Watson was not so enthusiastic about the idea, but went along with Anderson that it was worth a try. Watson did say he would welcome an approach from Lou when he gets to Florida, and make arrangements for him to meet with their Ministerial Alliance,which is an integrated group.

Background on the Orlando situation is that there was a very active Orange County Council there several years ago. Meetings were attended by sometimes as many as three hundred persons. Head of the group was a Dr. Gordon Lewis, a professor at Rollins College. Under his leadership the Orlando Council did a very good research study on the attitude of Negro citizens in the community. Caxton Doggett has a copy ofthis study and Lou should have a look at it early in his contact in the Orlando area. When Gordon Lewis moved from the community, another Rollins professor named Dudley DeGroot took over the chairmanship, but at about the same time became interested in politics and gave the council less and less time. He is now Mayor of nearby Maitland, Florida. It seems that he just failed to call any meetings of the Executive Board or of the general membership and the group disintegrated. At the time of the large meetings, meeting place was in the Episcopal Cathedral. When the present Dean of the Cathedral came, he was not sympathetic and put a stop to such meetings in the Cathedral. Feeling was expressed that maybe an approach through Bishop Louttit, who is a member of the FCHR Board, might help to change this situation again.

Also much interested in the organization of an Orange Park Council is a group of people from the Unitarian Church. Prominent in this group are Mr. and Mrs. David Eddy. Denyse Eddy is also a member of the FCHR Board. In spite of total blindness, Mrs. Eddy is quite a dynamic gal. Her husband suffers from a very bad speech defect, but the two of them are real leaders and supporters of human relations endeavors. We had dinner at their home along with three members of the Unitarian group. This group seems eager to be used in establishing an Orange County Council, but they feel wisely, I think — that they should not

carry central ~~rolls.~~ roles. Caxton Doggett also expressed the feeling that if it was a Unitarian - centered group, there would be many groups which would not be much involved.

WINTER PARK INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

Winter Park and Orlando are adjoining towns, but seem to be traditionally separate in almost all community activities. There is a human relations group there, and has been for about fourteen years. There is some possibility that this group might be drawn into a larger Orange County set-up of some kind, but this probably should not be done until the larger Unit is on a really good footing. It might be wise in any case for the Winter Park Interracial Council to continue as a unit with interested persons belonging to both groups. This will need further exploration. Winter Parl Interracial Council is not and has never been an officially affiliated group with FCHR. They do cooperate well, making some lump sum contributions as a council, and with several individual members making contributions to FCHR. There seem to be two obstacles here: They do not want to charge anything like the $5.00 and $7.50 state dues, and there also seems to be some feeling that affiliation might bring domination of some kind. Becky Doggett expressed to us the feeling that the attitude of this group through the years has been a rather paternalistic one on the part of the white members. Moving spirit in this council has been a Miss Clara Pulsifer. She is an elderly spinster, evidently fairly true to stereotype, and would probably resist anything which she feels might lessen her hold on the group. This woman did ~~make a contribution of~~ $25.00 to the Florida Council at the annual meeting in 1962. Unfortunately, this gift was never acknowledged from the state office. She did attend the 1963 annual meeting, bu t she made it fairly clear that she had no intention of making further contributions if they were not appreciated. I talked

with her and afterward wrote her a letter, but have heard nothing further from her. She did not attend the April 22nd meeting of the council, but I believe she may have been out of town. Caxton Doggett brought up at the meeting the matter of official affiliation with FCHR, suggesting that Winter Park might do as Clearwater has done - that is, use lump sum contributions made by members or by the council itself to cover the $4.00 per member requirements for FCHR affiliation. No action was taken on this suggestion, but follow-up should be made in the early fall. This group supports a college scholarship fund, and sends a representative to the Fisk University Human Relations Institute. New president of this group is a Mr. J. W. Armstong, a Negro teacher. We were quite impressed with him as a potential leader. Our impression of the group as a whole, however, was that they were pretty stodgy. In some ways they had not gotten beyond the stage of patting themselves on the back just because they meet together as a goup of Negroes and whites. We did not get much feeling of real involvement in local community issues, but this impression should be checked with Caxton Doggett. By the way, the Doggetts live in a lovely parsonage, and Mrs. Doggett expressed the hope that Lou would feel free to make their home headquarters in their area, as did Bill Williams before him.

TAMPA

Tampa is a situation with lots of potential, but previous attempts to establish a council have just never gotten off the ground, and there is no assurance that the current effort is going to do better until the state office is able to give some real time and effort to it. Two years ago when Bill Williams was still here they had a very large workshop, co-sponsored by ADL, at the University of South Florida. Following that meeting they had a prospect list of about 500 names, but no real follow-up was made either by local people

or by the state office.

Key contact person in this area is Mrs. Harold Carmony, who has some staff responsibility in that area for the National Conference of Christians and Jews. She was also state chairman of Christian Social Relations for United Church Women of Florida for a couple of years. She was not in Tampa while we were there this trip but had made arrangements for us to meet with a committee of people interested in forming a local council. She had said there would be "about twenty people" who would meet us for lunch at the Howard Johnson's East in Tampa. As it worked out, only five persons were present, all of them Negro, and we met in Arthur Spiegel's motel room. (Arthur is Associate Director of the Regional Office of ADL and was in Tampa shepherding the workshop). It seemed to us the persons most likely to carry through on something were Mr. Allen who is executive secretary of the Urban League, Mr. Rodriquez who is the NAACP Attorney there, and a Mrs. Johnson who is the wife of a career army man at McDill Air Force Base. We talked with them about some of the procedures and problems in setting up a local council, and about relationship of local councils to Florida council and to Southern Regional. We also offered to help them get out a first major mailing if they would supply a prospect list to the state office. Mr. Allen agreed to do this right away but so far we have heard nothing from him. Obviously this needs a further follow-up from us, but so far I just have not been able to do it since returning to Jacksonville, I will get a letter off to Mr. Allen in the next day or two.

Ralph and I attended the Tuesday evening session of the workshop being held that week. Ralph had opportunity for a brief statement about Florida Council and the potential for local council organization, and we had an FCHR display in the exhibit hall for the four

nights of the workshop.

Some feeling was expressed in the committee meeting that perhaps a local council on Human Relations is not needed there because of the activity of such groups as the Urban League and the NCCJ. I think the roles of the various groups need to be studied in light of the local situation. From what we were able to pick up, the Urban League there evidently functions more like a council on human relations than do most such groups.

Workshop this year was very much smaller than it had been in previous years, undoubtedly due in part to the pressure put on the University by the Johns Committee with their witch-hunting.

The councils in St. Pete and in Clearwater should be able to be very helpful to this group in getting organized. I am going to suggest this possibility to all three groups.

ST. PETERSBURG

We had for months heard rumors of a very large human relations council in St. Petersburg, but had been able to get no real information about it. They are something of a separatist group. One of the reasons for this is probably that they are large enough within themselves to be quite independent, but another factor is undoubtedly some negative feeling about Florida Council we picked up from various sources. Evidently Bill Williams' contacts in this group were not very fruitful. We picked up the feeling that to them Florida Council has done little except to try to raise funds for its own purposes, without offering any real help to the local group.

We made an appointment to talk with the Chairman of St. Pete Council, Charles MacLennan. We found out that he is a retired executive from American Friends Service Committee, a vital person

with great depth and breadth. He has done a masterful job of setting up an organization which could well be a model for others, except for the fact that it is not affiliated with the state council. Frankly, I do not think there is any prospect of any official affiliation with this group within the near future, but our contacts with MacLennan will produce cooperation. St. Petersburg Council is organized into program commissions. Each commission has been in process of setting up a statement of purpose and making a study of specific local situations in which they can be helpful. We encouraged Mr. MacLennan to come to the June 8th meeting in Daytona, particularly since our emphasis in that meeting will be on program. It is probably wise that any approach to this group within the next several months avoid the issue of money matters, until rapport is established. In other words, FCHR needs to prove itself to this group. If this is done, I think that at least we should get a fairly large group of individuals who would want to join the state council, even if the council as a group does not do so.

Another person who should be contacted in St. Pete as soon as possible is the Rev. Walter Rutland. This man has been on the FCHR Board of Directors, but evidently, in name only. Correspondence with him from our office uncovered considerable resentment because his name had been used without much attempt to involve him in decisions or doings. He actually sent in a resignation, saying that he had previously never been informed of Board meetings until too late for him to attend, and that he did not feel he should be a part of any board when he had no part in the policy decisions. Ralph wrote to him and he agreed to stay on the Board. We had hoped to see him while we were in St. Pete, but were not able to do so. We did phone his office but his appointments and ours just could not be coordinated.

Another key person in St. Pete will be Professor Albert Howard Carter of Florida Presbyterian College Arthur Piegel tells me that this man was living in Little Rock at the time of the crisis there, and comes to the St. Pete area with a greal deal of background in human relations concerns.

CLEARWATER

The council here is presently called Upper Pinellas Branch of FCHR, but Marshall Taxay tells us that a name change is in the offing. We were not able to make contact here with anyone except the Taxays, who reported that the group there is going well. This group has, however, been a real problem to the state office in terms of bookkeeping, mostly because they have asked to use lump sum contributions made by some individuals as paying for the $4.00 per membership requirement for many other members. This whole issue of membership dues, and relation of state and local councils is under consideration of a committee headed by Marshall Taxay, but a lot of clarification is yet needed. They have dues of only $1.00 per member, and at this point what had been before considered fairly sizable contributions to state program have all been eaten up in paying membership dues only. Request has since come from this group for help in setting up by-laws, and I referred them to MacLennan of St. Pete for help.

FORT MYERS

There is no way to summarize briefly the whole situation here in Ft. Myers. You, Lou, will just have to read through the sheaf of detailed correspondence from secretary Olive Anderson, and Paul can fill you in on many facts and feelings. Potential is good, but problems are many. This is a newly organized group, just chartered by FCHR in January, and they had their first open public meeting the night we were there.

The meeting itself was an undoubted success, and our reception was both warn and enthusiastic. We had gone expecting considerable heckling, perhaps from official as well as unofficial sources. The group there had occasioned considerable stir in the community by requesting that segregated signs be removed from rest rooms in the new court house. Partial truths from local health officers had served to heighten old fears, and the group had been branded in private conversation as a communist - front group. Our meeting was held in the county court house Commissioners' room with about 100 persons present, well distributed between white and Negro. Two county Commissioners were present, one of whom spoke words of welcome to the group as a group of citizens, though not particularly as a human relations council. Good publicity was given to the meeting both before and after, with really good coverage of what was said and done in the meeting itself. But Lee County Council has some real problems within its own ranks. Their chairman Colonel Kenneth Dalton is somewhat unpredictable, and one of their members (a pastor Bunck) has the idea that the group should "beat the enemies to the draw" by inviting FBI investigation of the group and its membership. There has been some pressure from the county commission for the group to make public its list of members. This whole situation is both fluid and volatile, but for the time being under control. This is one of the many places to which Lou should give first-attention in Florida!

MIAMI

In Miami Ralph had to devote almost all of his time to the convention of the Southeastern Psychological Association of which he is Secretary-Treasurer. Georgia attended a supper meeting of the Dade Community Relations Council, held at the Hampton House, which is a motel primarily for Negroes. There were a dozen to

fifteen people present. At a somewhat larger meeting following, Ralph came in time to help with presentation of FCHR work and goals. At this meeting Mrs. H. Franklin Williams was elected as Volunteer Executive Director for this group. We feel that this is a very good move, particularly since this group needs real direction and someone to pull together the varied activities and interests of a diverse group. Our feeling was that this is really not yet a group, that it is just a collection of individuals. Much work needs to be done to give them some kind of really joint purpose and organize their efforts. The night we were there the Vice Chairman, a Negro man by the name of Reed, presided. He was the most dictatorial chairman either Ralph or I had experienced in a long time. Regular chairman for this group is Dr. Baker Hindman, now a professor at the University of Miami but Supervisor of Negro Education in Miami public schools for many years. We would suggest that Lou begin by having some long background talks with Dr. and Mrs. Williams on the whole Dade situation. You will find considerable negative feelings against Bill Williams in the situation. Some of this is undoubtedly justified, but we also had the feeling that a good many peope made him the scapegoat for their own lack of accomplishment. As we understand it, this group does not have regular monthly meetings at this point. In fact their by-laws call for meetings only once every six months. The executive committee does have some stated and called meetings in between, but this means that the group as a whole is not really involved. I would judge that this lack of continuing program may have been partly responsible for the disintegration of the group when Bill Williams left Miami. There ought to be a council of several hundred members here, rather than the relatively small group that now exists. I believe there is a good leadership potential here, but the state office is going to have to give considerable

direction to it.

FORT LAUDERDALE

A couple of years ago Broward County Council on Human Relations was one of the more active in the state. Spark plug of the group then was a Dr. Helena Bailie, who was the Unitarian minister's wife there. Evidently, however, she built the group too largely around herself (in spite of the fact that she has a doctor's degree in group dynamics!) and when she left the community the group largely disbanded. They have recently reorganized, with a Tom Swafford as chairman. The group seemed to be ready to go to work, and I would predict that they will have a good year. Core of the group seems to be members of the Unitarian fellowship.

One of the members of this group, Lee J. Price, has been a very faithful correspondent with the state office over several months. This young man works for Southern Railway and seems to have considerable background in human relations interests. He has sent in many clippings and publications from various sources. He seems to have been a fairly close friend of Bill Williams, and knows a good many people all over the state. I would suggest that Lou make contact with him when planning to visit Ft. Lauderdale.

WINTER HAVEN

We were able to make contact in Winter Haven during April, though not on the "official trip". Some months ago we had a query from a Mrs. D. L. Lawson there, asking if there were other FCHR members in that area. When Ralph had to make a trip to Lakeland as Consultant for the Methodist Board of Missions, we went over to Winter Haven and had lunch with Mrs. Lawson and a man who is a Social Studies teacher in the high school. We found that there is in Winter Haven an

official Mayor's Human Relations Committee, and through contacts made by Mrs. Lawson Ralph was invited to meet with a representative of that committee at a later date. Going back to the area a couple of weeks later as consultant to the State Boatd of Health, Ralph did meet with this representative, giving them some materials published by SRC and others, and leaving an open door for further communication. Mrs. Lawson has expressed interest in organizing some kind of study group in Human relations, though the time does not seem quite ripe for the organization of a council as such. There has not been any organized human relations work in this whole area previously, and it would be good to pursue it sometime in the early fall. There might be possibility for formation of a joint group from Winter Haven and Lakeland. Former treasurer of FCHR, Miss E Eulalie Ginn, is Director of Student Work for the Methodist Board of Education with headquarters in Lakeland.

OTHERS

As far as I know, the status of things in other councils stands pretty much as reported in the last quarterly report to Southern Regional Council. We do not anticipate being able to make any other visits to local councils. We did have direct contact with the Gainesville Council in February, and that group is to vote on official affiliation at their May meeting. As I am able to do so, I will try to make other notations what will provide background for Lou's taking over. GOOD LUCK!

Georgia E. Dreger

# RESUME OF TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE

MARGARET J. BASS
Route 7, Box 66 A
Jacksonville 5, Fla.

## 1. TRAINING

Public Schools: Meridian, Mississippi

Elementary: 1929-1935
Jr. High: 1935-1938
Sr. High: 1938-1941
(admitted to college from 11th grade)

Undergraduate: Paine College - Augusta, Georgia

Bachelor of Arts Degree
Major: Social Studies
Minor: Religion
1941-1945

Graduate: Garrett Biblical Institute-Northwestern Univ., Evanston, Illinois

Bachelor of Divinity Degree
Major: Biblical Interpretation
Minor: Theology
1945-1948

Summer Study: University of Minnesota (Duluth Branch)
Education & Educational Psychology-1949

Florida A & M Extension
Education - 1961

## 2. ACTIVITY AND/OR EXPERIENCE OF VALUE FOR WHICH THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE OR NO REMUNERATION

Pianist for College Choir
Member of Student Council
College Representative
President of campus Y. W. C. A.
Counselor in Children's & Young Adult Activities at Bethlehem Community Center-Agusta, Ga.

Teen-age Advisor for Franklin Street Y. W. C. A.
Counselor for Franklin Street Y.W.C.A. Camp-pioneering in first integrated situation - Rochester, New York 1948

Graduate years: Member of Deputation Team that spent week - ends in various cities in Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan and Indiana, sponsoring Youth Spiritual Life Retreats; Caravans etc., A primary purpose of this group being that of: providing for these various areas and churches an experience in "race relations"; many areas highly prejudiced; many areas in which no Negroes resided

Counselor in Summer Camps of the Methodist Church in some Indiana Conferences and some Illinois Conferences

Delegate to Methodist Youth Convocation - 1947
Scholarship from Woman's Division of Christian Service - Methodist Church 1948

Adult Years: Wife of a Minister in the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, we have served in the following areas: Ohio, Pennsylvania, Florida, Minnesota: In all of these areas have participated in one or more of the following:

Member of Y. W. C. A. Board of Directors
Member Interdenominational Minister's Wives Alliance
Member of United Church Women
Instructor: Leadership Training Institutes
Conference Director: Religious Education
Conference Director: Youth Work of Women's Missionary Society
Secretary to Florida Council of Churches (an elected position)

3. JOB EXPERIENCES

1963 Part time work with Florida Council on Human Relations - Jacksonville, Fla.

1960-62 Coordinator of Education and Service: Duval County Unit - American Cancer Society - Jacksonville, Fla.

1959-60 Director of Volunteer Service - Brewster Methodist Hospital - Jacksonville, Fla.

1961 Instructor: Department of Religion - Edward Waters College - Jacksonville, Fla. (evening school)

1957-59 Clerk: Medical Records Department - Eye & Ear Hospital - Pittsburgh, Pa.

1956-57 Temporary organizational and clerical work with United Y.M. & Y.W.C.A. Building Fund - Pgh.,Pa.

1948 - Instructor: Department of Religion
Paine College - Augusta, Georgia

* Brevity of work experience due primarily to the mobility of a Methodist minister and rearing a family.

6/9/11

Dear Mr. Constable: Large package arrived today with "L" Reports, paperbacks, etc. Just what I need - will also need, as I said in letter of yesterday or day before 6-10 of "L-15"--also of "L-17"...

Am meeting Bill Wms. in Tampa Monday, after talking with some local, unaffiliated St. Petersburg Human Relns. Council members, to try to get them into Fla. Council.

Hastily,

Helena Bailie

Helena Bailie, Exec.Secy
Broward Council
on Human Relations

50 copies Church in Areas of Racial Tension
100 " School Desegregation

July 6, 1960

Mr. William K. Williams
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
4241 S. W. 109th Court
Miami 55, Florida

Dear Bill:

We are mailing you, under separate cover, the copies of "School Desegregation: The First Six Years" and "The Church in Areas of Racial Tension" which you requested in your earlier letter.

The "Racial Crisis and the Press" pamphlet went to newspaper people listed on the tape of mass media addresses which we sent you earlier. We would be pleased, however, to have Mabel Reese do some selective distribution and would be glad to make the copies available free of charge. In any event, we can let you have a limited number for distribution through your Council.

The Promotional piece is good. To whom is it being distributed? Have you had any results?

If we can be of any additional help on publications, please let us know.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

# *Florida Council on* HUMAN RELATIONS

4241 S. W. 109TH COURT
MIAMI 55, FLORIDA

PHONE CA 1-8521

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Boca Grande
MRS. CHAS. E. WILLIAMS
Miami
DR. H. FRANKLIN WILLIAMS
Miami

June 29, 1960

Mr John Constable
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear John:

If you fellers are going to keep my mail lively, looks like I'm duty bound to return the favor!

Another good job raise some questions. This time it's "Racial Crisis and the Press". Our new state president is Mabel Reese, award winning editorial writer now working on Herb Davidson's paper in Daytona Beach.

I'm sending her this copy, and wonder if-

a. it has already gone to newspaper folk in Florida???

b. you would be interested in having us distribute some with a letter from her to such people here ???

I'll be seeing her on July 9th, and will see what she thinks-but would be most interested in your own views.

Sincerely,

Wm K Williams
Executive Director

PS If'n we can't do you a service (by that I mean con you out of some copies, of course) then what would it cost us to buy some???

PPS I'm enclosing a copy of my most recent effort at a PR piece-any suggestions you might have about such things would be welcomed.

# *Florida Council on* HUMAN RELATIONS

4241 S. W. 109TH COURT
MIAMI 55, FLORIDA

PHONE CA 1-8521

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Miami

June 28, 1960

Mr John Constable
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear John:

That "School Desegregation; the first six years" is a nice piece of work. Could I have quantity rates on 100, and 500????

I'm also interested in the cost of the address by Tarplee, "The Church in Areas of Racial Tension". We could probably use fifty of those - - - - -

Cordially,

Bill

Wm K Williams
Executive Director

THURSDAY, APRIL 28, 1960

The Florida Times-Union

Published Every Morning by
FLORIDA PUBLISHING COMPANY
400 West Adams Street, Jacksonville 1, Florida

Caleb J. King Jr.
Editor, Editorial Page

Robert T. Pittman
Associate Editor

Caleb J. King Sr., Editor-Emeritus

Jacksonville and its Riverside Presbyterian Church are honored today by the opportunity to serve as host city and church for the centennial General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S.

Jacksonville citizens would like to believe that such events as the current workshop at JU contributed to our community's qualifications to serve as host for the Presbyterian assembly.

JACKSONVILLE UNIVERSITY

in cooperation with the

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
(FLORIDA REGIONAL OFFICE)

THE UNITED CHURCH WOMEN OF THE GREATER JACKSONVILLE AREA

JACKSONVILLE JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL

and the

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

invites you to attend the

Adventures In
Human Relations
Workshop

Monday through Thursday
April 25 through 28, 1960
7:30 P. M.

Community Room
Wolfson Student Center
Jacksonville University

ADVENTURES IN HUMAN RELATIONS

## JUST ONE MORE EXAMPLE -------

One more example of the manner in which the Florida Council on Human Relations works with the people of Florida to create reservoirs of good will, build bridges of understanding, and establish lines of communication between the many groups which make up our ever enlarging population.

One more example, too, of the manner in which its program is related to current issues and needs. The above clippings from an editorial reflects the timeliness and importance of this kind of activity. The many other efforts of the Florida Council's continuous statewide program include-

creation of Local Councils on Human Relations, to enable citizens to know each other and the needs of their community better.

modest research into the causes of friction, and the facts surrounding incidents- "modest" because of budget limitations.

distribution of helpful information and materials

consultation with individuals, groups, & government.

Those interested in : more democratic practices on a community level

an end to discrimination and prejudice

a mature approach to controversial issues

a Climate of friendliness and understanding

will want to join: Name _____

Address _____

$ 5 single member $ 7.50 family member

Mail to: Florida Council on Human Relations, 4241 SW 109 Ct, Miami 55,Fla.

FCHR

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

July 12, 1960

Mr. William K. Williams
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
4241 S. W. 109th Court
Miami 55, Florida

Dear Bill,

You are right, the supply of the INTIMIDATION REPRISAL AND VIOLENCE pamphlet is very limited. We do have a few copies and will share one with you for your file and one more to give the ACLU. These are being sent under separate cover.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/bcc

September 16, 1960

Mr. William K. Williams
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
4241 S. W. 109 Court
Miami 55, Florida

Dear Bill:

We are interested in a NEW SOUTH article on Jacksonville and the lunch-counter controversy. We would, of course, be interested in cause and effect. Paul Rilling thinks you might be able to do this for us. We could, of course, assist you in adapting any version to NEW SOUTH style. Do you think you might be able to take on this assignment; and if so, could we expect a finished manuscript between October 1 and 15? I do hope you can. We know you are probably as familiar with the situation as any one we know. Let me know your thinking.

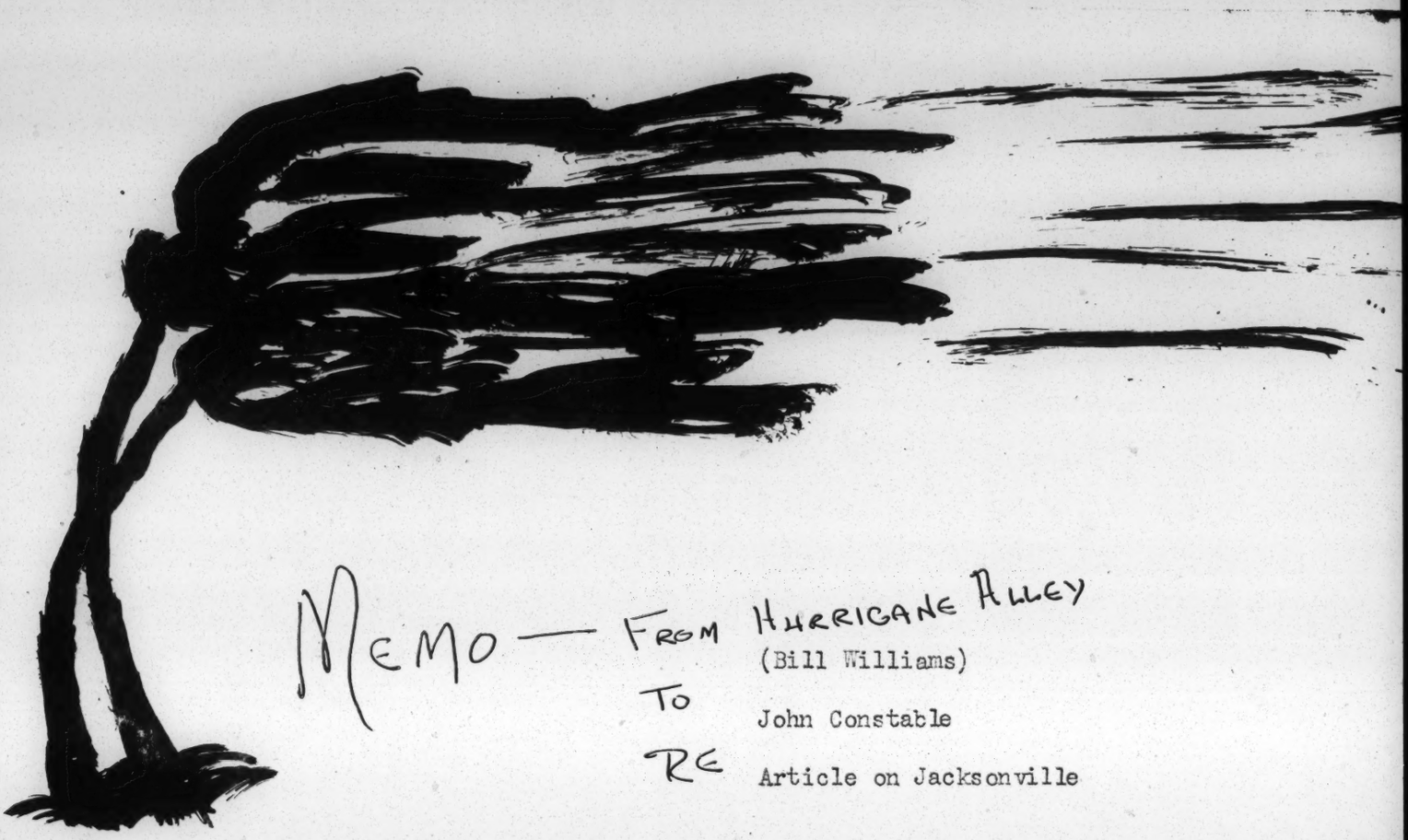
With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

ENCL. CHECK NO 2034



MEMO — FROM HURRICANE ALLEY
(Bill Williams)

TO John Constable

RE Article on Jacksonville

Will be glad to do an article, and will aim for early part of that Oct. 1-15th period, so that you can do any adapting you need to without undue pressure.

Just finished a report (on tape) - will be putting 3 copies in the mail to Paul today. Cop one.

Any further comments or suggestions you might wish to make please do!

Sept. 21, 1960

# *Florida Council on* HUMAN RELATIONS

4241 S. W. 109TH COURT
MIAMI 55, FLORIDA

PHONE CA 1-8521

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Miami

Oct. 5, 1960

Mr John Constable
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear John:

Here's a draft- in which I haven't described the riot itself, or given a chronology of events.

If you'd like me to amend it thusly, or in any other way, don't be bashful. Not that you would anyhow!

Cheers,

Bill

Wm K Williams
Executive Director

October 12, 1960

Mr. William K. Williams
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
5241 S. W. 109th Court
Miami 55, Florida

Dear Bill:

I like your article on the Jacksonville situation but I believe it would be more readable if you would describe some of the riot and its events. This could come logically just after the first paragraph.

I think you need this type of background material to set the stage for your cause and effect items. Although the riot was covered quite well by the press, it is doubtful that too many people would be as familiar with the items that have happened as your article would indicate. In any event, if this were used in the future, the background material would be important for new readers or for other persons doing basic research on the Jacksonville riot.

I think you cover the causes and results quite well; but if you feel up to it, I would like to see you expand some on the results. This is not nesessary but might be useful material to use to dissuade other city officials from taking the attitude the mayor of Jacksonville did.

This is a lot of fly specking on my part, but I think your article will be much improved with these additions. Let me know what you think.

Again thanks.

Sincerely,

John Constable

Director of Information

# *Florida Council on* HUMAN RELATIONS

4241 S. W. 109TH COURT
MIAMI 55, FLORIDA

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MRS. CHAS. E. WILLIAMS
Miami
DR. H. FRANKLIN WILLIAMS
Miami

file

Oct. 21, 1960

Mr John Constable
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

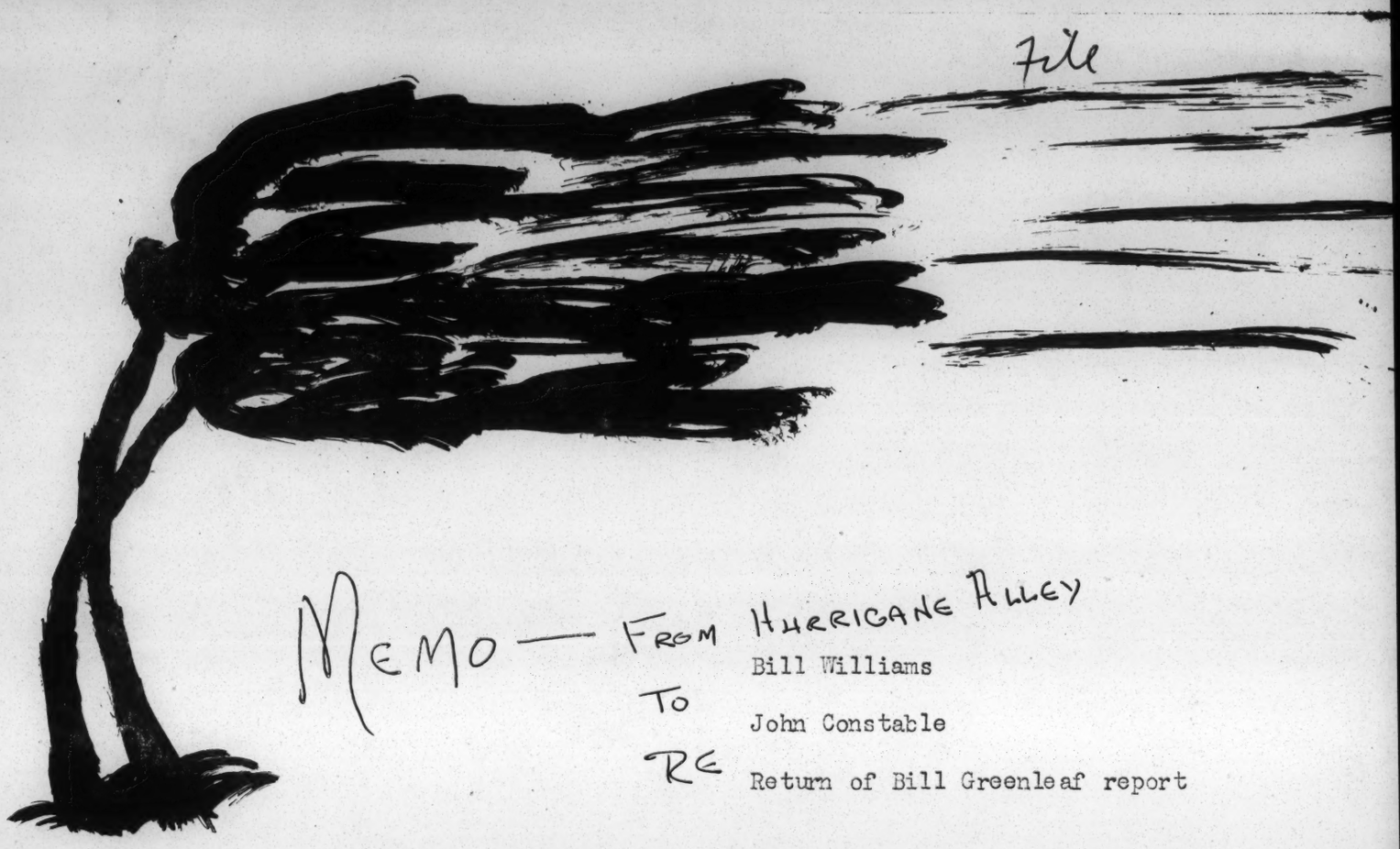
Dear John:

Laid low by a wisdom tooth I've been held up in getting this off to you, and now do it on the run. Have been giving it much thought, though, and hope this moves in the direction you wished.

Do feel free to do with it as you wish-

Sincerely,

Wm K Williams
Executive Director



File

MEMO — FROM HURRICANE ALLEY

Bill Williams

TO

John Constable

RE

Return of Bill Greenleaf report

Bill Greenleaf has been a backbone of our labors in Jax, and is a heck of a good guy.

His report is excellent, of course, and I do appreciate the gander at it.

Oct 6, 1960

1375 Talbot Avenue
Jacksonville 5, Florida
September 11, 1960

To Friends Meetings and Individual Friends of the Southeastern Friends Conference:

Dear Friends:

While the winds and rain of Hurricane Donna are lashing about Jacksonville this Sunday, we thought it would be a good time to write up and send out, for whatever the information may be worth, some observations on the recent racial tensions we have had here. These are the personal observations of your Clerk, and are subject to personal bias and error, but an attempt must be made to communicate these things anyway.

We here in Jacksonville could not but help note the close, exact and immediate coverage of every movement of hurricane Donna, and its immediate reproduction for the information of all concerned on radio, television, and newspaper. We have just been through a period when rumor, gossip, and half-truth held our community in their grasp and communication of all types suffered a breakdown with disastrous results.

Jacksonville is a city justly proud of its commercial and industrial progress and its new buildings and its Expressway. Neglected and shunted into the background were the social, economic and cultural exchange between 40% of the city's population that is Negro and the balance of the Jacksonville people. Deterioration of communication between these sections is illustrated by the dropping, under pressure from segregationist minded groups, of the Urban League from the Community Chest group. The Urban League, with a bi-racial board, acted as a coordinating group for many aspects of Negro community life, and as such presented a good avenue for the interchange of ideas between the Negro and white sections of the city. The two municipally owned golf courses (good ones, too) were closed and then sold to private owners in order to avoid implementation of a court order to open the courses fully to Negroes. There is one municipally owned swimming pool for all the Negroes in the city. Our new Expressway swallowed up, in its right-of-way, the largest single playground area of our Negro citizens. We have the Star Edition system in our leading newspaper here, which means that the only news of Negro life in the community that the white subscribers get is the reports of criminal activities. All constructive, praiseworthy or just general run of the mill news about Negroes is confined to the Star Edition and this is distributed only in the Negro communities.

Early this summer the Youth Council of the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People petitioned its adult advisors for permission to undertake some action in the city that would call attention to the distasteful and immoral situation in which their money was accepted gladly in all other departments of stores, but refused in the lunch counters. Permission was granted and all summer young college and college-age people attended classes and study-groups in the technique of non-violent demonstration and protest. They prepared themselves to take insults and blows without retaliation.

On August 13th, sit-ins started in two stores in Jacksonville's downtown business district. Store managers closed the lunch counters when the young people sat down to be served, but they remained seated. There was no violence, although plenty of insults and derogatory remarks were made as people who were neutral in the matter went about their business while those who were antagonistic collected and jeered.

This went on for about two weeks. There is much evidence that the management of the stores involved were wallaloing the path to a negotiated solution of the matter with representatives of the Youth Council. For ten days there had appeared no mention of the sit-ins in the newspapers. A deliberate news blackout had been instituted in the press.

Then Saturday morning, August 27th, over 150 white men arrived in Hemming Park, which is immediately adjacent to the stores that were involved in the demonstrations. They were armed with canes, axe handles and bats; a sign appeared "Get your axe handles free in the park". The white men were well organized, arriving in trucks together about an hour and a half before the sit-inners and pickets showed up. The police observed their activities during this time without taking any action. When the demonstrators appeared, the white men began to move threateningly toward them, jostling and shoving. Individual Negroes who had no connection with the demonstrations were also threatened, pursued and attacked.

The Youth Council people, when it appeared obvious they could not hold their positions, and having previously agreed on a non-retaliatory policy, could only retreat to the nearest Negro community. There is no evidence of any violent action on the part of these Negro young people. They had been trained otherwise. When they finally reached the area of Ashley Street, a Negro business district, other Negroes in the area on a normal Saturday afternoon business began to rally around the demonstrators and, not having a passive philosophy in the matter, gathered themselves for a counter move on the "eye for an eye" basis. The careful training of the young demonstrators was submerged in the general resentment of the larger masses of bystanders and "activists" over the invasion by the armed white men as the immediate trigger and the long-time general disregard for their civil rights and rightful community privileges as a background.

Then began a period of the most distorted rumor circulation. The white community, unprepared by virtue of the deliberate news blackout, was suddenly plunged into a mass of speculation and wild prediction about the activities of the Negro community, from which they had been shut off for so long by social custom, "Star editions" and apathy of city and county authorities. In the Negro community, large gangs of young people, organized in the desperation of "nothing to do" and lots of time on their hands, took this opportunity to strike out at an "enemy" by acts of vandalism. The Youth Council of the NAACP made a major contribution to the easing of the situation by their tireless seeking out of the leaders of these nebulous and hard-to-find bands and equally tireless seeking out of them an explanation of the meaning of non-violent protest and the disastrous results of retaliation by violence. White men, individually and in groups, reacted to incidents and rumor of incidents, with violence.

Appeals from the Ministerial Alliance (an organization of white ministers), the Downtown Council of the Jacksonville Chamber of Commerce, and the local Council on Human Relations, to the mayor for the establishment of a bi-racial committee to re-establish communications between the two communities were met with consistent rebuff. The mayor maintained that the creation of such a committee "always leads to integration" and his office would have nothing to do with it. This whole period has been marked by a complete lack of leadership on the part of the elected city and county administrations.

The local Friends group has been making its contribution toward re-establishing peace in the community through the local Northeast Florida Council on Human Relations. This organization has been in the community for some seven years; its major contribution has been to provide a meeting ground for both Negroes and white, where everyone's point of view is considered with equal attention and dignity and personal relationships can be established across racial lines. This last has already proven invaluable in this situation, because for the last year we have had individuals as members of the Council who were also members of the NAACP. and when other communication had broken down completely, the Council was still able to reach these people, and have its message received with trust and confidence, because of these previously solidified personal relationships.

The Council is not large - our average attendance is perhaps thirty to forty - and it is not a pressure group nor addicted to the type of activity that attracts publicity. Simply by virtue of maintaining within Jacksonville an organization with an interracial membership and board, with a regular meeting schedule, it has justified its existence and the support of all people interested in achieving racial justice and peace in their community. Through financial contribution and personal activity, our Meeting has been participating in its work.

The situation in Jacksonville today is, to our knowledge, as follows: the Youth Council of the NAACP has temporarily withdrawn its sit-ins and pickets and substituted "selective purchasing" on the part of all its friends. It should be known that the Youth Council was completely ready to proceed with its demonstrations on the Monday following the Saturday of the attack on the demonstraters. Whatever fear they may have for their own personal health and safety has been subordinated to their plans for calling the attention of the world to the evils of discrimination and segregation. The holding off was partially instituted on the basis of seeing what the Council and the Ministerial Alliance could do in the situation. The executive committee of the Ministerial Alliance has agreed to try and form a bi-racial committee - over the "non-blessing" of the mayor. The merchants of the downtown stores, who have been suffering a staggering loss of business because of the reluctance of Jacksonville citizens to venture into an area of the city in which law enforcement broke down so severely so recently, have been taking some action of their own to that end. The Council on Human Relations is trying mainly to keep communication open between the NAACP, the general Negro Community, the city administration, the clergy and anyone else we can reach. We are also working on a factual report of the actual happenings of the past three weeks so that rumor can be replaced with fact and hard learned lessons passed on to other communities.

It is the hope of your Clerk that individual Quakers and where unanimity is possible, whole meetings, will work in the direction of establishing clear lines of communication with the Negro communities nearest us. As long as there is an interchange of ideas and mutual respect for even just a few, violence can more easily be avoided. We have found, for example, that the Negro minister no longer speaks the will or feelings of the whole Negro community, as he once did. There are new, younger Negro leaders rising up, who command recognition by virtue of moving without doubt or hesitation in the direction of claiming their civil rights now, not in the future, and who have a large following because of their spirited activities.

Our traditional Quaker concerns for peace and social justice urge us to make our contribution in this urgent situation.

J. William Greenleaf

J. William Greenleaf, Clerk
Southeastern Friends Conference

Feb. 7, 1961

Mr. Joseph W. Fennell
2427 15th Ave So.
St Petersburg, Fla.

Dear Mr. Fennell:

The carbon copy of John Constable's reply to your letter to the Southern Regional Council prompts us to immediately dispatch a copy of our brochure. We would be most pleased to have you as a member, and suggest that you deduct $2 if you do send us a check- each of our members gets the NEW SOUTH, and you are already on the list for that.

You will also be interested, no doubt, in the St Petersburg Interracial Committee currently headed by a Methodist clergyman, the Rev. Al Brock. (Clearview Methodist Church) This group has been considering affiliation with the Florida Council, but hasn't taken the formal plunge. We have local groups all over the state.

Glad to have another Floridan interested in people!

Sincerely,

Wm K Williams
Executive Director

cc: John Constable

Thanks John
Bill

Febfuary 14, 1961

Miss Helena Bailie
Executive Secretary
Broward Council on Human Relations
1701 New River Land, S. W.
Ft. Lauderdale, Florida

Dear Miss Bailie:

We are mailing you, under separate cover, the fifteen copies of "Racial Violence and Law Enforcement" which you requested. If you have need from time to time for specific copies of NEW SOUTH in quantity let me know, and since your organization is a branch of the Florida Council we will endeavor to give you special rates.

With best wishes to you in your work.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

posted $3.00 check for pamphlets 2/14/61 BOC

$3.00 cl RHA

# *Florida Council on* HUMAN RELATIONS

4241 S. W. 109TH COURT
MIAMI 55, FLORIDA

PHONE CA 1-8521

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BROWARD COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1701 New River Lane, SW
Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.

February 11, 1961

Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Our local Council would like to distribute some copies of the November '60 issue of "New South" -- the one devoted to the comparison of how the police handled riot situations in three different cases -- and I am enclosing a check for $3.00 which we hope will enable us to get at least 15 copies of this valuable pamphlet.... And while I'm about it, I would like to know your quantity rates, since it may be desirable to make quantity orders for some other issue. If you happen to have an up-to-date list of available reports from SRC, I would appreciate having it. I do get in to see Bill Williams once in a while, and know he has some materials, but we wish to do more distribution here in Broward County in 1961 than we have been able to do heretofore.

Thank you,

Helena Bailie

Helena Bailie, Executive Secretary
Broward Council

March 13, 1961

Miss Helena Bailie
Executive Secretary
Broward Council on Human Relations
1701 New River Lane, S. W.
Ft.Lauderdale, Florida

Dear Miss Bailie:

Through an error here in the office, I find the 15 copies of "Racial Violence and Law Enforcement" were not mailed to you. They are being sent today. Enclosed is a copy of our materials listing which includes the pamphlets about which you inquired.

We are mailing you, under separate cover, a couple of promotional pieces concerning the Council. If you think copies of this would be helpful to you, please let us know and we will send them free of charge.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encl.

# *Florida Council on* HUMAN RELATIONS

4241 S. W. 109TH COURT
MIAMI 55, FLORIDA

PHONE CA 1-8521

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Miami

BROWARD COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1701 New River Lane SW
Ft. Lauderdale, Florida

March 9, 1961

Mr. John Constable, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

In response to my order of February 11th, for 15 copies of "Racial Violence and Law Enforcement" you answered on February 14th that these were being sent me under separate cover. To date, they have not turned up. I wonder if they went to Bill Williams at Fla. Council, by mistake? He has been out of town of late, and won't be back for another week, so can't find out from him, directly!

I also asked in my request of February 11th, whether you had a list of available materials of SRC. Since then I happened to pick up a copy of "The South and the Nation" by LeRoy Collins, SRC pamphlet "Toward Regional Realism" - #1. I would like to know the price of this pamphlet - as again, distributing it around our county and to various agencies, as the occasion arises, would be helpful.

I find that Bill Williams handed me at some time a copy of SRC's "Notable Addresses," entitled "The Church in Areas of Racial Tension." Is this available? And again, cost, etc., as I believe we could make good use of some copies. We place materials in some of our public libraries, and of course hand them around where they seem likely to do the most good.

Would it be possible for me to obtain 5 copies of the SRC's recent recommendations to the new administration? Was most pleased to see reference made to this in The Reporter.

If you have a brief blurb giving history, present officers, etc. of SRC, it will help in our local public relations.... This was brought home to me most strikingly, during a recent conference I had with our local Ch. of Comm. Sec'y, when he asked if we had any connections with a National Organization, and I said that through Fla. Council (as a chapter) we are associated with SRC -- at such a point in such a conversation (the get-acquainted type) -- it would be most useful to have something on SRC as well as our local and State brochures.

Sorry to be such a pest -- but our local Council is beginning to make a dent here, and the bigger dent the better!

Helena Bailie
Helena Bailie, Ed.D., Exec. Sec'y.

June 7, 1961

Dr. Helena Bailie
1701 New River Lane
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

Dear Dr. Bailie:

Your letter of June 3, arrived while I was out of the city. My secretary, Miss Cummings, sent the material you requested on to you. It should arrive before receipt of this letter.

As to the price of L-reports, if a tremendously large number was requested, it would be necessary to charge you cost. If only a limited number of copies was needed we would let your Council have them free of charge. If you would let me know the number of copies you had in mind I would be better able to quote you a price.

With best wishes for your work and if there is anything we can do in the way of materials, please let me know.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JCblec

Rec'd 6-5-61 mailed 6/6/61

# Florida Council on HUMAN RELATIONS

4241 S. W. 109TH COURT
MIAMI 55, FLORIDA

PHONE CA 1-8521

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Miami

BROWARD COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
(Chapter of FCHR)
1701 New River Lane, SW
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

June 3, 1961

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council,
Room 432
63 Auburn Street N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Thank you so much for seeing to it, in March, that our order for 15 copies of "Racial Violence..." were sent to us! I also greatly appreciate the list of available materials, and the offer to send some copies of info. re SRC for distribution. I would like to have a quantity of the NY Times reprint (Dec. 25, 1957) re SRC -- it will make an excellent "introduction piece" in making contacts, not only in our particular community, but as I accompany Bill Williams, or go around the State, myself, to lend a hand in strengthening local Councils. I think we could use up to 75 very nicely -- but that may be asking for the impossible, so send me what you can, PLEASE!

I would like, also, single copies of the following free "Leadership Reports"-- and PLEASE QUOTE ME QUANTITY RATES ON THESE!

L-5; L-6; L-8; L-11; L-13 (especially need this); L-15 (also much needed!); L-16; L-17; L-20.

Also, can use, immediately, 10 copies of "The Louisville Story" and 10 copies of "Deseg. in Balt. City Schools"; 10 copies of "Action Patterns in School Desegregation"... i.e. if still available. ON THESE, PLEASE BILL "Broward Council on Human Relations."

Accompanying this letter is a check for $3.00 RHA 6/6/61 to cover the cost of 10 Copies of "School Deseg, the 1st 6 yrs" (we have seen this & your price is quoted). (we need it FAST!)

For the information of SRC, Broward County's School Commission or Board, has been "dragging its heels". I've met but one official of the County School system's administrative staff who shows much intelligence or sympathy toward taking the necessary steps to implement the Supreme Court Decision...but within the past month, Negroes are applying for entrance to one High School, and to the recently established (1 year-old) Jr. College. Our local Council can therefore play an important role (having made a few contacts with School Bd. members) in helping them to face the issues (as well as play its role in advising local Negro groups as to tactics)...and time is short. Hence the desire to get these materials PRONTO!

Sincerely,

Helena Baily, Exec. Sec'y.

(over)

P.S. If you see Paul Billing, tell him I'm sorry he couldn't get to Daytona Beach on May 6th (exec. meeting of Fla. Council) but I hope he'll turn up some day!

Helena B.

Dr. Helena Baillie
1701 New River Lane
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

June 12, 1961

Dr. Helena Bailie
1701 New River Lane
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

Dear Dr. Bailie:

Concerning your letter of June 9, Miss Cummings informs me that she mailed the copies of "School Desegregation: The First Six Years" special handling since you indicated you needed them very quickly. The other requested material was mailed under separate cover by regular parcel post and should have reached you by now. In Addition, we are mailing you some additional copies of L-15 which you indicated you needed.

Let us know if additional copies of the other material is needed.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

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MRS. CHAS. E. WILLIAMS
Miami
DR. H. FRANKLIN WILLIAMS
Miami

BROWARD COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1701 New River Lane, SW
Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.

June 9, 1961

Mr. John Constable, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Yes, the copies of "Deseg.- 1st 6 years" have arrived.

I thought I had made it clear that I wanted at least a single copy of each of the L reports which I mentioned. Then I would be a little batter able to determine how many copies we could use for distribution. Inasmuch as I am trying to collect information to take over on a person-to-person, quiet basis to the chairman of our School Board, to share, if we have enough copies, with other members of the Bd., then I believe we could use at least 6 copies of "L-15" & "Deseg in Balt." and we could use a larger number of "The Louisville Story". I think we probably could use more copies in the fall when we expect to have a workshop with a local High School PTA.

It is very difficult, in view of the smallness of our Council's treasury, to determine how many copies of any of these reports we can pay for, unless we know the price.

I do anxiously await at least the single copies of those articles, pamphlets, etc., which I ordered -- that will do as a start, and re specific articles on how desegregation has worked, etc., we could use 6-10 copies of each, probably, in the nearest future. If we can't afford more than that, we will simply try loaning them out and trying to get them back for further distribution, this summer. We probably will want to order 35 or so of the most useful to our local needs in connection with the proposed workshop in the Fall, so if you could quote me quantity prices, I would appreciate it. However, if you would prefer to quote me when we know better which ones we would want larger quantities of, I guess I'll have to settle for that! There isn't much point in our laying in huge stocks of something which isn't going to be as applicable to our local needs as a title might indicate, when our trea ury is low - but right now I need a variety of materials to look through and at least loan to our School Board Chairman.

Does that help any?

Sincerely,

Helena Bailey

# Improving the Climate of Florida

**Florida Council on Human Relations**

**4241 S. W. 109th Court**

**MIAMI 55, FLORIDA**

# Florida is Changing—

New people—new industry—new opportunities—new responsibilities—a new pattern of race relations.

Change always creates some friction between people involved. Ugly incidents occur—already have occurred—when good human relations have not been established **early** enough to prevent violence. Hatred leaves scars which are very difficult to erase. Prevention is always more effective than cure.

We must choose between

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| race riots | | people learning together to live and work in peace and dignity |
| dynamitings | A | preservation of public schools |
| boycotts | N | peaceful adjustment of lunch counters and other public facilities |
| hate, fear, and exploitation | D | |
| damage to industry and tourism | | |

The Florida Council on Human Relations is helping our State meet the changes in a thoughtful and constructive manner. Using the tools of

education
mediation
and consultation

it provides vital assistance and background for an orderly transition into a productive future.

# The FCHR Works—

**toward** achieving racial harmony in these times of change.

The Florida Council stands for a calm, studied approach to the problems of the South. It believes the peaceful evolution of better race conditions in the South can best be brought about by the interracial conscience of the South, and that Southerners of both races can take the lead in solving their own problems.

It keeps open lines of communication between differing points of view, traces down and exposes rumors which incite fear, and furnishes a background of information to stabilize turbulent situations.

The Florida Council constantly seeks to cooperate with the people and organizations concerned with the human relations needs of the State.

There is room for and an urgent need of a wide variety of programs addressed to these needs of the people of Florida.

Thus we welcome joint planning and programming with civic and religious organizations and with branches of government, in addition to the programs developed within the framework of the Florida Council itself.

# It Works—

**through** its "people to people" program established throughout Florida.

The Directors of the FCHR selected this emphasis from the beginning. It has been translated into several forms.

First there was the establishment of local councils on human relations. These are designed to provide a place where people can meet freely to evaluate matters of concern to their own locality. With this meeting ground citizens can begin bridging gaps created by race, creed, and color, thus establishing a basis for real understanding and progress.

Next there have been countless conferences, programs, and workshops. Many of these have been in cooperation with colleges, universities, and other organizations.

# It Works—

through its **Consultant Service and Research Program.** The FCHR is a non-profit, non-political organization working through education, fact finding, and intelligent persuasion.

To provide professional Human Relations assistance for modest Research projects and a Consultant Service is an important part of the Council's role. Many people, well trained and well informed in human relations, live and work here in our own State.

Our Coordinator for the Consultant Service, Dr. Helena Bailie, recruits their special talents and places them at the disposal of both public and private bodies without charge.

# It Has Been Working—

Dating back to 1919, the Human Relations approach has been gaining ground in the South. The finest Southern leadership pioneered in providing a meeting ground for thoughtful people of both races to work together to ease tensions. This resulted in the establishment of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., in 1943.

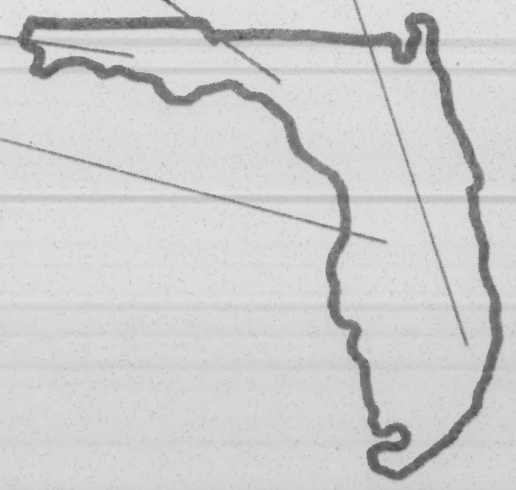
The Florida Council is one of a dozen state councils created by the Southern Regional Council. It is chartered by the State of Florida, and is an autonomous body. It does, of course, enjoy a close working relationship with its parent body, and endeavors to maintain the same high standards established by it.

For the last six years the Florida Council has concentrated on the establishment of local councils.

For the last six months the FCHR and the local councils have reinforced the efforts of Governor Collins' Race Relations Commission in establishing official bi-racial committees sponsored by local government. This is a continuing effort.

In the recent Jacksonville riot our local council was the only means of communication between the races. It is still the only interracial body working there to resolve the conflict.

Throughout the State the FCHR continues its effort to evolve a climate of friendliness and cooperation.



## OFFICERS

*President*—Mrs. Mabel Norris Reese
Daytona Beach

*President Emeritus*—Dr. Paul Finner
Tallahassee

*Secretary*—Mrs. Frances Miles
Daytona Beach

*Treasurer*—Dr. W. H. Collie
West Palm Beach

*Chairman of the Board*—Dr. Hal G. Lewis
Gainesville

*Executive Director*—Wm. K. Williams
Miami

The Florida Council is governed by a Board of Directors elected by the membership at their Annual Meeting in January of each year. The Board numbers between forty and fifty persons representative of the people of Florida.

The accounts of the Council are audited each year by a Certified Public Accountant, and his report published.

## MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

Name_____

Address_____

I wish to become:

☐ a member of my local Council (includes membership in FCHR)

☐ a member-at-large of the FCHR

* * * * * *

☐ general member $5 single, $7.50 couple

☐ Contributor $8 - $24

☐ Supporter $25 - $49

☐ Sponsor $50

* * * * * *

I(we) prefer to pledge $_____per month as a Contributor ☐ Supporter ☐ Sponsor ☐

**Florida Council on Human Relations**
**4241 S. W. 109th Court • Miami 55, Florida**

# What They Say—

"Because no problem facing our State and Nation is more important to the preservation of the free world and the success of democracy, and because I believe the problem can only be solved through education at the local level, I am a member of the Florida Council on Human Relations. Right thinking people of both races by working together can solve the problem to the ultimate benefit of all our citizens."

THE RT. REV. HENRY I. LOUTTIT
*Bishop of South Florida, Episcopal Church*

"The Florida Council on Human Relations has been working quietly toward this way of achieving racial harmony in these times of change. It seeks the middle ground on which men of good will can stand and reach a peaceable solution of a vexing problem.

"Businessmen-bankers, merchants, hotel and motel operators, should get behind the Florida Council on Human Relations."

DAYTONA BEACH NEWS JOURNAL
(Excerpts from two editorials)

"Jacksonville citizens would like to believe that such events as the current workshop at JU contributed to our community's qualifications to serve as host for the Presbyterian assembly."

THE FLORIDA TIMES-UNION
(Editorial page)

"The most incisive and best material we had found with southern experience in the background."

*A typical comment from those working to establish bi-racial committees in Florida.*

Green -
membership -

Florida:

approximately -

2,500

THE DADE COUNTY COUNCIL ON COMMUNITY RELATIONS

ITS PURPOSES

In General:

The Dade County Council on Community Relations exists to bring together all citizens concerned with -

---The improvement of community life
---The promotion of better understanding among peoples of various groups ...

...racial

...religious

...economic

...social

...cultural

Specifically:

The Dade County Council on Community Relations is a quasi-official organization dedicated -

- To represent all facets of the community as a two-way channel between the community and governmental agencies.

- To study, engage in long range planning, and work toward the solution of problems involving any prejudice or discrimination.

- To supplement, complement, and help avoid duplication of the work of existing community agencies.

- To use research as a tool for anticipating possible causes of group tensions, and to forestall their development by education and the use of public communication.

ITS STRUCTURE General Meetings, of which all members and delegates are notified, are open to the public; but only members and delegates may vote. The Council is governed by and Executive Committee made up of 20 elected delegates, 10 citizens appointed by the Dade County Commission, and 10 appointees from municipalities in Dade County.

RECENT PROJECTS

1. Began exploration of problems confronting Spanish Speaking Persons in Dade County. Aim - to foresee, or catch in formative stages any difficulties which may be developing .

2. Projected conferences for specific groups to be affected by public school desegregation, when it comes (Law enforcement, Religious leadership, Youth serving agencies, etc.) Aim - to minimize the impact of this change through prior planning and discussion.

3. Expressway - since 10,000 people will be displaced this

RECENT PROJECTS (cont'd)

will inevitably result in some anxieties and tension. A session with Mr. Charles P. Taft of Cincinnati, was arranged for pertinent people in order that we might profit from prior experiences (Mr. Taft has been involved with Cincinnati's expressway program for two years.)

4. The Council was one of fourteen organizations participating in a "Community Audit" in preparation for the Tenth Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This produced a report on how we stand in relation to the goals established by the Declaration, indicating important gains, and areas still in need of improvement. The Council will be expected to co-ordinate projects aimed at further improvement in the areas indicated.

5. Visitors and complaints. Persons from other nations, reporters from other states, and individuals from our own community have been directed to us for assistance or information relative to human relations problems of this area. (Chamber of Commerce sent us one person from a California county interested in "Metro", also. Conferences were arranged to help supply the information she needed) Two complaints of racial discrimination were handled with a minimum of friction and no publicity, etc. etc.....

6. Clergy Orientation: Begun last year as an introduction for new (and "old") clergy to the resources at their disposal in this area. This program is being repeated annually. The Welfare Planning Council, Council of Churches, and Clergy groups plan and present the program.

7. Membership Meetings - (held bi-monthly) are important educational opportunities. Some of the subjects approached recently are -
   - Housing (Panel from Citizens Housing & Planning Association
   - Neighborhood discussion groups as a means of approaching controversial, or emotional issues (item attached). Hundreds of people have now participated in such groups under guidance of the Council.
   - Latin Americans and Dade County (Mayor High spoke, having just toured part of South America).

8. Inter-agency communication. We are fortunate in having professionally staffed private human relations agencies and the Department of Human Relations at the University located in this area. The Council acts as secretary for a monthly staff meeting where ideas and information are shared to the benefit of all.

9. Undergirding the structure of the Dade County Council on Community Relations. New people and more municipalities are being enlisted to broaden the representation on the governing body and the committees of the Council. The organizational membership is likewise being enlarged - now numbers some 30 business, religious and civic groups.

Attached are a few clippings to further indicate the nature of our activities and reception by the community.

February 14, 1959

We, the following ministers and rabbis of Greater Miami, join with 311 of our brother clergymen of all faiths in Atlanta in endorsing the following principles as essential to a solution of the racial problems of the nation:

1.

Freedom of speech must at all costs be preserved.

2.

As Americans and as religious leaders, we have an obligation to obey the law.

3.

The public school system must not be destroyed.

4.

Hatred and scorn for those of another race, or for those who hold a position different from our own, can never be justified.

5.

Communication between responsible leaders of the races must be maintained.

6.

Our difficulties cannot be solved in our own strength or in human wisdom but only through prayer and in obedience to the will of God.

(Those signing do so as individuals. Church or Synagogue is listed for identification purposes only.)

| | |
|---|---|
| ABRAMOWITZ, MAYER | North Shore Center |
| ADAMS, JOHN T. | Tarboux Methodist |
| ALBRECHT, E.W. | South Miami Lutheran |
| ALBURY, HOWARD B. | Methodist - Leisure City |
| ALFONSO, MARIO J. | Methodist - Cutler Ridge |
| ALLS, IVAN P. | Bethany Church of God |
| AUSTIN, H. STEWART | Bryan Memorial Methodist |
| BAIN, Jr., HOMER | Central Boulevard Methodist |
| BAIN, Sr., HOMER | Holleman Park Methodist |
| BARNES, N. | Advent Lutheran |
| BARTGES, D. CLYDE | Le Jeune Presbyterian |
| BAUMGARD, HERBERT M. | Temple Beth Am |
| BIRO, LADISLAU | Coral Gables Baptist |
| BOYD, P.M. | District Superintendent, Methodist Churches |
| BRANTLEY, I.D. | Greater Israel Beth. P.B. Church |
| BRILEY, JOHN A. | Tamiami Temple Methodist |
| BUELL, HAROLD E. | White Temple Methodist |
| BUELL, JOHN J. | Flagami Baptist |
| CALLIGAN, JAMES | Presbyterian - retired |
| CANFIELD, GLENN O. | First United Unitarian |
| CHEEKS, C.W. | Kendall Church of God |
| CLARK, JOE | Trinity Methodist |
| COFFEE, JONATHAN B. | All Angels Episcopal |
| COLE, FRED B. | Coral Gables Congregational |
| COLEMAN, T. RUPERT | University Baptist |
| COMPTON, WM. H. | Methodist - Redlands |
| CONDELL, ARNE | Bethany Lutheran |
| CRAIG, GORDON N. | Coral Way Methodist |
| CULBRETH, R.B. | Miami Springs Baptist |
| CULMER, JOHN E. | St. Agnes Episcopal |
| CARTER, J. PERRY | Flagler Street Baptist |
| DAVENPORT, JOHN P. | Opa Locka Methodist |
| DAVIS, CURRY W. | Hialeah First Presbyterian |
| DAVIS, DAVID J. | Plymouth Congregational |
| DAVIS, JACK A. | Radar Memorial Methodist |
| DAVIS, RAY W. | Riviera Presbyterian |
| DuBOSE, Jr., WILES | Chaplain U.S.A.F. (Inter. Airport) |
| FAIN, WM. MAURICE | Miami Beach First Baptist |
| FELTON, H.M. | Hialeah First Methodist |
| FINKLEA, W. RAY | White Temple Methodist |
| FISACKERLEY, W.A. | Methodist - West Hollywood |
| FOSTER, JUNIUS | First Baptist |
| FOSTER, O.W. | Ebenezer Baptist |
| FRYER, THOMAS W. | Stanton Memorial Baptist |
| GRAY, RICHARD E. | Palm Springs Presbyterian |
| GURNEY, GOERGE L. | Epiphany Episcopal |
| GYSAN, A.E. | Christ Lutheran |
| HALEY, GERALD D. | Coral Gables Methodist |
| HARKNESS, W.E. | Methodist - retired |
| HASELEY, LOUIS C. | St. Luke's Lutheran |
| HENDRICKS, JOHN I. | Coral Terrace Presbyterian |
| HILLER, GEO. J. | Trinity Episcopal |
| HIVELY, EARL L. | St. James Lutheran |
| HOCH, JOHN R. | Allapattah Methodist |
| HOLMAN, GORDON | Bethany Covenant Church |
| HOY, IVAN | Supt. of Religion - Univ. of Miami |
| HUNTER, S.L. | St. Johns Presbyterian |
| HUNTZEIGER, HOWARD | Coral Gables Congregational |
| HURWITZ, B. LEON | Congregation Petach Tikvah |
| HUSTON, RALPH B. | South Miami Methodist |

| | |
|---|---|
| JAMES, CHARLES P. | Ressurection Episcopal |
| JONES, JOE | Homestead Methodist |
| JOYNER, W.L. | Wesley Methodist |
| KEY, LUTHER A. | Homestead Baptist |
| KEENY, FRANK A. | Central Baptist |
| KRONISH, LEON | Temple Beth Sholem |
| LEACH, MILTON S. | Miami Baptist Ass'n. |
| LEHRMAN, IRVING | Temple Emanuel |
| LEONARDSON, C. OSCAR | Bethel Lutheran |
| LINDSAY, Jr., HOMER G. | Northwest Baptist |
| LINSTROM, HOWARD | Messiah Lutheran |
| LUDDER, CARSTEN W. | St. Peter Lutheran |
| MACKAY, DONALD A. | Riverside Methodist |
| MALAVSKY, MORTON | Israelite Center |
| MEEKER, CHARLES H. | Church-By-The-Sea Congregational |
| MERCHANT, LATHAN T. | N. Miami Baptist |
| MERRELL, ROBERT E. | Alta Vista Presbyterian |
| MIESEL, ROLLAND L. | Good Shepherd Lutheran |
| MORALES, FELIX | Spanish American Methodist |
| MORGAN, FRANK C. | W. Little River Baptist |
| MURPHY, H.E. | Sellers Methodist |
| NAROT, JOSEPH R. | Temple Israel |
| NELSON, FRED | Miami Shores Community |
| NELSON, ORVILLE | N. Miami Beach Methodist |
| O'NEAL, ERNEST E. | Olympia Heights Methodist |
| PAPKE, EARL R. | Biscayne Blvd. Lutheran |
| PERRY, SAM C. | House of Prayer |
| PINDER, ROBERT | Coral Villa Baptist |
| PURVIANCE, A.E. | Methodist |
| RABBE, LESLIE E. | St. Paul Methodist |
| RANTZ, ARTHUR | St. Thomas Episcopal |
| RATLIFF, DALE | Protestant Service Bureau |
| RATRUCK, DORSEY E. | Church of the Brethren |
| RIVERS, RALPH W. | Christ Methodist |
| ROSE, CECIL H. | Bethany Presbyterian |
| ROSENBERG, YAAKOV G. | Beth David |
| ROWAN, JAMES C. | Kendall Methodist |
| SCHMIDT, ALBERT R. | Grace Lutheran |
| SCOTT, L. WILEY | Miami Beach Community |
| SILEO, MEL | Miami Shores Community |
| SIMCOE, RIKER A. | First Free Methodist |
| SKOP, MORRIS A. | Temple Judea |
| SOSA, ERNESTO | First Spanish Presbyterian |
| STADTLANDER, C.H. | Hope Lutheran |
| STEINBACK, ARTHUR H. | Little River Baptist |
| STERN, TIBOR | Beth Jacob |
| SWANSON, John A. | Resurrection Lutheran |
| SWINSON, J. ARTHUR | Holy Angel's Episcopal |
| SWYGERT,WM. C. | York Memorial Methodist |
| TALHSTROM, H. | St. John Lutheran |
| TAYLOR, J. MITCHELL | All Soul's Episcopal |
| THAKSSITES, GEO. L. | Hellenic Eastern Orthodox, Church of the Assumption |
| TITUS, FRANK L. | Holy Cross Episcopal |
| TOLLE, JOE A. | Trinity Methodist |
| TURKIEWICZ, A.M. | Hialeah Episcopal |
| UPSHAW, W. KENNEDY | Church-of-the-Masterm Presbyterian |
| VAN ZANT, ROLAND D. | Norland Methodist |
| WALLACH, BENNO | Temple Sinai |
| WAXMAN, ALFRED | Temple Zion |
| WEANT, W. BAXTER | St. Mark's Lutheran |
| WELLS, G. LEON | Southwest Methodist |
| WENNER, ROBERT | Hollywood First Methodist |
| WHIPPLE, RICHARD E. | Lakeview Baptist |
| WHYTE, LLOYD N. | Shenandoah Baptist |
| WICKS, CHARLES H. | Coral Gables Congregational |
| WILLIAMS, WM. K. | Dade County Council Community Relations |
| WOLF, CARL G. | Retired |
| YOUNG, WM. A | Palm Springs Christian |

Florida



# Keep Schools Open, State Jaycees Urge

TALLAHASSEE — (UPI) — The Florida Junior Chamber of Commerce went on record here Sunday in opposition to any move to abolish Florida's free public school system.

Without mentioning the segregation-integration issue, the Jaycees adopted a resolution supporting the free public school system established under the constitution of Florida.

**It ordered copies of the resolution be sent to all members of the Legislature.**

"The Jaycees believe the public schools must be preserved and that it is the responsibility that preservation and control of the public school system rest in the hands of the citizens of Florida," the resolution prepared by the Jaycees Public education section declared.

The Jaycees also said it is the "inherent duty" of civic organizations to involve themselves in issues which effect the life of the community it serves, and "the Jaycees are deeply concerned with the invaluable role which public education plays in the continued growth in Florida."

**In another resolution, the Jaycees expressed full confidence in the existing public school program in Florida and urged adequate financing of the minimum foundation program for public schools.**

It turned down a resolution which called for strengthening of the federal pollution control act and doubling the current sewage treatment plant construction grant program to provide for a maximum of $500,000 for any one grant.

It passed resolutions that:

**CALLS** for enactment of a law requiring annual automobile inspections at private garages approved by the state.

**REQUIRE** erection of warning equipment at every railroad crossing in Florida, complying with safety standards of the American Railroad Association.

**REQUESTS FOR** adoption of a four-cent stamp bearing the American flag in its true colors.

Other resolutions asked enactment of state laws requiring a license for "cane pole" fishermen, a state boat licensing law, and a law requiring those 18 and under to complete a hunter safety program before being issued a hunting license.

UNITED CHURCH WOMEN OF FLORIDA
Women's Department of Florida Council of Churches

President,
Mrs. Alfred Lexow
610 North 19th Ave.
Hollywood, Florida

March 28, 1959

Dear Friend:

As a civic leader in the State of Florida, we are confident that you are deeply concerned with a very important issue that is facing our state today; namely, the serious consequences that may result from efforts to circumvent the law of the land.

Our educational system, let alone our very economy, is at stake and a good deal depends upon public knowledge and action. As you already know, the Florida State Legislature will convene in Tallahassee within a very few days. Bills will be introduced, which if enacted will result in the closing of our free public school system. It is necessary that you, as a civic leader, understand this problem.

The United Church Women as well as the Florida Education Association, the Chamber of Commerce, Real Estate Industries Council, and other leading community organizations have expressed grave concern to legislators that any such legislation would harm our state and our children incalculably.

We are attaching herewith for your information two enclosures. The first is a statement by leading clergymen of all faiths in Dade County; the second is a statement from the Jr. Chamber of Commerce.

We do trust that you will give this your immediate attention and communicate as you deem fit with your legislators.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Alfred Lexow

Encls.

## SUGGESTIONS FOR HOSTS AND HOSTESSES

The purpose of these discussion groups is to provide an opportunity forresponsible people in every neighborhood to talk freely with each other and become acquainted with the ways desegregation has been handled in other communities. By all means invite your friends but concentrate particularly upon getting as many neighbors as possible to attend.

1. Plan the gathering for an evening, if possible, encouraging both husbands and wives to attend. If for any reason this is impossible for you, don't hesitate to have a morning coffee. Just remember that daytime turnouts are seldom higher than 10% of those invited.

2. When inviting your guests, tell them you would like them to participate (or "just listen" if they prefer) in a social discussion about the desegregation of schools. Do not argue about the merits or morality of the issue. The purpose of the get-together is to encourage the free exchange of opinions in small groups of responsible individuals. Be sure people know what kind of an evening is planned.

3. The discussion leader and/or chairman will direct the meeting and will suggest ways for you to help.

4. Be sure everyone is introduced to each other and arrange seating so that everyone feels part of the group.

5. Arrange for simple refreshments - no more than just coffee and cake or doughnuts or cookies. We do not want to create competition between hostesses!

6. Have enough pencils and paper available for those present.

7. In order that we may be able to send them more information, please prepare a clearly printed list of names, addresses and telephone numbers of everyone attending, plus those you called who expressed interest but could not attend that evening.

8. We would also very much appreciate your evaluation of the evening; the way the meeting was handled, the individual reactions and attitudes of your guests, and your suggestions.

THE LIST AND THE EVALUATION SHOULD BE MAILED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER YOUR MEETING TO EITHER MRS. SHIRLEY ZOLOTH, 5600 Maggiore Avenue, Coral Gables, Mo 6-6322, or to MRS. PHYLLIS TANNEN, 7835 S. W. 66th Street, Miami, Mo 1-5930.

Fact Sheet on Desegregation
Number One

1. Since the Supreme Court decision on May 17, 1954, ten of 17 southern states have desegregated their public schools, either totally or partially. The following states have taken no steps toward desegregation: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia.

2. In those states where no desegregation has taken place legislation has been passed to further maintain segregation. This legislation provides for closing of the schools in some instances, establishment of private schools with tax funds in other instances.

3. In those communities where peaceful desegregation occurred it was preceded by community discussion and involvement. In every instance where disorders have occurred during the desegregation of the schools there was no preparation of the community.

4. Advocates of violence and certain public officials have created an atmosphere which has intimidated those who believe in obedience to law and maintenance of order. This threat to freedom of expression has resulted in a serious threat to civil liberties.

5. In Dade County, after appeals to the courts over a period of two years, the NAACP was told by the Federal District Court to seek relief under the Pupil Assignment Law of Florida.

6. Attorney General Richard Ervin has been working with various legislators discussing and preparing segregation measures. The list of possibilities includes: (1) permission of "token" desegregation in selected schools under the pupil assignment law; (2) to segregate by sex; (3) to establish "voluntary" integrated schools open to all pupils on the choice of their parents; (4) to amend the state constitution to permit state support of private schools; (5) to strengthen laws permitting the state to close schools to avoid violence.

7. In view of the above suggestions by the Attorney General, there is a very real possibility that the public schools of Florida could be closed by legislative action, creating an urgency to discussion and action by those who believe in orderly compliance with the law.

S.O.S. WORKSHOP

Dade County Council for Community Relations

## TIPS FOR DISCUSSION LEADERS

Remember you are leading a discussion and not making a speech.

Try to arrange for the group to sit in a circle so that people can talk facing each other. It is a good idea to check your room in advance and make sure the chairs are properly arranged.

Be sure that everyone has a chance to introduce himself to the rest of the group. Don't take for granted that these people are neighbors and therefore friends. A good way to do this is to have each person introduce himself. Set the example by introducing yourself and identifying yourself with the school - "I am Mamie Jones living on 1642 S. W. 21st Ave. I have children in the first and fourth grades."

Try to make a seating chart of your group to aid in referring to possible participants.

After you have opened the discussion, don't be afraid of silence. Once you have tossed an opening question to the group, wait for them to respond. At all costs do not make the mistake of answering your own question.

Once the discussion is moving, don't be too concerned about changing the subject. Let people talk so long as the idea interests them.

Be on guard for the monopolizers of conversation. Shut them off politely but firmly. Try to draw the non-participants into the conversation. This can often be done by a direct reference to the individual.

## DISCUSSION LEADERS GUIDE ON PUBLIC SCHOOLS

1. Introduction

Before beginning the discussion ask those present to introduce themselves. This breaks the ice and gives you a feel of the group and the group some knowledge of each other.

2. Purpose

Always be sure to state the purpose of the meeting clearly. In this instance the discussion meeting has been called so that people may be acquainted with all facts which relate to keeping the public schools open. The purpose of the meeting is not to convince people to favor either segregation or desegregation, although the facts presented and the critical thinking which we hope to stimulate may lead to certain conclusions. For example, if a

state legislature has enacted laws which require the closing of schools if integration is ordered by the courts, as in Virginia, then desegregation becomes a vital issue in the discussion.

3. Presentation

The presentation should be no longer than ten to fifteen minutes and should be consistent with the purposes of the meeting. A good presentation will include a brief history of events which have culminated in the discussion of the evening plus additional facts which are pertinent. For example, you might begin by citing the legal opinions which have resulted in the court orders that schools be desegregated. Present a picture of the occurrences to date, e.g., of seventeen southern states, eleven states have either integrated the schools or begun the process. In Washington, D.C., St. Louis, Louisville, Ky., Baltimore, Md., and other communities, the transition from segregated to desegregated schools has been made peacefully as a result of community understanding of the problem and the cooperation of the citizens. Discuss the situation in Florida according to the existing laws. We have thus far avoided last resort legislation which would close the schools in the event of desegregation, but there is a strong likelihood that legislation to close the schools will be introduced. Explain the Pupil Assignment Law which we have in Florida. Refer to the legal fact sheet and call attention to the Supreme Court Decision which states that the rights of children not to be discriminated against in school admissions on grounds of race and color, declared by the Supreme Court, "Can neither be nullified openly or directly by state legislators or state executive or judicial officers, nor nullified indirectly by them through evasive schemes for segregation whether attempted ingeniously or ingenuously."

## CHARACTERISTICS OF A GOOD GROUP

1. The physical setting should be attractive and comfortable.

2. There should be a good social feeling; a friendly atmosphere.

3. The leader should have a basic plan but it should be adaptable and flexible.

4. There should be direct interchange between group members. (See that discussion flows back and forth between members who want to participate.)

5. The path of progress should be kept open for each individual member. The group can make no real progress if there is one person who is uncomfortable.

6. The experience of the individual members of the group should be used to enrich the group discussion.

7. All of the members should feel responsible for the effectiveness of the group.

8. All members should understand and accept both the immediate and the ultimate goals of the group.

9. Methods and procedures should be as varied as possible -- films, role-playing, discussions, etc.

10. The group should base its discussions on fact and experience as well as on personal opinion.

11. All the members of the group should try to improve group performance.

## SUGGESTIONS FOR THE PARTICIPANTS

Each participant is a member important in building an effective working group. When each member is ready to participate fully, the group is ready to perform in a more effective way.

1. Think and contribute creatively to the interest of the group whether or not it happens to be your primary interest.

2. Encourage others to participate - especially those who do not speak easily or who hesitate to voice opinions.

3. Be objective, simple, and brief as well as efficient in expression.

4. Help to establish an emotional climate of informal seriousness of purpose.

5. Accept responsibility for regular attendance and participation.

## DISCUSSION

1. Definition

Discussion is a form of investigation--an attempt to bring minds together while in the process of thinking about an issue or problem. It is conflict among opinions and should not result in conflict among persons. It is not a debate or argument in which one tries to convince others of the correctness of his views, but rather a process of thinking out loud and expressing one's best ideas as clearly as possible in order that the whole group may have the benefit of each individual's thinking.

2. Purpose

Good discussion is an attempt to seek truth honestly and with respect for the opinions of others. It tries to arrive at the best possible opinion. (For all our vaunted science, the important areas of life are still in the realm of opinion.) It also provides an excellent way of interpreting facts as they are related to problems since its aim is to bring out facts rather than to impose views.

3. Subject Matter

Issues, problems, and opinions are the proper subjects for discussion. It is a waste of time to discuss easily ascertainable facts. Topics in which many-sided opinions play a legitimate part are often better presented through discussion (panel, forum, film forum, or group discussion) than through the medium of lecture or speech.

4. The Place of Facts in Discussion

While facts are not the subject for discussion, they are an important part of its grist, and a discussion leader needs to keep in mind at least three responsibilities concerned with them.

a. The group should not overrate the importance of facts. They may help to slow down an argument and cool off people, but they do not settle a problem. People hang on to their prejudices and opinions long after they have intelligently accepted a fact.

b. Facts are a tricky business and the dividing line between them and opinion is very shadowy. What one member presents as a "fact" may not be accepted as such by other members. The leader carries a real responsibility for helping the group test the authority of its "facts."

c. The leader (or leaders) should be on the look-out for points in the discussion where more facts are needed and should indicate such points to the group. Otherwise the discussion may slip into the realm of "pooled ignorance" without anyone realizing what has happened.

5. Presenting the Issue to the Audience

The defined issue is presented by the leader in a few minutes of introduction which states the issue, sets the atmosphere, and generally opens up the discussion. These few minutes of introduction should create a situation in which people begin thinking about the issue and reacting to it. It should make them want to discuss and feel free to do it.

Perhaps we should add that the leader has no moral right to color or weigh this introduction by the way he phrases it. He is a stimulator and coordinator, and in most discussions a participant, but he is not a contestant. A prejudiced initial presentation of the issue always bottles up or distorts the discussion to some extent.

Another principle for the leader to hold in mind as he opens the discussion is that discussion is created in terms of what happens on the spot. It is quite impossible to forsee every situation which will arise or to anticipate every point of view which may appear. No amount of preparation can substitute for group freedom in thinking on the spot so that they can concentrate on what is going on across the table rather than what is coming up or possibly may come up. The leader's own confidence, and the

group's confidence in his or her ability to handly anything that may happen, is a big element in creating the freedom that permits a dynamic interaction of ideas and opinions.

6. Conclusion

When the time comes to bring the discussion to an end, the leader makes the fact known to the group. Then he, or someone appointed by him before the discussion began, briefly summarizes the main points which have been made.

If the leader has been up to his job and if the group has entered in the real spirit of discussion, the time spent in thinking out loud together has been an educational adventure, for everybody concerned. Now we should know what we can do about the problems.

# S.O.S. CAMPAIGN

## Names and Addresses of People to Whom to Write

### Federal

Sen. Spessard L. Holland
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Sen. George A. Smathers
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Rep. Dante B. Fascell
House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

### State

Gov. LeRoy Collins
Florida State Capitol
Tallahassee, Florida

| | Address to be Used After April 1 |
|---|---|
| Sen. Joe Eaton<br>DuPont Building, Miami | State Chambers<br>Tallahassee, Florida |
| Rep. W. C. Herrell<br>173 Navarree Dr., Miami Springs | House Chambers<br>Tallahassee, Florida |
| Rep. George L. Hollahan, Jr.<br>7210 Red Road, South Miami | House Chambers<br>Tallahassee, Florida |
| Rep. David C. Eldredge<br>6850 S. W. 32nd Street, Miami | House Chambers<br>Tallahassee, Florida |

### School Board

Mrs. Anna Brenner Meyers
802 DiLido Drive
Miami Beach, Florida

Mrs. Fred Vosloh
973 Hunting Lodge Drive
Miami Springs, Florida

Mrs. Lyle Roberts
2600 Columbus Boulevard
Coral Gables, Florida

Dr. Robert Butler
123 N. E. 97th Street
Miami Shores, Florida

Dr. C. Raymond VanDusen
7930 S. W. 78th Street
Miami, Florida

Mr. C. T. McCrimmon
1552 S. W. 1st Street
Miami, Florida

Mr. Jess Yarborough
2601 S. W. 4th Street
Miami, Florida

## GUIDE FOR DISCUSSION LEADERS

From all indications the public schools of Dade County and other areas in Florida may well be closed by September 1959 -- or if not closed, substantially weakened. What is the reason for that statement?

### HISTORY OF THE PROBLEM:

May 17, 1954, when the United States Supreme Court issued its ruling on the desegregation of the public schools, two basic things occurred. On the one hand, the District of Columbia and several other southern states with segregated schools decided to obey the Supreme Court decision. On the other hand, many states in the South immediately enacted laws designed to circumvent the Supreme Court decision. Today, 11 out of 17 southern states have either desegregated the public schools or have begun to desegregate them. The states of Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina remain as the hard core of resistance to the Supreme Court action. Despite the Court's ruling in subsequent cases that laws which would seek to perpetuate discrimination in public education, "whether ingeniously or ingenuously," are contrary to the 14th Amendment to our Constitution, the hard core states continue to try to evade the Court's rulings.

Three states - Florida, Alabama, and North Carolina are relying on the Pupil Assignment Law, either to slow or to prevent desegregation of the schools. North Carolina has already admitted Negroes to white schools and Dade County has ordered the admission of four Negroes to the Orchard Villa School. Both actions were taken under Pupil Assignment Laws. The Dade County decision provoked statements by key legislators to the effect that they would rather see the schools closed than integrated.

In Florida there will be several types of legislation introduced when the legislature convenes on April 7th. These will be:

1. A last resort bill which would give the people of the County affected the opportunity to hold a referendum as to whether they want their schools open and integrated or segregated and closed.

2. The strengthening of the Pupil Assignment Law to make sure that it is constitutional.

3. The parent-option bill which will grant up to $250. per year for parents who wish to send their children to a private school rather than to an integrated public school.

4. A bill which will segregate the schools according to sexes.

5. Other measures which have not yet been made public, but are part of a massive resistance legislative program designed to keep the schools segregated according to races.

### WHAT IS THE PUPIL ASSIGNMENT LAW?

It is a law relating to the management of the public schools at the local level which permits the County Board of Public Instruction to make appropriate rules and regulations concerning student admission policies and the creation of advisory committees and study groups,

authorizing the employment of legal counsel, providing for service, authorizing redistricting of attendance areas, etc. The law provides that the local board of public instruction shall prescribe appropriate rules and regulations to implement the provisions of the Pupil Assignment Law and that it may use, "All means, legitimate, necessary and proper to promote the health, safety, good order, education and welfare of the public schools and the pupils enrolling therein or seeking to enroll therein." The law further provides that the board may conduct tests to classify pupils according to intellectual ability and scholastic proficiency. The law says that the School Board shall take into account such, "sociological, psychological and like intangible social scientific factors as will prevent, as nearly as practicable, any condition of socio-economic class consciousness among the pupils attending any given school in order that each pupil may be afforded an opportunity for a normal adjustment to his environment and receive the highest standard of instruction within his ability to understand and assimulate." (sic) Additional factors concerning the people applying for admission include scholastic aptitude, intelligence, mental energy or ability and the psychological, moral, ethical and cultural background and qualifications as compared with other pupils previously assigned to the school in which admission is sought.

If the Pupil Assignment Law were applied to all pupils alike, the surveying and testing would consume most of the time of all of the administrators and teachers in our school system.

Whether it is the Pupil Assignment Law or some other legislation which seeks to circumvent the Court's decision is immaterial, since laws which would seek to perpetuate segregation are clearly destined to be declared unconstitutional. This is apparent from every Federal Court decision rendered since May 17, 1954. The fight to maintain segregation "legally" is futile and fruitless. What we must do is to face the issue squarely and take all steps which will keep our schools open while at the same time obeying the laws of the United States, of which we are citizens.

WHAT CAN WE DO?

1. Seek to understand the issues through study and discussion.

2. We can make our attitudes known in organizations in which we are members like PTA, women's clubs, service groups, etc.

3. We can write our legislators and the governor.

4. We can react to articles in the newspapers by letters to the editor and to the TV stations.

5. We can write to the members of the School Board and let them know how we feel.

6. We can hold "coffees" inviting our neighbors.

7. We can organize "telephone trees" to encourage others to call or write their legislators to keep the schools open (a telephone tree is when one person calls 10 and those 10 call 10 others each).

8. We can contribute money to those organizations who are working

constantly to protect free public education.

9. Above all, remember that we always have our right to free expression and we do not have to apologize to anyone for being law abiding citizens.

3/30/59

August 6, 1956

Rev. Caxton Doggett, Chairman
Florida Council on Human Relations
376 N. E. 90th Street
Miami, Florida

Dear Mr. Doggett:

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, at its meeting July 20-21, approved a plan for tailor-made allocation of funds to state organizations for the third grant period. Central Office staff was authorized to modify, by not more than 25%, the allocation of funds proposed in Memo # 1. The Executive Committee's action was based on a desire to maintain presently employed professional staff.

The grant to the Florida Council for the third grant period (October 1, 1956 - September 30, 1957) totals $10,000; this entire amount is set aside for the salaries of the Executive Director and the Associate Director. Salary for clerical help for the coming fiscal year must be raised by your state organization along with other operating expenses.

This proposal is dependent upon your state organization raising the required minimum of $3,500 for this current fiscal year; you will recall that the required minimum for the next fiscal year (1956-57) is $6,500.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

cc: Mr. William K. Williams

# FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

DEDICATED TO MAKING THE AMERICAN WAY WORK EVERYWHERE, EVERYTIME, FOR EVERYBODY

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HOWARD D. ROBERTS, *Associate Director*
E. CAROL KLOSE, *Office Secretary*

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Vero Beach

Aug. 15, 1956

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn , N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

RECEIVED AUG 17 1956

Dear Friends:

Please send me one or two copies of "NAACP, An American Organization." Thanks.

Caxton Doggett

8/17/56

*Affiliated with Southern Regional Council*

August 16, 1956

Rev. Carton Doggett
376 N. E. 90th Street
Miami, Florida

Dear Mr. Doggett:

Nothing heartens us more than progress in program and sound administration in a State Organization. We get them both from your Florida Council on Human Relations.

Appreciate news in your letter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mbo

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August 10, 1956

RECEIVED AUG 14 1956

FBR - Return to Sam, who will reply.

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of August 6, notifying me that the $10,000 grant for the fiscal year beginning October 1 will be forthcoming. We have already set up a state Finance Committee and are at work planning to meet the required minimums as explained in your letter.

Today I had lunch with Hollis Rinehart here in Miami to talk about this matter, and I was delighted to learn that he has been appointed by Governor Collins to a new four year term on the State Board of Control. Inasmuch as he has publicly stated his position in favor of the Supreme Court decision and a beginning toward desegregation, I think this is a very significant appointment. The State Board of Control, as you know, operates the University system here in Florida.

Sincerely,

Caxton Doggett

Caxton Doggett

CD/ct

The Sunshine State may get replace the Old Dominion as the democratic leader of the South! FBR

*Affiliated with Southern Regional Council*

September 24, 1956

Mr. Caxton Doggett
Florida Council on Human Relations
324 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Doggett:

I was aware of Bill Williams' appearance before the Constitutional Advisory Committee, but have been told by Mr. Routh that Mr. Williams was specifically invited by the Constitutional Advisory Committee to appear. While for the moment I am without legal advice on the matter, I feel satisfied that expert testimony before a legislative committee by invitation of the committee would not be considered as legislative pressure, and hence did not violate the statute in re tax-exemption. But the invitation would have to be genuine, and not wangled.

We have got in the mill a lengthy letter explaining the whole matter of the provision against political activity, but it will take it a week or so to get out.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Mr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

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Vero Beach

Sept. 18, 1956

RECEIVED SEP 24 1956

George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have on hand the certificate you have asked me to execute and return to you.

Before doing so, I thought I should ask you about this matter. A week or so ago Bill Williams appeared before the Constitutional Advisory Committee, an official body charged with the responsibility of drawing up recommendations for a new State Constitution for Florida. He advised against including in the new Constitution the prohibition against mixing the races that is in the old Constitution.

Does this come under the heading of political activity? If so, is it the sort of political activity that our Florida Council should avoid? Please enlighten me on this matter. I assume it is a tax exemption requirement.

Sincerely,

Caxton Doggett

*Affiliated with Southern Regional Council*

State org. file
Corresp. gen.

October 12, 1956

Rev. Caxton Doggett
376 N.E. 90 Street
Miami 38, Florida

Dear Mr. Doggett:

You are an SRC Board Member by virtue of your being chairman of the Florida Council.

The Southern Regional Council will pay your expenses to attend this meeting.

We are happy that you are planning to attend, and look forward to seeing you in Williamsburg.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administration Assistant

GSA/bsc

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Vero Beach

RECEIVED JAN 18 1957

January 16, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Yesterday the Florida Council had its annual meeting. About 75 members attended from all parts of the state. Fred Routh attended and made a very helpful talk.

The enclosed clipping is from the Miami Herald of Jan. 16, the largest newspaper in Florida. There are some inaccuries, but in general it is a friendly story and was on the front page of the second section.

Yesterday the Florida Council gave final approval to (1) the moving of the office from Daytona Beach to Miami and (2) "Desegregation in Dade County" as the major project for the next year or two.

This letter is to supplement yesterday's letter, written before we took final official action the above matters.

Naturally we hope that SRC will regard the Dade County project as of sufficient southwide interest and importance to justify a financial grant for the period beginning Oct. 1, 1957, and as I wrote earlier, if you encourage us to do so, we will submit a more formal application.

Sincerely,

Caxton Doggett

xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

January 21, 1957

Mr. Caxton Doggett
376 N. E. Ninetieth Street
Miami, Florida

Dear Caxton:

Thanks for your two recent letters regarding the Florida Council's plans to move its headquarters to Miami and to concentrate its efforts on desegregation in Dade County.

Both steps seem to Fred Routh and me to have considerable merit. However, as Fred may have explained, we are not in shape -- either financially or policywise -- to act on a formal application for assistance after October 1, 1957. We still have before us the difficult job of refinancing the whole operation -- and it is a bigger job, I am afraid, than we or the Board members realized at the time of the annual meeting.

I suggest that you keep us posted of the Florida Council's plans as they are developed. We, in turn, will let you know how the prospects are shaping up. Certainly a proposal of the sort you suggest would get careful and sympathetic consideration as soon as SRC's future is determined.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

February 26, 1957

Mr. Caxton Doggett
376 N. E. 90th Street
Miami, Florida

Dear Cax:

We have received your letter of February 21 and in Harold Fleming's absence I answer it. We have checked with our legal council and we could accept the check for $416.00 from Malcolm Ross, but we would have to pay it back to the Florida Council. In Mike's letter to us he could stipulate to the Florida Council, "For use in the Dade County area." I believe this would meet your needs.

Best regards.

Cordially yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

# Dade County Council on Community Relations

213 NORTHEAST SECOND AVENUE
MIAMI 32, FLORIDA

PHONE FR 3-3443

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MRS. THOMAS J. WOOD

February 21, 1957

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

You'll recall that I asked you at Williamsburg if we could use the Southern Regional Council's tax exempt status in receiving larger gifts on the local level.

The Dade County Council on Community Relations has received an award from the Fund of the Republic for an article written by Malcomb Ross on John Orr...that is, it is to this group that Mr. Ross would like the award money to go, though the Fund stipulates that the money go to a tax-exempt organization.

We would very much appreciate your accepting this check for $416.00 and in turn forwarding us your check for the same amount. We have checked with our lawyers and find that the procedure is a proper one.

check not enclosed eh

Sincerely,

Caxton Doggett

Caxton Doggett

CD:bj

March 4, 1957

Mr. Caxton Doggett
376 N. E. Ninetieth Street
Miami, Florida

Dear Caxton:

This is to follow up Fred's letter to you dated February 26th.

I discussed with the principals of the Fund for the Republic, including two lawyers, the propriety of our accepting and passing on the Malcolm Ross matching award to the Dade County Council. I am afraid their unanimous opinion was in the negative. The stumbling block seems to be the fact that the Dade County Council not only doesn't have tax-exemption, but has been denied tax-exemption by the Internal Revenue Service. Thus our passing on the grant would be in the nature of a clear subterfuge.

We would be both willing and able to pass the money on to the Florida Council, earmarked for use in the Miami area. But under no circumstances could the ultimate recipient of the money, either through us or through the Florida Council, be the Dade County Council on Community Relations.

I am sure you understand that this is not as I would wish it personally, but it is a simple matter of legal restrictions which we have no choice but to observe. Although the lawyers who advised you may have given another interpretation, I am bound to be guided by the opinion of those officers of the Fund with whom I have discussed the matter.

Let me know what you and Mr. Ross finally decide.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

March 4, 1957

Mr. Caxton Doggett
376 N. E. Ninetieth Street
Miami, Florida

Dear Caxton:

I have your letter just received concerning the unfortunate staff problem that has arisen within the Florida Council. I am sorry that Fred is not in town, so that I might find out if he has any late information on this of which I am not aware. I do know that both Fred and I have received letters from Howard Roberts asking us for help in finding suitable employment opportunities, and that Fred has made several concrete suggestions to him. As respects the relationship between the SRC and the Florida Council, the situation is this: the Florida Council has the full and exclusive power to employ or discharge any staff member. SRC has required that its approval be secured in the case of a prospective employee, but there is no comparable approval required in the case of prospective discharge of any employee. Therefore you are free to handle this as you see fit.

As to the question of a month's termination pay, we have no precedent among the state organizations to go by. That being the case, I feel obliged to be guided by SRC's own employment regulations. These prescribe that an employee must be given a minimum of two-weeks notice, and if we were discharging someone effective immediately, we would have to pay such an employee two weeks salary. Thus I think I am empowered to agree that two weeks salary, in lieu of notice, may be paid out of the subsidy from SRC. Informally, I would agree with your feeling that a period of a month should be allowed in a case like this, and I am wondering whether you could not handle it by giving him two weeks notice and paying him the additional two weeks salary after he leaves duty. This, too, you may handle as you see fit.

The Florida Council will be entitled to employ a secretary for the remainder of the fiscal year, such secretary to be paid by SRC out of the Florida allocation. The salary rate on which the remaining monthly payments would be made is $2500 per year. This is in conformity with the agreement made with other states which do not have an associate.

I hope this explanation of policy as we interpret it gives you what you need to proceed. On a less official plane, we are not at all indifferent to the human problems involved here, and we share with your Executive Committee its concern about these difficulties. If the matter can be worked out without firing Howard and thus prejudicing his employment record for the future, I should think that would be highly desirable, both from his point of view and from the point of view of the Florida Council. Has anybody discussed this with him? This merely expresses my personal sentiment. I feel sure that you and the other officers will handle the matter in the best possible fashion.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

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Phone CL 3-7072

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March 1, 1957

RECEIVED MAR 4 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold and/or Fred:

I am addressing this to both of you because I must have an immediate reply and I thought one of you would be sure to be in the office.

The situation in our office (now in process of moving from Daytona Beach to Miami) is such that Herbert Davidson, chairman of our Board of Directors, has written me that he recommends that we give Howard D. Roberts his notice of dismissal. Rabbi Taxay, another Board member who lives in Daytona Beach, concurs, and so does Bill Williams. The Rev. Ed Graham and I here in Miami are not so close to the situation as the Daytona Beach people, but we will accept Herbert Davidson's judgment.

I am now in the process of polling the Executive Committee. I am asking them to vote yes or no on giving Roberts his dismissal notice and let me know by return mail their opinions.

The issue is that the two men, Howard and Bill, can't agree on a long list of things. The Annual Meeting in January took cognizance of the matter and gave Bill the authority to make policy decisions when the two were not able to agree. Now it appears that Howard will not go along with the action of our Annual Meeting. The immediate issue is the proposed state Junior College at Daytona Beach, with Bill favoring it and Howard opposing it, both in the name of the Florida Council. (This is what Herbert Davidson writes.)

Now—if the Executive Committee so wishes, can we fire Howard? And if so, can we give him a month's salary? Also, what about the possibility of your letting us have at least enough of the remaining salary to employ a secretary in the new office at Miami. We will have a Negro secretary. I don't know what your policy is at this point, but I need some advice right away. If you could stop Howard's salary and instead pay a secretary's salary until Oct. 1, it surely would be a life saver to us.

I am sorry about the Bill-Howard affair. We all are. But things seem to have reached the point where they can't work together. Write or wire me at 376 N. E. 90 St., Miami. Sincerely,

Dayton Smith

*Affiliated with Southern Regional Council*

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Phone CL 3-7072

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Vero Beach

March 6, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I have now heard from a majority of the Executive Committee of the Florid Council and all of them have approved the matter of terminating Howard's employment. That is, all who have replied have approved.

I am notifying Howard that his employment will cease as of March 15 and that he will be paid two weeks salary after that. I am also suggesting that the matter be handled as a resignation and the records in our office will show that if he will write a letter of resignation.

O.K. Rha

I repeated my offer to give him a high recommendation and told him you would help find other employment.

We hope to have a Negro secretary in the office right away. We will notify you as soon as we have one.

Things here are moving fast, with John Kasper reported in town. The Mayor is recommending today to the City Commission that the suggestion of our Dade County Council be followed, namely, the appointment of a Citizen's Committee to study the racial situation and advise the commission.

Sincerely,

Caxton Doggett

Caxton Doggett

*Affiliated with Southern Regional Council*

State Florida Doggett

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324 S. BEACH STREET
DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA
Phone CL 3-7072


RA - Note + return HCF

March 16, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

This is to follow up my letter of March 6 regarding the termination of Howard Roberts' employment.

Yesterday, March 15, our Executive Committee met in Daytona Beach. Bill Williams and Howard Roberts appeared before the Committee and made statements.

Howard Roberts stated he would submit a written resignation. Our Committee suggested he resign effective April 1, which would give him two weeks' pay after that.

In view of vacation time due him we felt this would be satisfactory to Southern Regional Council. So this letter confirms the March 6 letter I wrote, except that Howard is resigning, and the date of his resignation is April 1. I trust this is satisfactory. We felt yesterday that the meeting of the Executive Committee was very effective and that this matter is now finally concluded in the best possible manner. We want Howard to find another good job and will recommend him highly.

Sincerely,

Caxton Doggett

Caxton Doggett

*Affiliated with Southern Regional Council*

July 19, 1957

Mr. Caxton Doggett
376 N. E. 90th Street
Miami, Florida

Dear Caxton:

I am pleased to inform you that our Executive Committee, at its meeting just concluded, approved a grant-in-aid to the Florida Council on Human Relations, for the fiscal year 1957-58, in the amount of $4,000. Final approval of this sum is contingent on a mutually satisfactory agreement as to the matters discussed below.

The Executive Committee regretted that it was unable to grant an amount as large as that requested. As you know, the total available was $40,000, and eleven state organizations had to be considered.

This means that the average figure is only about $3,600. Thus the sum tentatively allocated to Florida, while substantially less than that requested, is above the average amount.

Obviously, in view of the curtailed amount granted, it will be necessary for your program and budget to be reconsidered. Will you advise us at your earliest opportunity what modifications the Florida Council feels it must make in the proposal as submitted?

Once the terms of the grant are satisfactorily worked out, the following conditions, as set by the Executive Committee, will apply:

(1) The grant will be distributed on a quarterly basis effective October 1, 1957.

(2) Succeeding quarterly distributions will be contingent on adequacy of performance, in terms of the agreement under which the grant is made. To this end, you will be requested to submit brief quarterly progress reports on program activities and fund-raising.

(3) The grant-in-aid is not earmarked for any specific expense, but may be applied against the total budgetary needs of the organization.

(4) Since the grant is not earmarked, and since our affiliate relationship expires on October 1st, your organization will handle its own payroll, including the withholding of income taxes and social security after that date.

(5) As has been true during the subsidy period, these funds are granted on the condition that your organization not engage in political activity or other activity inconsistent with tax-exempt status.

We shall look forward to receiving your revised proposal and to a mutually sustaining relationship in the months ahead.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

cc: Mr. William K. Williams

March 4, 1960

The Rev. Caxton Doggett
P. O. Box 825
Winter Park, Florida

Dear Caxton:

I appreciated the opportunity of meeting with you in Orlando recently and I particularly appreciated the opportunity of meeting Mrs. Doggett and enjoying the hospitality of your home. Your social arrangements were satisfactory in every way.

I believe that there is a good leadership team for the Florida Council during the coming year. I hope that we will be able to stay out of the red and move on to more vital program concerns.

I look forward to seeing you again on the next trip South or at the future SRC board meeting.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

December 19, 1960

Mrs. Mabel Reese
128 Orange Avenue
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mrs. Reese:

I very much enjoyed my recent opportunity to meet and talk with you briefly about the work of the Florida Council. We have been impressed here with the way that the Council has lifted itself out of the financial crisis of last year. There is tremendous program potential still to be realized in the state. We stand ready to help you and the Florida Council in any way that we can.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

August 30, 1961

Mrs. Mabel Reese
128 Orange Avenue
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mabel:

Feel free to visit our offices as often as you wish so that you may have sufficient data for more of your editorials. We are very grateful for your nice long editorial about the Council. I hope it gets wide circulation.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

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BARNETT NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

RECEIVED
JUL 13
Southern Regional Council

July 11, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Unfortunately, I have been called away for two weeks active duty in the Army commencing tomorrow. Mrs. White and I have been working on an official school volunteer for the State of Florida but have had considerable difficulty to date. However, I do hope we will have our official name by the first of August.

I will write you further about this matter upon my return from army camp.

Yours very truly,

Davisson F. Dunlap

Davisson F. Dunlap

DFD:jo

September 29, 1953

Mr. Davisson Dunlap
Barnett Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mr. Dunlap:

Nice talking with you just now.

The Florida State Teachers Association, which is the Negro group, is 200 South Madison Avenue, Clearwater, Florida - Secretary, Mr. S. W. Curtis.

I wrote him last August asking that his Association buy several hundred copies of the, then forthcoming, pamphlet and get them out to Negro teachers all over the State. I have since sent him several copies of the printed pamphlet and renewed my request. Perhaps if you could telephone him, you could get some action going.

Incidentally, the Georgia State Teachers and Education Association, which is the Negro group here, has bought a thousand and sent them out.

I thought perhaps the Florida division of SRC would itself buy two or three hundred and send them out. The North Carolina division proposes to do the same, sending them to all members of the State School Board and to members of City and County School Boards.

I confess the principle use I want made of the pamphlet is by local discussion groups. But a mailing by the Florida division would certainly reach a great many school officials who otherwise would never see it.

Would you look through the pamphlet and judge what you want to do with in Florida?

We can supply them in quantity at 10¢ apiece.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allc

Pickler
Nov 30

November 17, 1953

Mr Davisson F Dunlap
Barnett National Bank Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mr Dunlap:

Do stir up the matter of having the Florida Division get out copies of QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS about which you wrote me October nine. The North Carolina Division got this office to send out three copies to the Chairman of each County and City School Board in North Carolina. In Kentucky arrangements were made to send them out widely to teachers and school boards. Louisiana and Arkansas and Mississippi have promised to send them out, and Alabama will have a meeting on it in a few days to work out its plan.

These are the precious weeks in here before the Court gives its decision. People are still open minded; and we hope you can work out a plan in Florida to get the pamphlet pretty well around to local people.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

Oct 28-1953
Nov 30-1953

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BARNETT NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

October 9, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I wish to apologize for not answering your letter more promptly. I have examined the enclosed pamphlets concerning the Supreme Court decision and I think they are well and accurately presented. I am now in the process of getting authority from the Florida division to purchase sufficient copies of these for distribution to the appropriate school authorities.

With regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Davisson Dunlap

Davisson F. Dunlap

DFD:jo

RECEIVED
OCT 13

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BARNETT NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

November 28, 1953

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Mr. Dunlap has been out of the office for several weeks and is expected back in the middle of next week at which time I am sure he will write you.

Very truly yours,

Ruby Simmons
Secretary to Mr. Dunlap.

RECEIVED
NOV 30
Southern Regional Council

State Div.

January 18, 1954

Mr. Davisson F. Dunlap
Law Offices Adair, Kent & Crenshaw
Barnett National Bank Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mr. Dunlap:

I haven't heard any more about the follow-up on your recent activities in Jacksonville.

Do set me at rest and tell me that you have got things moving in Florida. These are the precious remaining weeks.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Secretary

GSM:hh

LAW OFFICES

ADAIR, KENT, ASHBY & CRENSHAW

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RECEIVED
DEC 14
Southern Regional Council

BARNETT NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

December 11, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Director of Veteran Service,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have written Mrs. White about purchasing pamphlets to sent to all of the school boards, or at least, the leading ones in the State.

Up to the extent of our finances, we will do so and send them out with a covering letter next week. I have been in touch with Mr. Armwood here in Jacksonville of the Urban League and Mr. Crawford Solomon, and we are lining up a meeting for the Southern Regional Council for the middle of January and are trying to obtain an outstanding speaker for that occasion.

I am also trying to work out a questionnaire, of which I will send you a copy next week, to send to our membership in regard to the school situation.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely,

Davisson Dunlap

Davisson F. Dunlap, Chairman
Jacksonville Junior Chamber of
Commerce TV Forum

DFD:rs

March 25, '54

Dear Mr. Dunlap,

I have accepted the invitation of Hal Lewis, at Gainesville, to speak to the summer school students (in education) on June 17, at 1 pm. They will pay for my getting there and back.

That puts me in Florida, and I would be grateful for your thinking about whether along about that time some meeting of the Florida Division could be called. I remember that high tourist season isn't a good time, but I don'T know how June stacks up in the Florida year.

We at long last have some hopes of getting substantial help toward expanding, and helping each Southern state get a real organization going with paid personnel. If our hopes are realized, and we should know within a couple of weeks, there would be money enough to let each State engage a full-time secretary, drawing at first 5000 and later 5,500; plus a clerk, plus travel, furniture, etc. Each State would have to raise 1,800 in the first 18 mos, 3,500 in the next twelve, and 6,000 ~~xxxx~~ in the third year. There won'T be money for two people of professional calibre in each state, but I could have ~~xix~~ associate secretaries, drawing the same salaries, and splittable as to their services between two or three states. Object: to cut the grooves for a race relations organization in each state which after a three and a half year period of help would continue independently. This office would merely hook them all together, and we would turn Florida's membership back to the Florida organization, to bill and increase and draw help from.

This is as yet in the confidential stage, but I will get in touch with you as soon as I know something officially. Meanwhile, I think it is safe for you to begin clearing the track for a meeting, at least of the Board of the Florida Division, at some appropriate time between April 15 and June 30.

Sincerely,

File

April 2, '54

Dear Mr. Dunlap,

Our money came through, as of yesterday, so we can all plan for more active State work.

We would be in position to help with your budget in roughly the terms I wrote you of the other day. Official latter with details later.

There isn't enough to get all States off at the crack of the gun April 1; i.e., "eighteen months" money can only stretch if some states start later by several months. I remember that I wrote in terms of June for Florida, or at least a June meeting to make plans, and perhaps a July 1 start, or even later, as may suit you in Florida.

Anyway, be thinking, and thinking of suitable people to employ.

By present most tentative plans the services of a single (Negro) associate secretary, or call him perhaps Associate Director, would be split between Georgia and Florida. We have only money for five such persons, to serve twelve States.

This whole enterprise is undertaken in order to get fully autonomous State organizations off the ground, and you will find that we will not clutter you with much policy from here: it's a Florida job. Use any name you wish, and set it up much as you wish. I would ask for uniform accounting, by a simple monthly report, and for power to send pay-checks for your personnel from here (as long as the salary money comes from here). This latter solely in order to give some power to curb tendencies of political involvement; it's tax-expempt money, and that has to be respected.

Call or write us as your plans develope.

Sincerely,

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CLARENCE G. ASHBY
McCARTHY CRENSHAW
JOHN M. BARNES
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JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

RECEIVED
APR 12 1954
Southern Regional Council

April 10, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I wish to apologize in having delayed in writing you. We have had a substantial readjustment in our law firm which has necessitated a considerable amount of night work on my part.

I am delighted to learn that you will be in Florida on June 17th and I think we might well plan to hold a meeting of the Southern Regional Council around the end of May or the first of June prior to people's going on vacation.

Also at this moment we are in the midst of a political campaign all over the state so until the primary on May 4th there will not be an opportunity to do much work.

I will write all the Florida members about this in a mimeographed letter on Monday and send you a copy. We will also try to establish some plan by which we can commence a program to raise money for the payment of a secretary.

With regards, I am

Sincerely,

Dave Dunlap

DFD/w

Davisson F. Dunlap

State Div.

June 16, 1954

Dictated June 15

Mr. Davisson F. Dunlap
Barnett National Bank Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mr. Dunlap:

I have asked Mr. C. H. Parrish to do some travel during the Summer months to advise us on, after consulting with you and others in the Florida Division, matters of personnel and program as you plan to set up the new structure.

Parrish has been a member of the Board of Directors of the Council for a good many years. He is the one Negro professor of the University of Louisville, after its consolidation with Louisville Municipal College. He has had much experience to add to an always wise judgement.

I hope you will give him the benefit of your frank appraisal of the problems in the State.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Copy to: Mr. C. H. Parrish

June 21, 1954

Mr. Devisson F. Dunlap
Barnett National Bank Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mr. Dunlap:

Many thanks for our helpful conversation there the other day.

I found both Bill Carlton and Mr. Dower out of Gainesville, but I left my card at Mr. Dower's office. I have written Mr. Parrish and urged him to try to assist you before your July 5th meeting. But I confess that I don't know his schedule and have some doubt that he can work out a Florida trip before that time. But I think you can certainly count on the advantage of a personal report from him well before your early September meeting.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

June 21, 1954

To: Staff

GSM talked with Davisson Dunlap, Chairman of the Florida Division, June 17. He said he will have a most intimate meeting with those concerned with the Division about plans for broader participation of the Executive Committee and broader membership, and to review possible candidates for State staff. He proposes to summon the membership into a meeting early in September, hoping to get the State organization going in earnest in October and November.

His present plan is to delay final consideration of the employment of an associate executive until after these first meetings have been held.

Florida

July 15, 1954

Mr. Davisson Dunlap
Barnett National Bank Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mr. Dunlap:

We get along well with the American Friends Service Committee, which has a Southeastern headquarters at Greensboro, North Carolina. Someone told me that their head man there, W. Tarpt Bell, knew of various useful people in Florida, who could doubtless be helpful in getting the Florida organization SRC-style going again. I pass on to you the names and comments that Bell sent. Tarpt Bell said his, Bell's, name might be used in your contacts with these persons:

V. C. Johnson, Dinsmore Dairy Farms, Jacksonville.
Thoroughgoing liberal, successful businessman.

Carolina Jacob, 130 19th Avenue, S. E. St. Petersburg.
Influential Friend, who has been Chairman of their Peace and Service Committee. In contact with the approximately 1000 Friends scattered over Florida.

Ben Stalvey, University of Miami.
Just back from two years overseas for AFSC

Clyde Allen, FSU, Tallahassee.
Influential Friend, who was attached to their meeting in Chicago.

Albert Kissling, Riverside Presbyterian Church, Jacksonville.
Forthright on race, and influential.

He spoke also of the usefulness of the Florida Chain of Missions -- a large interdenominational effort.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

September 22, 1954

Dictated September 21

Mr. Davisson F. Dunlap
Barnett National Bank Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mr. Dunlap:

George Mitchell has suggested that I write you about a proposed trip down to Florida. I have recently started to work with the Council as Assistant Director for Program Development. It will be my job to assist the states in organizing their programs, and in setting up the actual state offices. I am a Floridian from Coral Gables, and was a professor at the University of Miami in the Department of Human Relations for three years.

Sometime during the next two weeks I will be down to Jacksonville and will come by to visit with you. I am sorry about being so indefinite about an exact time, but we are waiting for some information on Florida from friends of mine at the University of Miami and from the American Friends Service Committee. What we would like to do is broaden the membership in Florida so that SRC has representatives from all of the major areas.

George tells me that you have done an outstanding job in the past, and I look forward very much to working with you in the future. We believe, here in the central office, that the primary responsibility for state programs must rest with state leadership, and it is the function of the central office to assist in any way possible in the fulfillment of the states' objectives.

I will either call you or wire you prior to my coming to Jacksonville.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director for
Program Development

FBR/eab
cc: Mr. C. H. Parrish

file

29 Sept 54

Mr. Davisson F. Dunlap
Barnett Bldg
Jacksonville, Fla.

Dear Dave:

I will be in Jacksonville the evening of Oct 6 and the morning of the 7th; Wednesday and Thursday. While the time is brief I hope we can get together, say Wed eve, with a few folks and informally discuss the Florida situation.

Might I suggest that we invite Mrs. Wm.White of 648 Parker Street Jacksonville to the meeting. I am going to chat with a Rev. JB Nichols of the 1st Methodist Church in Pensacola when I am ehroute to Jax from New Orleans. He used to be in Ala SRC.

Please ask any of the local folks, whom you think advisable, to the meeting. What I think we ought to hope for out of this meeting is the planning of a state wide meeting in the near future to set "Operation Florida" in motion.

Thanks for the nice letter of the 24th with the leadership we have in Florida we should have a real Gung-Ho SRC state office.

Cordially yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
Program Development

November 24, 1954

Mr. Davisson Dunlap
Barnett National Bank Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mr. Dunlap:

Please refer to my letter to you of October 30, 1954, and its attached form. The Executive Committee, at a meeting on November 23, 1954, in substitution for the arrangement described in my letter of October 30, made the following provision on this matter: That the chairman of each state affiliate be requested, as to all persons from time to time employed in whole or in part out of the funds of the Southern Regional Council execute the following statement:

In the case of the following persons employed by me in my capacity as Chairman of the _____ _____ [appropriate state affiliate], I am satisfied that every such employee is a loyal American.

Signature _____

While I know that your organization has not at the present time engaged any personnel, I inform you in advance of this change in the arrangement outlined in my letter of October 30.

Several blanks for your future use are attached.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

December 15, 1954

Mr. Davisson Dunlap
Barnett National Bank Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mr. Dunlap:

The following people attended the Conference of Educational Leaders at Hot Springs, Arkansas, October 26th and 27th. It was this Conference which adopted the statement appearing in the November, 1954 issue of New South. We think you might wish to cultivate them for membership in your group.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

Richard Moore
Daytona Beach, Florida

Gilbert L. Porter
Tallahassee, Florida

Royal W. Puryear
St. Augustine, Florida

bc: GTM
FMR
GHP

January 4, 1955

Mr. Davisson Dunlap, Chrmn.
Florida Division, SRC
Barnett National Bank Bldg.
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Dave:

Thanks for your letter of January 3rd, regarding the Florida meeting on January 15th and 16th. You asked in the letter about any suggestions I might have for a speaker for the meeting.

You will remember that we thought it would be helpful to the Florida group if Dr. C.H. Parrish and I discussed with the group (not in a formal speech but in round-table discussion with the leadership) the developments in the other states so that the decisions by the Florida group could be based on wide experience.

Any speaker who comes, I believe, should come for two days and sit in as a discussant on the Saturday meeting with the group and then could speak the following day to the assembly. I believe this would help whoever spoke more closely relate his subject to the problems facing the state of Florida. I would suggest one of several people and trust that you recognize this is not an exhaustive list:

Mr. Malcolm Ross (former Director of FEPC under FDR)
University Editor
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Fla.

Mr. Gilbert J. Balkin, Dir.
Anti-Defamation League
Seybold Building
Miami, Fla.

Mr. Donald Sprague
Department of Human Relations
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Fla.

Rev. Edward T. Graham (outstanding Negro spokesman)
Mount Zion Baptist Church
Miami, Fla.

I would feel secure with any of these people for all of them know the field of human relations and are aware of the special problems in the state of Florida.

Both Dr. Parrish and I will attend the meeting and look forward to seeing you then. Best wishes for a Happy New Year.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organization

FBR/rmf

LAW OFFICES

# ADAIR, KENT & ASHBY

HENRY P. ADAIR
FRED H. KENT
CLARENCE G. ASHBY
RUBY F. BARNEY
DAVISSON F. DUNLAP

W. SPERRY LEE
MONTGOMERY J. CORSE
W. ROBERT MANN

BARNETT NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

January 3, 1955

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Asst. Director for Program Development
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Have you any ideas for a speaker for our meeting scheduled for January 15th and 16th of this month in connection with the incorporation of the new Florida Chapter?

If you have any thoughts I would appreciate your writing me about them as soon as possible.

With regards, I am

Sincerely,

Dave

Davisson F. Dunlap

DFD:mw

January 17, 1955

Mr. Davisson Dunlap
Barnett National Bank Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mr. Dunlap:

This is to confirm the agreement arrived at between you and Fred Routh as to his travel into Florida for a week or ten days in the near future on behalf of the Florida Council on Human Relations.

As the task involved is so closely related to the whole program of the Southern Regional Council, the Council would be happy to carry Mr. Routh's salary for the brief period involved, but we do regard the travel of a Floridian on behalf of the Florida Council as chargeable to that agency.

Accordingly, and I understand with your agreement, Mr. Routh's travel vouchers for this particular travel along will be run against the allocation from this office to the Florida Council on Human Relations, and will be paid from that source.

From our point of view this appears as a partial service of a staff member of the Southern Regional Council as a staff member of the Florida Council on Human Relations, and to the extent that you do employ staff in this way, it is proper for all or a part of the expense involved to run against the Florida allocation.

Our books in the relationship with the state organizations are kept on a basis of the availability of money to the state organizations from the date that the state organization incurs staff (or in exceptional circumstances other) obligations.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Mrs. William Charles White
KS
FR

January 18, 1955

Mr. Davisson Dunlap, Chrmn.
Barnett National Bank Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Dave:

This is just a brief note to say how very much I appreciated the opportunity of visiting your home and meeting your lovely wife, Mary, and the children. That fried chicken was really superb and the only thing that out did it was the pleasantness of the occasion.

I will drop you a note in a day or two regarding the proposed trip to Florida. My very best regards to Mary and thank her for me for that wonderful dinner.

Your friend,

Frederick B. South
Assistant Director
for
State Organization

FBS/rnf

January 18, 1955

Mr. Davisson Dunlap
Barnett National Bank Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mr. Dunlap:

A reduced version of the speech-making at the Herald-Tribune Forum last Fall was reprinted at the request of the U. S. Information Agency for use abroad.

A few copies have been made available to the Southern Regional Council and I send one to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

January 20, 1955

Mr. Davisson Dunlap, Chrmn.
Florida Council for Human Relations
Barnett National Bank Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mr. Dunlap:

The time has come to firm up the understanding on allotment of funds for state use between the central office and those states which do not yet have paid staff. You will recall that the original proposed budget was $15,000; of which $13,200 would come from the central office and $1,800 or more would be raised in the state. The fiscal year began October 1, 1954; and ends September 30, 1955.

Minor state organizational expenses (travel for the Board, stationery, communications, and now Fred Routh traveling for you) have been and will continue to be paid out of state allotted funds. The amount available for office furniture will remain the same but all other budgetary items (salaries, rent, travel, communications, etc., etc.) will be on a pro rata basis. Thus, if a state hired staff as of December 1, 1954 the prorated sum is ten-twelfths of each item, if staff is hired as of February 1, 1955 it will be eight-twelfths or two-thirds.

To be fair with the state organizations sums to be raised locally will be on a pro rata basis too, though the central office strongly urges each state to raise the originally specified amount or even more. We do not have an understanding with the Fund for the Republic on all of this but will interpret it to them in our next quarterly report.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/rnf
Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence
cc: Mrs. W.C. White

F.R. ✓
GTH ✓
DTV
KS ✓

JAN 25 1955

LAW OFFICES

ADAIR, KENT & ASHBY

HENRY P. ADAIR
FRED H. KENT
CLARENCE G. ASHBY
RUBY F. BARNEY
DAVISSON F. DUNLAP

W. SPERRY LEE
MONTGOMERY J. CORSE
W. ROBERT MANN

BARNETT NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

January 24, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of January 20, 1955, concerning the allotment of funds for state use between the central office and those states which do not yet have paid staff. The procedure which you outlined in your letter is certainly satisfactory. As long as the state offices are not functioning but your office is carrying the burden state offices should not receive their allocation for the money.

We, therefore, recognize that the amount available will be on a pro rata basis depending on when the paid staff is hired.

Sincerely yours,

Davisson Dunlap

DFD:mw

Davisson F. Dunlap

January 27, 1955

Mr. Davisson Dunlap
Barnett National Bank Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Dave:

It is now possible to plan a definite itinerary for a swing through the state of Florida. As things stand, and if agreeable with you, this will be the schedule:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Monday | February 7 | Tallahassee |
| Tuesday | February 8 | Gainesville |
| Wednesday | February 9 | Orlando |
| Thursday | February 10 | Tampa and St. Pete |
| Friday | February 11 | Miami |
| Saturday | February 12 | - (Time off, no charge to Florida group) |
| Sunday | February 13 | |
| Monday | February 14 | - Jacksonville |
| Tuesday | February 15 | |
| Wednesday | February 16 | Return to Atlanta |

I believe a great deal can be accomplished in this swing through the state in tightening the state organization and in bringing new recruits and blood to it. Would you please notify the appropriate person or "spark plug" in each area and let me know who I am to contact in the various places. In case we don't have anybody in Gainesville, for instance, I will talk with some people I know in the University. In the case of Miami, I want to talk to the Executive Committee of the Dade County Council on Community Relations about the interrelationship of the two organizations.

With careful planning and careful spending, I think we can limit the cost to about $200 for the entire trip. This will come out of the funds allocated to Florida as of October 1st but not yet used and not out of the fund that will be allocated to Florida on a prorated basis after you get hired staff.

If there is any further information you need or any suggestions you want to make please do so. Remember this is for the Florida organization and therefore the desires of the organization are paramount.

Let me hear from you on this matter please. Regards to my friends.

Warmly,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/rmf
cc CHP

Duncan Dunlap

3 Feb 55

Dear Dave,

Mike Ross asked me for some possible alternatives of interrelationship between the FCHR and the DCCCR. I spelled out in no detail four such possibilities. Neither group is any way committed to these but both groups could give them consideration. You will note in the letter I made them most tentatively and as "I saw them."

I'll discuss all with the group in Miami but commit you to none of them, All final negotiations must be done between your board and theirs. This will be only a starter.

All goes well here at the Central Office and there are no complications over the Fla. trip. The one meeting I will miss will be covered by C.H. Parrish.

I'll keep notes on all conversations and contacts over the state and give them to you when I hit Jacksonville on Monday the 14th.

Trust this finds Y'all well.

February 22, 1955

Mr. Davisson Dunlap, Chairman
Florida Council on Human Relations
Barnett National Bank Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Dave:

Returned -- herewith is the list of the membership of the Florida Council on Human Relations. Many thanks for the loan of it. I am also enclosing a summary report on the Florida trip.

I look forward to the possibility of seeing you on March 5th. It looks as if I can probably make it although it's not quite definite yet.

Thanks a lot for all of the favors while I was in Jacksonville.

Your buddy,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organization

FBR/rnf
enclosures/list, report

Dictated by Mr. Routh/signed in his absence

August 25, 1955.

Mr. Davisson F. Dunlap
Barnett Bank Building
Jacksonville 2, Florida

Dear Mr. Dunlap:

Fred Routh, who is travelling this week, has asked me to be on the look out for a confidential report by Florida's Attorney General which you had indicated was on the way. Since it has not been received, I thought I should let you know in case there had been an oversight in your office. We are most anxious to pass it along in confidence to the officials of the Fund for the Republic who are considering the establishment of a legal reporting service.

May I add my thanks to Fred's for your help in getting this valuable assessment of the legal reporting proposal.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/vc

ADAIR, ULMER, MURCHISON, KENT & ASHBY

BARNETT BANK BUILDING
JACKSONVILLE 2, FLORIDA

RING BUILDING
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

HENRY P. ADAIR (1883-1955)
HERMAN ULMER
CHARLES H. MURCHISON
FREDERICK H. KENT
CLARENCE G. ASHBY
WM. ALONZO CARTER
JOHN W. BALL
HERMAN ULMER, JR.
DAVISSON F. DUNLAP
ROBERT B. HANKINS
MACON M. ARTHUR
W. SPERRY LEE
MONTGOMERY J. CORSE
JAMES S. TAYLOR

ADDRESS REPLY TO:

Jacksonville, Florida
August 12, 1955

Mr. Fred B. Routh
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I enclose herewith a copy of the Memorandum on Proposed Reporting Service for Legal Problems of Desegregation which you sent to me.

I have already forwarded to you a confidential report from the Attorney General, who agrees that this would be a worthwhile service and that they would be interested in subscribing to such a service.

I look forward to seeing you on your next trip to Jacksonville. Please let me know about it.

Sincerely yours,

Dave

Davisson F. Dunlap

DFD/abb
Enclosure

November 1, 1956

Mr. Davisson Dunlap
Barnett National Bank
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Dave:

I was very sorry to hear from Bill Williams that it had been necessary for you to submit your resignation as a member of the Florida Board.

Without going into detail, he explained that it was illness i in the family rather than outside pressure which caused the resignation. I want you to know you have our sympathy and understanding, and the hope for a quick and full recovery.

We know you will continue to share an interest in the work of the Florida Council and in the difficult task it faces.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/bsc

| DOMESTIC SERVICE | |
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| FULL RATE TELEGRAM | |
| DAY LETTER | |
| NIGHT LETTER | |

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# WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

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| NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC. | PD. OR COLL. | CASH NO. | CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF | TIME FILED |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Southern Re ional Council<br>63 Auburn Ave., N.E.<br>Atlanta, Georgia | |

*Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to*

Mr. Davisson Dunlap
Barnett National Bank Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Arriving by train. Will call your office Monday morning.

Fred Routh